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INDEX



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CONTENTS

- i. Analysis of subjects.
- ii. Index to authors.
- iii. Index to persons, tribes and places together
with references to sciences, cultural activities, etc.

ANALYSIS OF SUBJECTS

ART	PAGE
Music and Musicians of the Court of Shāh Jahān	354-360
Poetry and Architecture in the Time of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī	245-260
The Nomenclature and Common Uses of the Astrolabe	49- 53
BIOGRAPHY	
Malik 'Ambar : An Estimate	348-351
Syed Aḥmad Shahīd,	123-139
ETHICS	
Devil's Delusion	69- 81
	171-188
	272-289
	376-385
GEOGRAPHY	
'The Arabs' Knowledge of Ceylon	223-241
HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS	
A Note on the Alwar MS. of <i>Wāq'āt-i-Bābarī</i>	270 271
Two Farmāns of Aurangzēb	261-269
HISTORY	
A Critical Examination of the Various Versions of Shujā'-ud-Dowlah's Death	242-244
A Peep into the First Arab Expeditions to India under the Companions of the Prophet	104-114
End of 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, the Arab Conqueror of Sind	54- 68
Ibrāhīm Lodi's responsibility for the Downfall of the Lodī Empire,	361-375
Map of the Battle of Malāzgird on Basis of Historical Description of the Battle	352-353
Muzaffar Jung and Chandā Şāhib in the Carnatic	29- 48
The Battle of Qādisiyya,	1- 28
The So-Called Conference of Chhaprah, June 1766	166-170
LITERATURE	
Chandar Bhān Brahman, —(A Hindu Writer of Persian Prose and Verse)	115-122
<i>Kitāb-i-Nauras</i>	140-152

MEDICINE

The Article on Aconite from al-Bērūnī's *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaydana* 323-328

PHILOSOPHY

The Conception of Man in Islam 153-166

SOCIOLOGY

Libraries during the Muslim Rule in India 329-347

INDEX TO AUTHORS

	PAGE
Aslam Siddiqi	123
Dharm Pal	245
Donaldson, Dr. D. M.,	49
Gayani, R. G.,	140
Halim, Dr. A.,	354
Hamid, K. A.,	153
Hamidullah, Dr. M.,	352
Iqbal Husain, Dr.,	115
Ishaq, Mohammad,	109
Jaffar, S. M.,	54
Margoliouth, Dr. D. S.,	69, 171, 272, 376
Meyerhof, Dr. Max,	323
Mukhtar Ahmad, Qazi,	361
Nafis Ahmad, Prof.,	223
Saran, Dr. P.,	261
Sen, Dr. S. N.,	270
Seth, Dr. D. R.,	348
Srivastava, Dr. A. L.,	167, 242
Yusuf, Dr. S. M.,	I
Yusuf Husain Khan, Dr.,	29
Zafar Nadvi, S. A.,	329

ISLAMIC CULTURE

VOL. XIX, 1945

INDEX

- 'ABBĀS KHĀN SHIRWĀNĪ, 364.
'Abd al-Awwal, 76.
'Abd al-'Aziz, 186.
'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Hārith at-Tamīmī
Shaikh Abul-Ḥasan, 279, 280.
'Abd al-Ḥayy, Nadawī, n. 109.
'Abd al-Malik b. Bushrān, 378.
'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, 377.
'Abd al-Mun'im, [b. 'Abd al-Karīm
(b. Hawāzin) al-Qushair], 80, 175,
176, 287.
'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak (the
Ḥāfiz), 70, 72, 272, 288.
'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Qazzāz, 179.
'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Auf, 273.
'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Mahdī, 174.
'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī, 282.
'Abd ar-Razzāq, 76.
'Abda b. at-Ṭabīb, 18.
'Abda¹h, 185, 370, 374.
'Abdallah al-Haufī, Shaikh, 173.
'Abdallāh ar-Rāzī, 75.
'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad, 282.
'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, 272, 273, 274, 278, 279.
'Abdallāh b. 'Aun al-Kharrāz, n. 71 and
see Ibn-'Aun.
'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Jilī,
see Jilī.
'Abdallāh b. Salām, 76.
'Abdallāh b. Sālih, 286.
'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf, 75.
'Abdul 'Alīm, Shāh, 347.
'Abdul-'Aziz Kāwūs, 183.
'Abdul-'Aziz, Shāh, 125.
'Abdul Ḥakīm, Mullā, 115.
'Abdul Ḥamid, Khwāja, 312.
'Abdul Ḥamid Lāhori, 358.
'Abdul-Ḥaq, Maulvī, Dr., 389.
'Abdul-Ḥaq, Shaikh, 329, 333.
'Abdul Ḥayy, 129, 131.
'Abdul-Karīm Abū-Umayya, 69.
'Abdul-Karīm, Amīr, 116, 120.
'Abdul-Karīm, Munshī, 400.
'Abdul-Latif, 120.
'Abdul-Latif Diwān Shāhib, 344.
'Abdul Mājīd Daryābādī, Maulānā, 402.
'Abdul Mājīd Quraishī, Khān Bahādur,
302.
'Abdul Malik, 63, 65.
'Abdul Mun'im Shāhib Balza, 342.
'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī, Maulānā (Muftī),
82, 311, 333, 341.
'Abdul Qādir Hadramī, Shaikh, 345.
'Abdul Qādir Shāh, 125.
'Abdul-Wahhāb al-Anmatī, 187.
'Abdul-Wahhāb al-Ḥāfiz, 70, 72, 376.
'Abdullāh, Dr. S. M., 311.
'Abdullāh b. Dhakwān, n. 275.
'Abdullāh b. Ja'far, 282.
'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās, 61, 62.
'Abdullāh ibn Mubārak, 70.
'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Faraj al-
Mālikī, 401.
'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-
Makkī al-'Aṣafī Ulūghkhānī, 310.
'Abdullāh Mushkīn Raqam, 339.
'Abdur Rahīm, 298.
'Abdur-Rahīm Harīr 'Ambrīn Qalam,
Mullā, see 'Ambrīn Qalam.
'Abdur Rahīm Khush-Navīs, 335.
'Abdur Rahīm (Khān) see Khān-i-Khānān
'Abdur Rahmān, 34, 66, 67.
'Abdur Rahmān 'Azzām Bey, 409.
'Abdur Rahmān Dhu'n-Nūr, 23.
'Abdur Rahmān Khush Navīs, 339.
'Abdur Rashid, 142.
'Abdur Rashid, Major, 394.
'Abdus-Salām, Shaikh, 334.
'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, Khwāja, see Shirīn
Qalam
'Abdus-Sattār Ṣiddiqī, Dr., 302, 396.
Abhang Khān, 348.

- 'Abid Ḥakīm, 258.
 Abjadī, Mīr, n. 36.
 Abū-'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā', 73, 74, 75.
 Abū-'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.
 Abū-'Abdallāh al-Ḥusrī, 77.
 Abū-'Abdallāh az-Zubaidī, 78.
 Abū-'Abdallāh b. Battah al-'Ukbarī, 276.
 Abū-'Abdallāh b. Khafīf, 80.
 Abū-'Abdallāh b. Muḥṣib, 78.
 Abū-'Abdallāh b. Mujaḥid, 280.
 Abū-'Abdallāh b. Zaid, 78.
 Abū-'Abdallāh (Ibn-Ḥanbal), 186.
 Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī at-Tirmidhī, 81.
 Abū-'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī, 75, 281, 283, 287, 376, 377.
 Abū-'Abdullāh, Shaikh, 238.
 Abū-Aḥmad the Less, 80.
 Abū-al-'Āliya, 69, 71.
 Abū-'Alī, 280.
 Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq, see Daqqāq.
 Abū-'Alī ar-Rūdhbārī, 75, 79, 283.
 Abū-'Alī Gilānī, Ḥakīm, 333.
 Abū-'Alī ibn al-Kātib, 376.
 Abū-'Āsim, Sayyid, n. 329.
 Abū-Bakr, 5, 6, 12, 20, nn. 26 and 109, 176, 182, 227, 276, 277.
 Abū-Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit, 74.
 Abū-Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ṣadaqaḥ, 174.
 Abū-Bakr al-Abharī, 250.
 Abū-Bakr al-Baihaqī, 281.
 Abū-Bakr al-Ibrīsami, 281.
 Abū-Bakr al-Khaṭīb, 74.
 Abū-Bakr al-Qaṭī'i, 282.
 Abū-Bakr b. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 71.
 Abū-Bakr (b. Abū-'Uthmān), 76.
 Abū-Bakr b. al-Baqillānī, 280.
 Abū-Bakr b. Ḥabīb, 286.
 Abū-Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm, 276.
 Abū-Bakr ibn Ḥabīb (al-'Amirī), 70, 77, 80.
 Abū-Bakr Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar ash-Shāmī, 187.
 Abū-Burdah, 178.
 Abū-Dā'ūd, 69.
 Abū-Ḥāmid (al-Ghazzālī), 80, 171, 173, 176, 185., 284, 287.
 Abū-Ḥāmid al-Khulqānī, 183.
 Abū-Ḥāmid at-Tūsī, 77, 284, 382.
 Abū-Ḥanīfa, 129, 187, 280, 382.
 Abū-Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Sijistānī, 286.
 Abū-Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, 180.
 Abū-Huraira, 273, 277, 279.
 Abū-Huraira ad-Dawṣi, 111, 273.
 Abū-'Imrān al-Jaunī, ('Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb), 380.
 Abū-Iṣḥāq, 178.
 Abū-Ismā'il al-Anṣārī, Shaikh, ('Abdallāh b. Muḥammad), 381.
 Abū-Ismā'il al-Azdī, 10, n. 26.
 Abū-Ja'far, see Baladhuri.
 Abū-Ja'far Aḥmad b. Azhar b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb as-Sabbak, 288.
 Abū-Ja'far al-Ḥaddād, 77.
 Abū-Ja'far al-Manṣūr, 72.
 Abū-Ja'far (b. Jarir) at-Ṭabarī, 71, 181.
 Abū-Khalīd, 70.
 (Abū-Manṣūr) 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz, see Qazzāz.
 Abū-Manṣūr al-Azharī, 187.
 Abū-Marjūm, 179, 180.
 Abū-Mas'ūd, 272.
 Abū-Mikhnaḥ (Lūṭ b. Yaḥya), 110 and note.
 Abū-Muḥammad, 70.
 Abū-Muḥammad at-Tamīmī, 279, 281.
 Abū-Mūsā, 380, 381.
 Abū-Naṣr, 70, 286.
 Abū-Nu'aim Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Rabbiḥi the Ḥafiz, 75.
 Abū-Qulābah, 178, 179.
 Abū-Sahl as-Sulūkī, 287.
 Abū-Sa'id, 76, 78, 174.
 Abū-Sa'id al-Kazarūnī, 75.
 Abū-Sa'id al-Kharrāz, 276, 376.
 Abū-Slaimān al-Maghribī, 376.
 Abū-Tāhir b. al-'Allāf, 378.
 Abū-Talḥah, 186.
 Abū-Tālib al-Makkī, 80, 176, 281, 282, 288.
 Abū-Tālib at-Ṭabarī, 283.
 Abū-Turāb, 77, 78.
 Abū-'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Salām, 278.
 Abū-'Ubaidah Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā, 72.
 Abū-Umāmah (Iyās or 'Abdallāh b. Thālabah), 272 and note.
 Abū-Umayya, 'Abdul Karīm, 69.
 Abū-'Uqail, 66.
 Abū-'Uthmān, 76.
 Abū-'Uthmān as-Ṣabūnī, 281.
 Abū-Yazīd, 76, 78, 80, 172, 176.
 Abū-Zayd (Ṣirāfi), 229, 234, 236, 237, 239, 240.

- Abū-Zurāh b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, 279, 280.
 Abū'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā', 74.
 Abū'l-Faḍl, 121, 298, 332, 333, n. 356.
 Abū'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Salāmāh, 180.
 Abū'l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī, see Jawzī.
 Abū'l-Faḥ Gilānī, 333.
 Abū'l-Fidā', 229, 230.
 Abū'l-Futūḥ al-Isfarā'īnī, 281.
 Abū'l-Haitham b. at-Taiḥān, 173.
 Abū'l-Hārith, 183, 289.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan, see Balādhurī.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Hārith at-Tamīmī, Shaikh, 279, 280.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Bushanjī, 75.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'īnī, 67.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan, al-Mausilī, 70.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan an-Nasībī, 78.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan at-Tamīmī, Shaikh, 279, 280.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan b. Bashshār, 70.
 Abū'l-Ḥasan Sa'd al-Khair b. Muḥammad al-Ansārī, 274.
 Abū'l-Ḥusain ad-Darrāj (al-Baghdādī), 75, 286.
 Abū'l-Ḥusain an-Nūrī, 286.
 Abū'l-Ḥusain b. Samūn, 280.
 Abū'l-Jaish Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusain, 280.
 Abū'l-Muzaḥfar 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm (al-Qushairī), 79, 289.
 Abū'l-Qāsim ad-Darīkī, 280.
 Abū'l-Qāsim ad-Dimishqī, 283.
 Abū'l-Qāsim al-Harīrī, 187, 277, 281.
 Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qairawānī, 78.
 Abū'l-Qāsim b. Zaidān, 378.
 Abū'l-Wafā' al-Firūzābādī, 288.
 Abū'l-Wafā' b. 'Uqail, see Ibn-'Uqail.
 Abū's-Ṣahbā, 272.
 Abū't-Tayyib (Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh) at-Tabarī, 186, 187, 277, 281, 288.
 Abū'z-Zinād, 275.
 Abyssinia, 348.
 Aconitum Napellus L., 326.
 'Ad, 160.
 Adam, 66, 67, 153, 227.
 Adam, Mr., 305.
 Adam Khān, (Mīān), 299, 367.
 Adam's footprint, 277.
 Adam's Peak, 227, 232, 233, 237, 238.
 'Addi Sher, n. 4.
 Addisṭan(a), 324, 326.
 Aden, 71.
 Adharbā'ijān, 309.
 'Adil Shāh (I), 140, 349.
 'Adil Shāh, Ibrāhīm, 140.
 'Adil Shāh, Yūsuf, 140.
 Adoni, n. 30, 350.
 Afdal Khān, 116, 117, 120.
 Afdal Sarkhush, Muḥammad, 118.
 Afghān Empire, 362, 365, 373.
 Afghānistān, 309, 326, 327.
 Africa, 230.
 Afzal Husain, Mīān, 302.
 Agatharchides, 225.
 Aghbab, 240.
 Aghna, 235.
 Aghwath, al-, day of, 19, 20.
 Agra, 267, 332, 356, 358.
 Agrarian Reforms, 410.
 Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, 75.
 Aḥmad b. Abī'l Hawarī, 183.
 Aḥmad b. al-Faraj al-Himṣī, 183.
 Aḥmad b. Ayās, 308.
 Aḥmad (b. Hanbal), 71, 76, 174, 183, 184, 186, 278, 280, 282, 284, 382.
 Aḥmad b. Mansūr al-Hamdānī, 72.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bardai, 286.
 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād, 69.
 Aḥmad b. Sulaimān, 343.
 Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Yūnus, 69.
 Aḥmad Beg, Mirzā, 137.
 Aḥmad ibn Mājīd, 229, 240.
 Aḥmad ibn Yahyā ibn Jābir (Abū-Ja'far), 66.
 Aḥmad ibn Zainabī Daḥlān, 309.
 Aḥmad Fu'ad Koprulu, Prof., 313.
 Aḥmad Khān, 136, 373.
 Aḥmad Ma'mar, Nādir-ul-'Aṣr Ustād, 340.
 Aḥmad Shāh, 33.
 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, 132.
 Aḥmad Shirāzī, Maulānā Sayyid, 345.
 Aḥmad-Ullāh Nagpuri, 138.
 Aḥmad Yādgār, 364, 368, 369, 370, n. 371.
 Aḥmad ibn Shaddād, 70.
 Ahmedabad, 309, 338, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347.
 Ahmednagar, 348, 350.
 Aide, 235.
 Ailah, 275.
 'Ain Shams, n. 28.
 'Ain-ul-Mulk Ḥusain ibn Abī-Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Ash'arī, 58.
 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multānī, 256.
 'Aisha(h), 73, 80, 175, 182, 183, 273, 276, 277, 278, 279, .
 Aitam, 236.
 'Ajāj, al-, 279.

- Akbar, 140, 141, 270, 296, 297, 298, 332, 335, 336, 341, 354, 355, 359.
 Akhdar, al-, al-Juddi, 377.
 Akhmim, 77.
 Akora, 133.
 Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, 274, 278.
 A'lā, Al-, 78.
 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, 110, 111, 113.
 'Ālamgīr, Emperor, see Āurangzeb.
 'Ālam Ullāh, Syed, 124.
 'Ālam Yar Jung Bahādur, Hon'ble Nawab, 82.
 'Alā'uddīn 'Alī bin Aḥmad Māhim, 346.
 'Alā'uddīn Jilwani, 369.
 'Alā'-ud-Dīn (Khiljī), 245, 246, 257, 258, 259, 260.
 Albert, Md., 44.
 Alempara, 47.
 Alexander the Great, 327.
 Alexandria, 77, 225.
 Alexandrian Library, 225.
 'Alī, 270, 271, 297, 344, 377.
 'Alī 'Abd al-Qādir, Dr., 404.
 'Alī Abu'l-Ḥasan Hamadhānī, 55, 60, 61.
 'Alī al-Kātib, 300.
 'Alī al-Muafā (Abū-Mas'ūd), 70.
 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Wāhid ad-Dīnāwarī, see Dīnāwarī.
 'Alī b. Abī-Tālib, 7, 72, 273.
 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain, 76.
 'Alī ibn Ḥusain, 309.
 'Alī ibn Sayyid Jalāl Maqṣūd 'Ālam ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Maqbūl 'Ālam, 338.
 'Alī Naqī Ṣāhib, 45.
 'Alī Razā Khān, see Razā Ṣāhib.
 'Alī Tuhmān Hamadhānī, 63.
 'Alī Yavar Jung Bahadur, Nawab, 291.
 Allāh Buksh Khān, 133.
 Allahabad, 167, 169.
 Allen Elias, 52.
 Alor, 58, 59, 63, 65.
 Alp Arsalān, 352.
 Alp Khān, 254.
 Altāf Ḥusain, Saiyid, 302.
 Alwar, 271, 300, State Meuseum, 270.
 'Ambar, (Ambur), 29, 30, and note, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 348, 349, 350, 351.
 'Ambrin Qalam, 333.
 America, 303, 406, 408.
 Amīr b. al-'Akwā, 182.
 Amīr b. Sa'd al-Bajālī, 278.
 Amīr Khān, 129, 130, 133.
 Amīr Khusrau, see Khusrau.
 Amīr Taimūr, 335.
 Ammianus, 230.
 'Amr b. ash-Sharīd, 279.
 'Amr b. Qurrah, 274.
 'Amrān, 380.
 Amritsar, 128.
 Ananda Ranga Pillai, 35, 39, 44.
 Anangpal, Lalkot of, 260.
 Anantpur, 29.
 Anarajapura, 235.
 Anas, 175.
 'Anbar, al-, 2, 6, 15.
 Andamans, 226, 240.
 Andrew, St., 52.
 Anjashah, 182.
 Ankaleshwar, 347.
 Annari (al-Baiza), 58.
 Annie Besant, Mrs. 306.
 Anwaruddin Khān, Nawab, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42.
 Aqā-i-Mu'tamadi, 393.
 Aqdas, 347.
 'Aqil Jung Bahādur, Nawāb, 294.
 'Aqil Khān, 115, 118.
 Arab Bureau, 405.
 Arab Countries, Industries of, 409.
 Arab League, 409, 410.
 Arabia, 2, 63, 224, 225, 227, 230.
 Arabian Lake, 226.
 Arabian Sea, 224, 225, 226, 230, 239.
 Arākān, n. 226.
 Arbāb Behrām Khān, 137, 138, 139.
 Arberry, Dr. A. J., 405.
 Architecture, (Islamic), Muslim 258.
 Arcot, (Pain Gaut), 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46.
 Ardbeli, Zahirud-Din, 311.
 Ardeshir, Mr., A.C., 296, 298, 392.
 'Arif, Maulānā, 258.
 Aristotle, 162, 327.
 Armath, al-, 20.
 Armenia, 352.
 Arnold, T. W., 240.
 Aryabhata, 229.
 'Ās, al-, b. Wā'il, 377.
 Asad, 356.
 Asad ('Alī) Khān, Mīr, 32, 37, 38.
 Asad, (Banū-), 8, 9, 19.
 'Āsaf Jāh, Nawāb, n. 30.
 'Āsaf Khān, 309.
 'Āsafīa Library, 84.
 'Āsafjāhi Kingdom, 292.
 Ash-Sha'bī, 274.
 Ash'ari, al-, see 'Ain-ul-Mulk.
 Asia, 226, 228, 230, 240.

- Asiatic Continent, 229.
 'Āsim, 72.
 'Āsim b. Amir, 19, 21.
 Aslam Jerājpūrī, Maulānā Muḥammad, 395.
 'Asqalānī, al-, Ḥāfiẓ Ḥajar, 87.
 Assam, 326.
 Asturlāb, 53.
 'Atā, 281.
 'Atiq, (al-), 12, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, n. 28.
 Aulas, 289.
 Aulasi, al-, see Abu'l-Hārith.
 'Aun (b. 'Abdallāh), 281.
 Aurangabad, 46, 350.
 Aurangzeb, (Abū-Zafar Muḥammad Muḥiy-ud-Dīn 'Ālamgīr Badshāh Ghāzī), 90, 116, 117, 120, 121, 124, 261, 265, 266, 304, 336.
 Aus, al-, b. Maghīra, 18.
 Aus b. Hajar, n. 4.
 Auteuil, Md., (D'Autad), 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 44, 47.
 Awas, (al-), 7, 8, 22.
 Ayri Shakarwati, see Chakravarti.
 Ayub, 376.
 Ayyūb (Abū-), as-Sakhtiani, 70.
 Azadhmard b. Azad bin, 15.
 A'zam Humāyūn, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371.
 A'zam, Prince Muḥammad, 124.
 A'zamgarh, 331.
 Azdi, al-, Abū-Isma'īl, 10, n. 26.
 Azher, al-, University of, 82.
 'Aziz-ul-Ḥaq, Sir (Mohammad), 302, 304.
 Azr (Ghazr), 236.
 BABA LAL DAS, 119.
 Bābā track, 232.
 Bābar, (Bābur), 270, 271, 331, 374.
 Babylonia, 2.
 Badā'ūnī, nn. 245 and 246.
 Badr Chāch, 329.
 Badr, (heroes) of, 9, 278.
 Baghdād, 55, 60, 67, 75, 286, 299, 304, 309, 348, 408.
 Bahādur Khān (Azbak), 336, 337, 370.
 Bahādur Shāh Sulṭān, 309.
 Bahaim, Martin, 49.
 Bahā'uddīn, Shaikh, 356.
 Bahbūd Mirzā, 333.
 Bahlūl, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 374, 375.
 Bahman, 6.
 Bahman Jadhawayh, see Dhul-Hājib.
 Bahmānī Kingdom, Culture of, 83.
 Bahrain, al-, 1, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113.
 Bahrain Islands, 224.
 Bahur (Jāgīr), 46.
 Bait-ur-Riqdān, 9.
 Baiza, al-, (Annari), 58.
 Bakr b. 'Abdallāh, 179.
 Bajali, al-, see Jarir.
 Bajila, 19.
 Bakhshū, Nā'ik, 355.
 Baladhar, see Malacca.
 Baladhuri, al-, (Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir), 9, nn. 21, 25, and 26, 54, 66, 67, and note, n. 109, 110, 111, 112, nn. 114 and 227, 228, 236.
 Bālāji Rāo Peshwā, 34.
 Bālākot, 123, 137, 138.
 Balban, 245.
 Ballin, 240.
 Balūchistān, 127, 230.
 Balwant Singh, 168.
 Balza, see 'Abdul Mun'im.
 Banan b. Muḥammad, 79.
 Bander Salawat, 238.
 Bangāmau, 370.
 Bankipore, 119, 336.
 Banni Singh, 271.
 Banū Yarbū, 228.
 Baqnā'ī, 334.
 Bara, al-, b. Malik, 279.
 Bara Miyān Shāhib, 342.
 Barani, 258, 329, 330.
 Barbad, 249.
 Bargigiri, 350.
 Barhmi, Shaikh, 334.
 Barid Shāh, 349.
 Barwas, 109.
 Basanthi Kalawant, 358.
 Basari, Muḥammad Ummī, 49.
 Basawan, (Basawn), 297.
 Bašra, (al-), 6, 7, 9, n. 109, 110, 111, 113, 179, 187, 309.
 Baswararah, 263.
 Battala, see Puttelam.
 Batticaloa, 223.
 Bazi, 173.
 Bazid Khān, 358.
 Becker, 24.
 Beale, n. 271.
 Beglar, (J. D.), 259, n. 260.

- Behār. (Bihār), 305, 332, 358, 369, 372, 373.
 Behrām, 255, 256.
 Behzād (Ustad), 298, 332.
 Beiley, Mr. E. C., 305.
 Benares, 116, 168, 169, 305.
 Bengal, 128, 168, 170, 303, 332, 336, 358, 361.
 Bengal, Bay of, 225, 230.
 Bengal Select Committee, 167.
 Benkoelen, 224.
 Bērūnī, al-, Abū'r-Rayhān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, 323, 324, 326, 328.
 Bettina Strauss, n. 327.
 Beveridge, H., n. 271, 301, 323.
 Bhagwān Dās, Dr., 305.
 Bhak, 132.
 Bhakkar, 54, 58.
 Bharaiçh, 334.
 Bharoçh, 345, 346, 347.
 Bharru, Naik, 358.
 Bhoā, Miyān, 371.
 Bhukar Pass, 137.
 Bhura, 297.
 Bhuwaneka Bahu IV, 237.
 Bid Pā'i, 299.
 Bijapur, 140, 348, 349, 350.
 Bikaner, 130.
 Bilās Khān, 357, 358.
 Bindawan, al-, 20.
 Birazan, al-, 15, 20, 23.
 Bīrūnī, al-, 53, 229, 230, 231, 234.
 Bisauli, 242, 243, 244.
 Bish, 324, 325, 326, 327.
 Bishr as-Sijzi, 325.
 Bishr b. al-Hārith, 70, 76.
 Bistāmi, al-, 'Isā b. Mūsā, 80.
 Black Sea, 229.
 Blockmann, n. 354.
 Bocha, 358.
 Bombay, 109, 141, 346, 347.

BOOKS REVIEWED :

- Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery*, Ed. by H. Goetz, 220.
European and Indo-European Poets of Urdu and Persian, by Ram Babu Saksena, 410.
Farca Grameri, by Abdulvehhab Tarazi and Aḥmad Ates, 321.
Indian Art, the Study of, by K. de B. Codrington, 415.
Iqbal, the Mataphysics of, by Dr. Ishrat Hasan, 219.

- Muhammad and Teachings of Qur'ān*, by Muhammad Amin, 105.
Nādirāt-i-Shāhi, (an anthology of Urdu, Persian and Hindi Poems, by the Mughal King, Shāh 'Alam II), Ed. by Imtiyaz 'Alī 'Arshī, 416.
Our Decline and its Causes, by Amir Shakaib Arsalān, 107.
Rajput Studies, by Mr. A. C. Banerjee, 219.
Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohammad Ali, by Afzal Iqbal, M.A., 316.
Shrimad Bhagwat Gita (in Persian Verse), by Faizi, 220.
Some Moral and Religious Teachings of Al-Ghazzali, by Prof. Syed Nawab Ali, 105.
Tārīkh-i-Gujrat, by Abu Turab Vali, 320.
The Book (كتاب بدء من اناب الى الله) by Hārith ibn Asad al-Muhasibi, 319.
The Cultural Role of India, by Hamid Raza, 317.
The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhīd, by Dr. Burhan Ahmad Faruqi, 106.
The Past, Present and Future of the Muslims, by Miyan Bashir, 107.
The Road to Peace and Pakistan, by Z. A. Sulcri, 320.
Through Pakistan to Freedom, by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, M.A., 321.
 Boscawen, n. 31, 36, 40.
 Boswell, H., n. 327.
 Brahmagupta, 229.
 Brahman, see Chandar Bhan.
 Brahman (White), 324, 325, 326.
 Brahmanabad, 61 and note, 62.
 Bresli, 235.
 Brindraban Rai, 120.
 Britain, 403, 408.
 Broach, see Barwas.
 Brocke, Pieter Van, 349.
 Browne, Prof. E. G., 402.
 Bu'āth, Day of, 276.
 Buachthal Hugo, 299.
 Budail, 70.
 Buddha, 227.
 Budh Temple, 61.
 Buddhism, advent of, 225.
 Bughra Khan, 245.
 Buzenzee Causeydyoss, 41, 42.
 Burgess, Lieut., 260.

- Burhān-ud-Dīn b. Abi-Bakr al-Marghī-nānī, 87.
 Burma, 225, 326.
 Bushanji, al-, Abu'l-Ḥasan, 75.
 Bussy, n. 34, 36 and note.
 Buwaib, battle at, 7; battle of n. 25; victory at, 6.
 Buzurg ibn Shahryār, 227 and note, 229, 230, 231, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240.
 CACTANI, 24, and note, n. 26.
 Cain (Tubal), 181.
 Cairo, 404, 407, 409.
 Calverley, Edwin E., 407.
 Cambay, 298, 332.
 Campbell, n. 224.
 Candace, 227.
 Carnac, 168, 170.
 Carnatic, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 48, 350.
 Carr, Stephen 258, n. 26.
 Cauvery, 306.
 Ceylon [Lanka, Lanka-dīpa, Lank-dwipa, Ratnadwipa, Sahilan, Salabhadwipa, Salika, Saliike, Samkadib, Sankadib, Sarandib, Sarandip, Saylan (Sihalam, Sinyala-dwipa), Sengkia-lo (Sinhala), Serendivis, Sieladiba, Sihalaka (Silaka), Simoondū, Singala-dwipa (Selendive), Singaldib (Sarandib), Sinhalaka, Siyalan, Tabarna, Tabrobani, Tapravan, Taprobana], 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241.
 Chach, (Badr), 57, 329.
 Chach-Nāma, 54, 57, 58, 60, 65, 66, 67.
 Chaghtā'i, Dr. M. 'Abdullā, 87, 292, 300.
 Chajju, Malik, 245.
 Chakan Khangarh, 132.
 Chakravarti, 238.
 Champion, 244.
 Chanakya, 327.
 Chānd Bibi, 348.
 Chandā Šāhib (Husain Dost Khān), 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.
 Chandar Bhān Brahman, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122.
 Chanderi, 372.
 Changez Khān, 348.
 Chanpanir, 345.
 Chetpattu, 32, 37, 43.
 Chhaprah, 168, 169, 170.
 Chhatārī, Nawab Sir Aḥmad Sa'īd Khān of, 90.
 Chidambaram, 32.
 Chilav, 236.
 China, 225, 226, 229, 240, 251, 408.
 China Seas, 239.
 Chinese, 226, 233.
 Chirangi Lāl, 119.
 Chirkeen, 131.
 Chitor, 257.
 Chitral, 326.
 Chonchon, 45, 47.
 Chopra, 326.
 Chunar, 169, 372.
 Chunnī Lāl, Mr., 270, 300.
 Clive, (Ingham), 167, 168, 169, 170.
 Cole, 52.
 Colombo, 233, 235, 239, 240, 241.
 Comorin, Cape, 230.
 Constantinople, 309.
 Cook, E., n. 229.
 Copley, A. L., n. 327.
 Corbelong, 47.
 Cordova, n. 60, 303.
 Coromandel, 224, 226, 238, 239, 293.
 Cosmas (Indiopleustes), 225, 230.
 Crooke, William, 126.
 Ctesiphon, 14, 15.
 Cuddalore, 42.
 Cultru, nn. 34, 39, 40 and 41.
 CULTURAL ACTIVITIES :
 DECCAN
A Parwānah of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khan to the Dutch, by K. K. Datta, 195.
'Adil Shāhi Grants to Shaikh Muḥammad Abū-Turāb Mudarris, by M. A. Chaghtā'i, 195.
 Akbar, the birth of, 392.
Akhbārāt-i Lahore-o-Multan, by S. Ganda Singh, 195.
Bahmani History, 88.
Baroda State Museum Bulletin, 91.
Diplomatic Letters of Shāh Jahān, by A. Halim, 194.
Gingee and its Rulers, History of, 295.
Gulistān (Gul-Sitān), An illustrated manuscript of, from Shiraz, 389.
Hindu Padshahi, Pt. I, (English and Telugu), 388.

Indian Historical Commission, 194.
Indian History Congress-Madras, 192
Indo-Muslim Coins, History of, 296.
 Iqbal Day, 390.
 Jains at the Court of Akbar, 91.
 Jamī'at-ul-Ulema Conference, Bombay Provincial, 191.
Katila-wa-Damna, An Illustrated MS. of, 299.
Khamsa-i-Nizāmī with Mughal Miniatures, an illustrated MS. of, 296
 Manuscripts, A Descriptive Hand-list of, 390.
 Mughal Document discovered, 388.
 Muhammad ibn Tughlaq, 87.
Munsha'āt-i-Husainī, Collection of Browne's Correspondence by S. H. Askery, 196.
 Muslim Education Conference, Bombay Provincial, 89.
Muslim Inscriptions, 193.
Pakistan or Partition of India, 388.
Persian Correspondence of Vithal Mahadeo Kibe alias Tatyā Jōg of Indore, by R. B., M. V. Kibe, 197.
 Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodiwalla, the late Prof., 301.
 Shaikh 'Alī of Māhim, 197.
 Shibli, Tribute to, 88.
Sind Historical Society Journal, 92.
The Glory that was Gurjardesa (History of Greater Gujrat), 193.
The Dabdaba-i-Sikandari, by Kasim Ali Sajan Lal, 196.
The Pre-Mutiny Records in Agra, by Dr. Mahdi Husain, 195.
 Two Documents relating to the Nature of Religious Assignments in Sultanate of Gujarat, by Dr. I. H. Quraishi, 196.
 Urdu Conference, Bombay, 389.
Wāqī'āt-i-Bābari, Alwar MS. of, 300.

DELHI

Anjuam-i-Tarrqqi-i-Urdu, 395.
 Iran, A Book on, 393.
 Islam, A Sequel to the History of, 395.
 Islamic Countries, Study Groups on, 302.
 Islamic Research, An Indian Academy of, 302.
 Islamic Research Association, 302.
 Periodical Literature, 394.

Political Zionism, 394.

FOREIGN

Agrarian Reforms, (Turkey), 410.
 Arab Countries, Cultural Co-operation of, 410.
 Arab Countries in General, 409.
 Arab Heritage, 208.
 Arab Journalism, Progress of, 315.
 Arab League Cairo, 314, Commemoration of the, 409.
 Arab Medical Conference, (Egypt), 409.
 Arab Music and Drama, 215.
 Arab Social and Political Activities in London, 405.
 Arabic and Islamic Studies, Committee of, (America), 406.
 Arabic Magazine in London, 405.
 Cultural Contact with India, (China) 408.
 Euclid's Geometry by aṭ-Ṭūsi, 211.
 Egyptian Institute and other Egyptian Activities, (London), 404.
 Foreign Countries, Students in, (Iraq), 408.
 Galen, Works of (translated), 211.
 Garrett Collection in Princeton, 210.
 Growing Recognition of the Importance of Muslims, 315.
 Iranian Institute, 209.
 Islamic Culture Centre, (London), 404.
 Islamic Studies in America, 209.
Liber Regius (Medical Encyclopaedia), 211.
 Mamluk Studs at Cairo, 212.
 Massignon's Visit to India and Hyderabad, 407.
Medical Treatise by Ibn-an-Nafīs, 211.
Medical Treatise by Rhazes, 211.
 Military Bases by Big Powers, Acquisition of, (Egypt), 409.
 Muslim Art in Cleveland Museum, Exhibition of, 214.
 Muslim Colony, (America), 406.
 Oriental Studies in Great Britain, 406.
 Paul Kraus, Dr., 217.
 Physics, A Unique MS. on, 211.
Ramaḍān Annual by Muḥammad Makki (U.S.A.), 217.

- Restrictions on Cinema-going Children (Egypt), 408.
Science Paper in Arabic,—A monthly (London), 405.
 Services Francaises d'Information aux Indes, 407.
 The Arab Press in U.S.A., 212.
 The Arab World (N.Y.), 215.
 Turkish Version of the Encyclopædia of Islam, 313.
 Zaki Validi, Prof.,—Turkey, 314

HYDERABAD

- Arabic, Expansion of, 294.
 Arabic for Muslim Girls, 384.
 Coinage, Decimal System of, in the Time of the Prophet, 385.
 Convocation of the Nizamia College, 82.
 Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif, New publications of, 385.
 Hyderabad Academy, 82.
 Indo-Iranian Cultural Association, 386.
 Indo-Iranian Cultural Relation Society, 295.
 Interest-free Co-operative Lending Society, 386.
 Islamic Culture in Hyderabad, Exhibition of, 190.
 Islamic Studies, Thesis on, 189.
 Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah, 385.
 Life of the Prophet, non-Muslim Competition on, 189.
 Life of the Prophet, Study of the, in Warangal College, 387.
 Muslim Journal in Telegu, 294.
Osmania Magazine, 83.
 Osmania University, Expansion of, 295.
 Osmania University, the Oriental Publication Bureau, 84.
 Osmania University, the Translation and Compilation Bureau, 84.
 Osmania University, Thesis of, 294.
 Qur'ān in many Languages, 384.
 Qur'ānic Studies, 85.
 Religious Leaders' Association, 384.
 Speculation, 384.
 The Deccan History Conference, 290
 Translation Bureau, 386.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA.

- Akbar's *Maḥḍar Nāma* 204.
 Akbar's Reign, the *Maḥḍar* of, 93.

- 'Alā'-ud-dīn's Expedition to Warangal, 95.
 Anjuman-i-Taraqī-i-Urdu; Bengal, 198.
Aurangzeb, Two Farmāns of, 95
 Aurangzeb's Reign, the Monuments of 95.
 Babur's *Memoirs*, 201.
 Bihar Research Society, the *Journal* of, 202, 398.
 Calcutta, *The Morning News*, 98.
 Calcutta, *The Star of India*, 99.
 Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, 206.
 Central Islamic Research Institute at Aligarh, 203.
Dīn-i-Ilāhī, 97.
 Ganganatha Jha Institute, 396.
 Hindustani Cultural Society, 397
 Indian Art Collection in Moscow, 202
 Inter-University Swimming Trophy, Nawab Zahir Yar Jung Bahadur, 207.
 Islamic Ideals by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, 201.
 Islamic Studies, Henry, Martyn School of, —Aligarh, 208.
 Muslim Education in Bengal, the Condition of, 305.
 Muslim Literary Association, All-Bengal, 399.
 Muslim University, Aligarh—Aftab, 101.
 Prophet's Day, —Bengal, 303.
 Shibli Academy, A'zamgarh, 103.
 Sirāj-ud-Daula of Mysore (Tipū Sulṭān), 306.
Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī, 399.
 Suzani, the *Qaṣīdas* of,—Ma'ārif, A'zamgarh, 311.
Tārīkh-i-Ibn-i-Khallikān—Ma'ārif A'zamgarh, 310.
 The Indian Culture of Calcutta, 30
 Urdu Poets of India, Symposium of, Lucknow, 204.
 Wahida Aziz—*Amrita Bazar Patrika* (N.I.Ed.), 307.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

- Arabic and Persian Society, the Punjab University, 311.
Conception of Man in Islam, by Khwaja Abdul Hamid M.A. of the Government College, Lahore, 312.

- Iqbal Academy, 401.
 Khuddam-ud-Din, Anjuman, Lahore, 400.
Mughal Rule in India, History of the, by Prof. Wilfred C. Smith of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, 312.
 Publications :
 Ghazzali, *al-, Some Moral and Religious Teachings of*, 103.
 Introduction to the Study of Islam, 104.
 Mohammad 'Ali, *the Select Writings and Speeches of Maulānā*, 313.
 The Message of Islam, 103.
 Through Pakistan to Freedom, 104.
 Rashid-ud-Din, *the Letters of*, 402.
 Cultural Committee, 410.
 Cultural Institute, 410.
 Cunningham, (General), 230, and note, 258, 260 and note.

 DABIR, MIRAK, see CHANGIZ KHAN.
 Dāhir, Rāi, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65.
 Daibul, ad-, 228.
 Daki, 135.
 Dalu, Miyān, 357.
 Damalchernon, 35.
 Damascus, nn. 25, 26, and 64, 409.
 Dānishmand Khān, 120.
 Daqqāq, ad-, Abū 'Alī, 175, 286.
 Dārā Shikoh, 116, 117, 119.
 Darohar (Rāi), 59, 63.
 Darrāj, al-, Abū'l-Ḥusain, al-Baghdādī, 75.
 Daryā Khān, 369, 370, 373.
 Dā'ūdī, 365, 366.
 Daulat Khān, 370.
 Daulatābād, 349.
 David, St., Fort, 31, 41, 43, 46.
 De Gaulle, General, 408.
 Debal (ad-Daybul), 109, 112, 113, 114.
 Debalpur, 65.
 Deccan 38, 128, 140, 332, 348, 350, 351, 356; History Conference, 209; Nizām of the, n. 30, 32, 130, 168; Subedari of the, 37.
 Decunon, 10.
 Delhi, 32, 119, 125, 129, 167, 258, 259, 260, 308, 329, 361, 366, 367, 374.
 Deogari, 254.
 Deogir, 257.
 Devaldi, 253, 254, 255.
 Devanalli, 31.
 Dewandera, 236.
 Dhadhie, 132.
 Dhahabi, nn. 109, and 111.
 Dhanraj, 297.
 Dhanu, 297.
 Dharam (Dharm) Dās, 115, 297, Kala-want, 358.
 Dhu-Qār, 7, battle at, 45.
 Dhul-Hājib (Bahman Jadhawaya), 15, 16, 20.
 Dhulia, 389.
 Dhun-Nūn, 77, n. 286.
 Dihū, see Wasim.
 Dilārām, 253.
 Dinawar, 238, 239.
 Dinawari, ad-, nn. 17, 18, 22, 25, and 80, 378.
 Dirafsh-i-Kābiyān, 23.
 Divy, island of, 46.
 Diyā'uddin Baranī, see Baranī.
 Diyā'uddin, Khwāja, 334.
 Doab, 168.
 Dodwell, 35, n. 47.
 Donkin, General, 130.
 Dost 'Alī Khān, Nawāb, 38.
 Dorn, nn. 365, and 366.
 Dubrenil, J., 37 and note, 41, 43.
 Duma, 6.
 Dunde Khān, daughter of, 242.
 Duplex, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.
 Duquesne, 38.
 Dutt, 325, 326.
 Dyson Perrins, 298, 299.

 EAST INDIA COMPANY, 123, 139.
 Edinburgh, 52.
 Egypt, 113, 224, 225, 308, 408.
 Elias Allen, 52.
 Elliot, (Sir Henry), n. 57, 59, nn. 109, 112, 114, 228, 234, 362, 366, 369 and 371.
 Elliot and Dowson, 301.
 Elphinstone, 59.
 England, 52.
 Enver Pasha, 314.
 Erskine, n. 364.
 Ethiopia, Queen of, 227.
 Euphrates, 1, 2, 6, 12, n. 28, 113, 225.
 Europe, 224.
 Evans, Lewis, 52.

FADL, AL-, B. DUKAIN, 71.

Fahīm, Miyān, 333.

Fa-hsien, 226.

Faidī, 333, 341.

Faiz Ullāh Khān, 35.

Faizabad, 243.

Faizi, Principal A. A. A., 389.

Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jurjānī, 246.

Faqīr 'Alī, Khan, 35.

Faqīrullāh, n. 354, 355, 356, 358, 359.

Fārābī, al-, Abū-Naṣr-, 84.

Farhād, 249.

Farīd Bukhārī, Shaikh, 338.

Farīd Daryābādī, Shaikh, 372.

Fāris b. 'Isā, 281.

Fārisī, al-, Salmān, 13.

Farmer, H.G., n. 284.

Farqad, 71.

Farrukh Beg, 296, 297.

Farukhābād, 335, 398.

Fārūq, King, 403, 409.

Fateh 'Alī 'Tipū Sultān, Nawāb, 306.

Fateh Singh, 128.

Fath Khān, 366, 369.

Fathpūr Jhunjhāna, 358.

Fathulla Shīrāzī, Maulānā, 333.

Ferguson, n. 228, 258.

Fērōz Shāh Tughluq, Sultān, 330.

Fīrad, al-, 6.

Firdausī, 246.

Firishta (Farishta, Ferishta), Abul-Qāsim, 57, 128, 227, and note, 330, 365.

Fīroz, Prince Rukn-ud-Dīn, n. 58.

Floyer, 41, 42, 43.

France, 407.

Friell, 34, 35.

Fudālī, (al-), (b. Iyad), 69, and note, 275.

Fudalah b. 'Ubaid, 277.

GABRIEL, 178.

Galileo, 304.

Galle, 236, 239, 240.

Gampola, 237, 238.

Ganapati, 141.

Ganganath Jha, Dr. Sir, 396.

Ganges, 167.

Gardez, 327, 328.

Garrett, H.L.O., nn. 124 and 128.

Gawrisankar, 326.

Ghālīb, 340.

Ghānī Hamdānī, 334.

Ghassānids of Syria, 3.

Ghāzī Khān, 331.

Ghāzī Malik Tughluq, 256.

Ghāzipūr, 369.

Ghaznī(n), (Ghazna), 58, 132, 323.

Ghaznīn, Qāḍī, 329.

Ghazr, see Azr.

Ghazzālī, al-, Abū Hāmid, 80.

Ghazzālī, al-, Ahmad, 75.

Ghazzālī, (al-), Imām, 84, 378.

Ghiyāthpūr, 329.

Ghorepade, see Morar Rao.

Ghudayy, mountains of, 7, 9.

Ghulām 'Abbās Muḥammad 'Alī, 344.

Ghulām Muḥiyuddīn, 355.

Gesūdarāz, Syed Muḥammad, 146.

Gibb, 230 and note, 405, 406.

Gibbon, nn. 60 and 353.

Gingee (or Jinji), Bādshāhābād, Chandry or Chindry, Nuṣrat Gadh, Senji, 29, 38, 44, 295.

Geoje. De, n. 109.

Goetz, Dr., 91.

Goelconda, 348, 349, 350.

Goldziher, Von Ignaz, 85.

Gopal Das, Raja, 120.

Gooty, 46.

Gop Chop Dhari, 358.

Govala, 29.

Granada, 303.

Grand National Assembly, 410.

Green Sea, see Indian (sea) Ocean.

Grigson, Mr. W. V., 291, 293.

Guardafri, 230.

Guest, Prof. Rhuvon, 405.

Guillard, M., 33, 34.

Gujrat, 257, 308, 309, 310, 332, 338, 340, 341, 342, 343, 345, 361.

Gulbadan Begum, 393.

Gulrukh Begum, 336.

Gumti, 336.

Gun Khan, 358.

Gun-Sen, 358.

Gunde Rao, Mr. H., 85.

Gunthur, Prof. R. T., 49, 53.

Gupta Rule, 140.

Gwalior, 355, 356, 359, 370.

HABIB, PROF., 257, 395.

Habīb Ullāh Khān, Sardār, 137.

Haddād, al-, (Abū-Ja'far), 77, 171.

Hadley, 49.

Hadram(a)ut, 224, 346.

Hafeez Siddiqi, Mr. 292.

Haffar, Mr., 404.

Hāfiz, daughter of, 242.

Haidar Husain, Prof., 141.

- . Haig, 'n. 55.
 Hajar al- 'Asqalāni, Ḥāfiẓ, 87.
 Hajar, ibn-, 109.
 Ḥajib b. Zaid, 20.
 Ḥajib b. Zurara, 4.
 Ḥajjāb, Qāḍi Ḥamid-ad-Dīn, 369.
 Ḥajjāj, (al-), 61, 62, 66, 67, 228, 377.
 Ḥakam, al-, b. Abi'l-'Āṣ ath-Thaqafi, 109, 110.
 Ḥakīm, al-, Abū-'Abdallāh An-Nisā-būrī, 281.
 Halāhal (Kashtar), 324, 325, 326.
 Halawush, 325.
 Haleem, Prof., A. B. A., 302.
 Hālī, 311.
 Ḥamām, Ḥakīm, 333.
 Haman, 24.
 Ḥamd b. Aḥmad, 75.
 Ḥamd b. Maṣṣūr al-Hamadhānī, 70.
 Ḥamdānī, Dr., 299.
 Ḥamid-ad-Dīn Ḥajjāb, Qāḍi, 369.
 Ḥamida Bānū Begum, 393.
 Ḥamidullāh, Dr. M., n. 24.
 Ḥamir Sen, 358.
 Ḥammād, 187.
 Ḥammāl, 21.
 Ḥammām, 71.
 Hamont, T., n. 40.
 Hamri, 235.
 Hanmanth Rao, Prof; 292.
 Har Chander, Rai, n. 55, 60.
 Harcharan Das, n. 242, 243.
 Hari Singh Nalwa, 139.
 Ḥarirī, Mullā 'Abdur-Raḥīm, see 'Am-brīn Qalam.
 Ḥarirī, al-, Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad, 186, 187.
 Harkand, sea of, 231.
 Harris Foundation, 406.
 Hasan, 253.
 Hasan, (al-), al-Baṣrī, 71, n. 109, 172, 278.
 Hasan, al-, b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Harāwī, 187.
 Hasan, al-, b. Ghālīb al-Muqrī, 74.
 Hasan, al-, abi-ar-Rabī'i, 70.
 Hasan, Amīr, 258.
 Hasan, b. Muḥammad, 287.
 Hasan Dehlavi, 338.
 Hasan (Khān) Farmūlī, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373.
 Hasan Khān Lodī, 373.
 Hasan ibn 'Amr, 70.
 Hasan Khān Nuhār, 358.
 Hasan Khusrāu Khān, 256.
 Ḥāshim b. 'Utba, 20, 21, n. 25.
 Ḥasīn, al-, 76.
 Hastings, 243.
 Ḥātib, 277.
 Ḥatīfī, Maulānā, 298.
 Ḥatīm Khān, 246.
 Hauqal, ibn-, n. 28, 67.
 Hawazin, 8.
 Ḥayāt Khān, 129.
 Hazarah, 281.
 Helleboreae, 326.
 Herat, n. 273, 336, 354, 358, 360.
 Herklots, Dr., 126.
 Hesli, 235.
 Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarirī, 186, 187.
 Hidāyat Bakhsh, 343.
 Hijāz, 224.
 Hilāl b. Ullāfa, 23.
 Hill, Capt., 169.
 Himalayan Mountains, 326.
 Hind and Sind, 56, 57, n. 59.
 Hindu-Muslim Culture, 140.
 Hippalus, 225.
 Hipparchus, 49.
 Hippocrates, 174, 328.
 Hira(h), al-, 2, 12, 14, 15, n. 28.
 Hirāsāt Khān, 29, 32, 37.
 Hishām b. Khālīd, 70.
 Hit, 12.
 Hitti, Phillip Khuri, 24, nn. 110, 111, and 227, 407.
 Hodder, Mr., 405.
 Hodivala, Prof., 300, 301.
 Holī Mardan, 136.
 Holkar Jaswant Rao, 130.
 Holkar Malhar Rao, 167.
 Hubayash, 324.
 Hudhaifa b. Mihsan, 111.
 Hugo, Buckthal, 299.
 Huīen Tsiang, 226.
 Hulugalle, H.A.J., n. 223.
 Humāyūn, (Prince), 270, 271, 298, 300, 301, 331, 332, 336.
 Hund Fort, 133.
 Hunter, (W.W.), 131, 136.
 Hurmuz, 6, 18.
 Hurmuzān, 23.
 Ḥusain Aḥmad Madanī, Maulānā, 394.
 Ḥusain Dost Khān, see Chandā Ṣāhib.
 Ḥusain ibn Abi-Bakr, see 'Ain-ul-Mulk.
 Ḥusain (Khān) (Ṣāhib) Ṭāhir, 29, 30, n. 31.
 Ḥusain Shāh Sharqī, Sulṭān, 356, 359.
 Ḥusain, Shaikh, 33.
 Husri, al-, Abū-'Abdallāh, 77.
 Huzaiyin, Dr. S.A., 404.

- Huzru, 133.
 Hyderabad (Deccan), 141, 290, 291, 292, 223.
 Hyderabad (Sind), 132.
- IBERIAN PENINSULA, 241.
 Ibn-'Abbās, 272, 273, 376.
 Ibn-Abi-'Aufa, 78.
 Ibn-Abi-Hātim, 84.
 Ibn-Abi-'Uṣaybia, 223.
 Ibn-Abi'l-Hawari, 77.
 Ibn-Abi's-Ṣalt, n. 279.
 Ibn al-Anbārī, n. 72, 84.
 Ibn al-Farghānī, 287.
 Ibn al-Hasin, 69, 72, 173, 175, 182, 183, 272.
 Ibn al-Jawzī, see Jawzī.
 Ibn al-Khabbāzah, 282.
 Ibn al-Mubārak, 76.
 Ibn al-Muṣayyab, see Sa'īd b. al-Muṣayyib.
 Ibn-'Aun, ('Abdullāh b. 'Aun al-Khazzāz), 71.
 Ibn-az-Zubair, 175.
 Ibn-Banān, 376.
 Ibn-Bakuyah, 80.
 Ibn-Baṭṭūta, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, n. 239, 240.
 Ibn-Faḍlān, 314.
 Ibn-Habīb, 78.
 Ibn-Hajar, n. 289.
 Ibn-Hauqal, n. 28, 67, 229.
 Ibn-Hazm 85.
 Ibn-Ishāq, n. 15, 72.
 Ibn-Khafīf, 172.
 Ibn-Khallikān, 311.
 Ibn-Khurdādhbih, 229, 232, 233, 240.
 Ibn-Mājāh, 274.
 Ibn-Mandawayh, 325.
 Ibn-Manṣūr al-Qazzāz, 175.
 Ibn-Mas'ūd, 71, 73, 272, 274.
 Ibn-Mujāhid, 75.
 Ibn-Nāṣir, 78, 280, 283.
 Ibn-Qāsim, 228.
 Ibn-Rushd, 84.
 Ibn-Rustah, 230.
 Ibn-Sa'd, 110, 111, 178.
 Ibn-Sa'ūd, 315.
 Ibn Shahryār, see Buzurg.
 Ibn-Shirūyah, 70.
 Ibn-Ṭāhir, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 342, 379, 380, 381, 382.
- Ibn-ul-Athīr, 67.
 Ibn-ul-Kalbī, 67.
 Ibn-'Umar, 172, 272, 273.
 Ibn-'Uqail, 176, 284, 285, 288, 376, 378, 379.
 Ibn-Wahhāb, 240.
 Ibn-Zafar, 77.
 Ibrāhīm, 172, 187, 273, 297.
 Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, 140, 147.
 Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, II, 348, 349.
 Ibrāhīm al-Khawwās, 78, 79.
 Ibrāhīm at-Taimī, 175.
 Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, 280.
 Ibrāhīm b. Adham, 72, 175.
 Ibrāhīm b. al-Banna, al-Baghdādī, 77.
 Ibrāhīm b. A'yan, 289.
 Ibrāhīm (b. Isma'il), 280, 281.
 Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'i, 377.
 Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ash-Shunīzi, 79.
 Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd, 186, 187.
 Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jauharī, 76.
 Ibrāhīm II, 141, 142, 143, 144.
 Ibrāhīm Khān Bahadur Hazabr Jung, Nawāb, 339, 340.
 Ibrāhīm (Lodī), 331, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375.
 Ibrāhīm Naqqāsh, Maulānā, 333.
 Ibrāhīm Shāh, 141.
 Ibrāhīm Shaikh, 33.
 Ibrāhīm Zubairī, Mirzā, 349.
 Idrīsī, 233, 235, n. 240.
 Idsingh Bor (Gor), Raja, 359.
 Ikhlās, see Kishan Chand.
 Ikhtyār-ud-Dīn Balka Khaljī, 307.
 'Ilm'ud-Dīn, Mr., 390.
 Iltutmish, n. 58, 259, 260, 296, 307.
 Imāmuddīn, Maulānā, 343.
 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68.
 Imām Radī, 341.
 Imra'ul-Qais, n. 10.
 'Ināyat Jung Bahadur, Nawāb, 293.
 'Ināyat Khān, 339.
 India, 37, 64, 123, 125, 129, 132, 140, 223, 224, 225, 226, 228, 230, 231, 254, 258, 298, 302, 304, 306, 309, 324, 362, 373, 374; Expeditions to, 110; History of, 253, 255, 256, 361; Literature in, 115; Muslim Rule in, 329.
 Indian Front, 9.
 Indian Music, 354, 355.

- Indian Ocean (Sea), 223, 224, 225, 226, 228, 230, 231, 232, .
- Indian Peninsula, 231.
- Indicopleustes, see Cosmas.
- Indo-China, 408.
- Indo-Muslim history, 301, 302.
- Indus, 67, 225, 226.
- Iqbal, Dr. (Sir Muhammad), 98, 153, 157, 163, 165, 311., 312, 390.
- Iran, 119, 125, 298.
- Irāq, (al-), 2, nn. 55, 66, and 67, 187, 224, 240, 280, 308, 309, 408.
- ‘Irfān, Muhammad, 124.
- ‘Isā, al-, b. Ishāq, 69.
- ‘Isā b. Adam, 78.
- ‘Isā b. ‘Alī, 74.
- ‘Isā b. Hāzim, 72.
- ‘Isā b. Mūsā al-Bistāmī, 80.
- Isfahān, 249.
- Ishāq b. Dāwūd b. Šāhib, 174.
- Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hārmī, 76.
- Ishāq b. ‘Isā at-Tabba, 186.
- Ishwari Prasad, Dr., 364, 373.
- Islam, advent of, 227, 228; Message of, 302; Rise of, 226.
- Islām Khān, 362, 370, 371, 372, 373.
- Islamic Architecture, 258.
- Islamic Cultural Centre, 404.
- Islamic Jurisprudence, 330.
- Islamic Warfare, 352.
- Islamicist of Paris, 407.
- Ismā‘il, 141, 311.
- Ismā‘il Shīrāzī, 347.
- Ismā‘il b. Ahmad as-Samarqandī, 281.
- Ismā‘il ibn Bakr al-Muqri, 70.
- Ismā‘il (Qādi) ibn Muhammad ibn Mūsā ibn ‘Tai ibn Yaqūb ibn ‘Tai ibn Mūsā ibn Mu‘ammad ibn Shai-bān ibn Uthmān Thaqafī, 58, 59.
- Ismā‘il b. Ishāq, 185.
- Ismā‘il, Malik, 369.
- Ismā‘il, Maulvī Muhammad, 128.
- Ismā‘il, Muhammad, 123.
- Ismā‘il, Shāh, 128, 129, 131, 134.
- Istakhri, 229.
- Istanbul, n. 67, 84, 308, 323.
- Italy, 229.
- I‘timād Khān, 339.
- I‘timād Khān Jahānī, 301.
- ‘Itrat Husain Zuberi, Dr., 400.
- ‘Iyād b. Ghanam, 6.
- Izdilāf, al-, 22.
- ‘Izzuddīn Khālid Khānī, 330.
- ‘Izzuddīn, Maulānā, 329.
- JABAN, 6, 14.
- Jābir, 72.
- Jābir b. ‘Abdallāh, 175, 183.
- Ja‘far, 76, 131, 377.
- Ja‘far ‘Alī Naqvi, 139.
- Ja‘far Badr ‘Alam, Sayyid, 339, 342.
- Ja‘far Khān, 120, 265.
- Ja‘far Sharif, 126.
- Ja‘far Thanesri, 136.
- Jagannath Mahakabi Rai, 357.
- Jagjiwan, 297.
- Jahān Ārā, 355.
- Jahāngir, 117, 140, 335, 336, 338, 351, 358.
- Jahdam, ibn-, 77.
- Jaipūr, 130.
- Jaisiya, 59, 62.
- Jalāl, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370.
- Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī, Sultān, 246, 253.
- Jalasti, 239.
- Jalnus (al-), 15, 17, 23.
- Jām-Nagar, 344.
- Jamil Wastī, Mr. M., 394.
- Jān Muhammad Qudsi, 120.
- Jandal, 324.
- Jānki, 50, 57, 59, 63.
- Japan, 240.
- Jarir (b. ‘Abdallāh b. Jarir), 380.
- Jarir b. ‘Abdullāh al-Bajali, 9.
- Jarrett, n. 356.
- Jaswant Rao Holkar, see Holkar.
- Jaunpore (Jaunpur), 332, 336, 337, 359, 361, 362, 366, 369.
- Jat Raja, 168.
- Jauhari, al-, Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘id, 76.
- Java (isle), 224, 226.
- Jawāhar Singh Jāt, 168.
- Jawzi, al-, ibn-, (Abu‘l-Faraj), 69, 229.
- Jazīrat-al-‘Arab, 224.
- Jeffery, Arthur, 407.
- Jesus, 117.
- Jhelum, 137.
- Jhunjhāna Pargana, 356, 358.
- Jili, al-, ‘Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb, 174.
- Jisr, al-, battle of, 4, 6, n. 25.
- Jodhpur, 130.
- Johanna Begum (Marquis Dupliex), 39, n. 45.
- John Donne, 400.
- Joshi, Dr. P. M., 296.
- Joshi, Mr. R. M., 293.
- Junaid, (al-), 286, 288, 378.
- Junagadh, 343.
- Jushnasmah, 14.

Juwala Mukhi, 330.

KA'B B. MALIK, 383.

Ka'b b. Zuhair, 280.

Kabir ibn Owais ibn Muḥammad Laṭīfī, 310.

Kabir Qawwāl, 359.

Kabir, (Shaikh), ibn Shaikh Munavvar, 311.

Kabul, 130, 132, 331.

Kadapanatham Pass, n. 30.

Kahle, Prof., 405.

Kalmas al-Hilālī, 179.

Kaifi, 312.

Kaiqubād, 399.

Kalah, see Malaya.

Kalakut(a), 324, 325, 326.

Kalbi, ibn-ul-, 67.

Kaldar, 324, 326.

Kalidhar, 325.

Kalimullāh, Dr. Qārī, 83.

Kalkal, 325.

Kalyan Singh, 271.

Kāmran, Mirzā, 331, 337, 338.

Kanauj, n. 55, 56, 60.

Kandy, 235.

Kant, 159.

Kapurthala, 128.

Kara, 371.

Karnawa, 324.

Karukh (Herat), n. 273.

Kāshi, 307.

Kashan, 308.

Kashmir, 137, 324, 325, 326, 332.

Kashtar, see Halahal.

Kaskar, 15.

Kathiawar, 343, 344.

Kazaruni, al-, Abū-Sa'īd, 75.

Kazina, 12.

Keats, 250.

Kesu Kalan, 297.

Kesu Khurd, 297.

Khadai Khan, 133.

Khaffan, 21.

Khaibar, 182.

Khair Din, M., 137.

Khairabad, 263, 266.

Khairpur, 308.

Khaldūn, ibn-, 17, n. 60.

Khālid, Abū-, 70.

Khālid b. al-Walid, 6, 20, nn. 24, 25, 26, and 28.

Khālid b. Urfuta, 18.

Khalilullāh, Shaikh, 38.

Khallāl, al-, (Abū-Bakr), 174, 183, 185, 186.

Khān, Prof., M.A.R., 83.

Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, 366, 370.

Khān-i-Khānān ('Abdur-Rahīm Khān)

270, 271, 301, 333, 334, 335, 336.

Khanbait, 344.

Khandaq, al-, 12, n. 28.

Khargpur, 359.

Khaṭṭābī, al-, (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b.

Ibrāhīm), 381.

Khaulah, 178.

Khem Karan, 362.

Khiḍr Khān, 254, 255.

Khirkī, 350.

Khivā (Turkestan), see Khwarizm.

Khudā Bakhsh Khān, 336, 339.

Khurāsān, 67, n. 69, 309, 354.

Khurdābhdhbih, n. 5.

Khurshīd 'Alī, Mr., 141.

Khush-hāl-Khān, 358.

Khursrau, Amīr, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249,

250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256,

257, 359 and note.

Khwaja 'Abdullā Anṣārī, 335.

Khwaja Husain Sanā'ī, 335.

Khwaja Muḥammad Ahmad, Maulavī,

292, 293.

Khwarizm, 323.

Khwarizmi, 230.

Kibi, Prof., S. M., 292.

Karīj, 66.

Kirigalpota, 232.

Kirwan, 325.

Kishan Chand Ikhlas, 115.

Konkai, 226.

Kora, 167.

Kosroe, 5.

Kraus, Paul, Dr., 323, 324, 326.

Krause, Max, 323.

Krenkow, Fr., 323.

Krishnaswami Iyengar, Diwan Bahadur,

Dr. 291, 292.

Kūfa, (al-), 7, n. 28, 187.

Kulthūm b. Jaushan, 71.

Kulthūm, Umm-, 73.

Kunakar, see Gampola.

Kurnnegala, 235, 238.

Kushilo Khān, 245.

Kuttiana, 343.

LAKADIVE(S), 224, 230.

Lachmī Narāyan Shafīq, 119.

- Ladi, Rani, 62.
 Lahore, 115, 117, 118, 120, 121, 137, 308.
 Laila, 288.
 Lailat-ul-Harir, 22.
 Lakhnauti, 245.
 Lakshmi Narain (Mahant), 397.
 La'l, 296, 297.
 La'l Khān (Kalawant) Gunsamudr, 355, 357, 358.
 La'l Mohammad Qandhāri, Mulla, 138.
 Lal Qil'a, Delhi, 340.
 Lalkot, 260.
 Lambulus, 225.
 Lammens, 24.
 Land Reform Bill, 410.
 Landha, 133.
 Lane-Poole, 364.
 Langabulus, 240.
 Lakkha, see Ceylon.
 Lata, 229.
 Latif, S. M., 123.
 Latima, 5.
 Law, M., 39.
 Lees, Nassu, 10, n. 26.
 Lenduma, 235.
 Lewis Evans, 50.
 Leyden, 66.
 Leyla, 250, 251.
 Library,
 Ahmedabad, Maḥkama-i-Quḍat, 345.
 Akbar, 332.
 'Alamgir, 339.
 Allāh Vardī Khān, 336.
 Aṣafia, Kutub-Khāna, (Hyderabad), 84, 335.
 Bābur, 331.
 Berlin, 309.
 Bharoch, Maḥkama-i-Quḍat, 345.
 Brussa (Anatolia), 223.
 Cairo, 309.
 Daftar-i-Diwānī-wa-Māl, 141.
 Escorial, 309.
 Faidī, 337.
 Ghāzi Khān, 331.
 Hidāyat Baksh, Madrasa, 343.
 Humāyūn, 331.
 Ibrāhīm Khān, Nawāb, 339.
 Idrūs, 346.
 Jāhāngir, 338.
 Khān Khānān, 332.
 Khanbait, 344.
 Khānqāh, Sarkhaiz, 341.
 Khudā Bakhsh Khān, Bānkipore, Patna, 336, 339.
 Leyden, 309.
 London, 340.
 Makhdūm Ibrāhīm, 343.
 Mashhad, 334.
 Muḥammad b. Tāhir Patnī, 342.
 Mun'im Khān, 336.
 Nawāb Lohārū, 340.
 Nawāb Shāhib of Surat, 346.
 Nizam College 141.
 Nūr Jahān, 338.
 Paris, 309.
 Patna, Madrasa, 343.
 Qamruddīn, Sayyid, 346.
 Qutb-ul-Mulk, 339.
 Rāmpūr, 335.
 Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 336.
 Royal Library of Gujrat, 360.
 Salima Sultāna, 336.
 Shāh 'Abdul 'Alīm, 347.
 Shāh Jahān, 335, 336, 338, 339.
 Shāhān-e-Oudh, 340.
 Shaikh Farīd, 338.
 Shaikh Hadramī, 345.
 Shaikh Māhimī, 346.
 Shantiniketan, Bengal, n. 336.
 Shi'a Bohras, 344.
 Sirkar Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Hazabr Jung, 340.
 'Usmanpura, 341.
 Wajihuddin Shāh, 342.
 Waliullāh, Madrasa, 343.
 Lothrop, Stoddard, see Stoddard.
 Lucknow, 120, 124, 128, 129, 261, 369,
 Ludhiana, 128.
 Luṭfullāh, Muhandis, 339.
 MA'BR, 239, 257.
 Machfri, Jagir of, 271.
 Macpherson, 243, 244.
 Madagascar, 224.
 Madā'in, al-, 6, 12, 15, 21, 23.
 Madā'ini al-, ('Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī Saif), 110.
 Madīna, (al-), 5, 7, 8, 14, n. 26, 182, 186, 227, 276.
 Mad (h) q, 296, 334.
 Madras, Govt. of 46.
 Mah Muḥammad, 297.
 Mahābat Khān, 339.
 Mahdī Husain, Dr., 306.
 Mahdī Yar Jung Bahādur, Hon'ble Nawāb Sir, 82, 291.
 Mahfūz Khān, 36.
 Mahmood 'Alī, Prof., 293.

- Maḥmūd ibn al-Mundhir, 70.
 Maḥmūd Ishaq Shāhābī, Khwāja, 337.
 Maḥmūd, Nāik, 355.
 Maḥmūd Shāh, 130.
 Maḥmūd Shaikhzāda, 369.
 Maḥmūd, Sulṭān, 58, 226, 323.
 Mahulun, 235.
 Maire, Le, 34.
 Majnūn, 250, 251.
 Makhan, Miyān, 369, 371.
 Makhdūm Shaikh Ibrāhīm bin Sulaimān, 343.
 Makhul, 73.
 Makramat Khān, 339.
 Makrān 224, 225, 227.
 Makrend Dās, Rāi, 264, 265, 268.
 Malābār, 224, 225, 226, 227, 233, 237, 238, 240.
 Malacca, 66, 225.
 Malāyā 226, 240.
 Malcom, 85.
 Maldive(s), (Mahal), 224, 226, 227, 232, 238.
 Malhar Rao Holkar, see Holkar.
 Malik, 280, 382.
 Malik 'Ambar, See Ambar.
 Mālik b. Anas, 71, 186.
 Malik Ghāzī, 329.
 Mallapadi, 35.
 Malleson, n. 30.
 Malwa, 257, 361.
 Ma'mar, 76.
 Mā'mūn, al-, Caliph, 327.
 Mā'mūr Khān, 263.
 Mān Singh, Rājā, 349.
 Mānsingh Tonwar, Rājā, 355.
 Manar, 240.
 Manāzīr Aḥsan Gilānī, Sayyid, 83, 394.
 Mandur, 135.
 Mankan, 326.
 Manicheans, 237.
 Manikpur, 371.
 Manjababari, 58.
 Manjhū, Shaikh, 298.
 Mankan, 324.
 Manohar, 297.
 Maṣṣūr, al-, 58.
 Maṣṣūr b. al-Walīd b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, 183.
 Maṣṣūr ibn Hātim, 67.
 Maṣṣūra, 58.
 Maqdisi, 229, 231, 232, 234.
 Maqdsho, 87.
 Maqr, al-, n. 28.
 Marak-Kala-Minissu, 223.
 Marcianus, 230.
 Marco Polo, 229, 231.
 Margoliouth, Prof. D. S., 69.
 Marnaba, 235.
 Marshall, Sir John, 258, 259.
 Martin, Aime, n. 45.
 Martin Bahaim, 49.
 Martineau, nn. 37 and 46.
 Ma'rūf al-Karkhi, 70.
 Ma'rūf Farmūli, (Miyān), 370.
 Marwān, Qādi, 281.
 Marwān, son of, 56, 63.
 Marwaz, al-, 174, 186.
 Maryam, 249.
 Maryam Makāni, see Ḥamīda Bānū Begum.
 Marzuban, see Azadmard.
 Mashhadi, Sulṭān 'Alī 335.
 Massignon, Prof. M. Louis, 398, 407.
 Mas'ūd, Abū-, ('Alī-al-Mu'afa), 70.
 Mas'ūd, Miyān, 46.
 Mas'ūd, Sulṭān, 223.
 Mas'ūdī, (al-), 12, 67, 229, 236, 239, 240.
 Masulipatam, 46, 349.
 Ma'sūm, Mīr Muḥammad, 54, 57, 65, n. 228.
 Maswahi, 58.
 Mathai, John, 305.
 Mauryan (rule), 140.
 Mausili, al-, (Abul-Ḥasan), 70.
 Mawdūd, Sulṭān, 323.
 Mazhar, 330.
 Mecca, (Makkah), 10, 79, 117, 126, 129, 182, 309, 377.
 Medina, 126.
 Mediterranean Sea, 224, 226.
 Meduna, 235.
 Meerut, 129.
 Memon, Prof. A. A., n. 4.
 Meshed, 354.
 Mesopotamia, 2, 224, 394.
 Meyerhof, Dr. Max, n. 323.
 Middle Ages, 229.
 Middleton, 243, 244.
 Mīhlail b. Qainan, 181.
 Minneri-Mandel, 236, 238.
 Minorsky, (Prof. V.), n. 231, 405.
 Miqdam, al-, b. Ma'di Kariba, 173.
 Mīr, 311.
 Mīr 'Alī Khush-Navīs, 333, 336.
 Mīr Bāqī, 335.
 Mīr Dard, 394.
 Mīr 'Imād, 359.
 Mīr Qāsim Baghdādī 348.
 Mirak Dabīr, see Changez Khān.

Mirak, Shaikh, 120.
 Mirānpūr Katra, 242.
 Mişri Khān, Dhārī, 358.
 Mistri, Mr. Noushir A., 292.
 Moḥammad 'Alī, 313.
 Moḥammad Ashraf, 313.
 Mo'īnuddin Rahbar Fārūqī, Mr., 293.
 Moluccas (isle), 224, 226.
 Mo'min Khān I, 344.
 Montotta, 240.
 Moorecroft, 128.
 Morar Rao Ghorepade, 46.
 Moreland, Mr. W. H., 266, n. 349.
 Morocco, H. M. the Sultan of, 407.
 Morse Code Arabic, 315.
 Moses, 379, 380.
 Mozambique, 234.
 Mu'afa, al-, 'Alī, 70.
 Mu'āwiya(h), 113, 383.
 Mu'āwiya ibn Muḥallab, 66, 67.
 Mu'azzam, Muḥammad, 263.
 Mubārak al-Fahrjī, 297.
 Mubārak, al-, b. Ahmad al-Anṣārī, 69.
 Mubārak, al-, 'Alī aṣ-Ṣairafī, 73.
 Mubārak, Mulla, 333.
 Mubārak Shāh, 254, 255.
 Mudar, 182.
 Mughal Court, 297.
 Mughal Emperor, 32.
 Mughal Empire, 140, 269.
 Mughīrah, (al-), 281, 282.
 Mughīrah, al-, b. Abī'l 'Āṣ ath-Thaqafi, 109, 113.
 Mughīrah, al-, b. Shu'ba 9, 14, 16, 18.
 Muḥammad, 126, 162.
 (artist), 301.
 'Alī ibn Hāmid ibn Abū-Bakr Kūfī, 58, n. 60.
 'Alī Kāshmīrī, Mulla, 334.
 'Alī Khān, (Mīr), 32, 36, 38, 40, 43.
 Amīn Khurasani, 334.
 Amīn, Mullā, 334.
 b. 'Abd al-Bāqī (b. Aḥmad), 69, 75, 76, 77, 78.
 b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Khairūn, 179.
 b. 'Abdallāh b. Numair an-Numairī, 377.
 b. 'Abdus-Sarrāj al-Baghdādī, 179.
 b. Abī-Tāhir, 178.
 b. Abī'l-Qāsim, 69, 72, 75, 76, 78, 380.
 b. al-Ḥusain, 75.

Muḥammad, b. al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī, 281
 b. 'Alī al-Abbādī, 276.
 b. Bishr al-'Abdī, 71 and note.
 b. Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī, Imām, 84.
 b. Hārūn b. Dhīrā'ah, Namari, 228
 b. Idrīs al-Anbārī, 70.
 b. Idrīs (ash-Shafī'ī), 187.
 b. Maṣṣūr, 276.
 b. Nāṣir (the Ḥafīẓ), 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 80, 174, 175, 178, 183, 186, 275, 276.
 b. Rayyān, 72.
 b. Sa'id, 71.
 b. Sirīn, 71.
 b. Tāhir, see Ibn-Tāhir.
 b. Yasar, 70.
 b. Yūsuf, al-Baṣrī, 78.
 Bāqī Mughal, 359.
 Hussain Kāmil, 334.
 Husain Khūsh-Navis, 333.
 Ḥusain, Mullā, 334.
 ibn-'Abd-al-Bāqī, 376.
 ibn Abī-Bakr as-Sillī, 310.
 ibn Alī Tuḥmān Ḥamdānī, 63.
 ibn Qāsim, 228.
 (ibn) Qāsim (Thaqafī), see 'Imād-ud-Dīn.
 ibn Tughluq Shāh, Sulṭān, 87.
 Khān Sūr, 373.
 Maṣṣūr, 339.
 Qulī Mughal Ḥisārī, 301.
 Sālīh, 339.
 Shāfī, 339.
 Shāh, 340, 341, 359, 373.
 Sulṭān, 245.
 Sulṭān ibn 'Alamgīr, Shah-zāda, 339.
 Muhawwall, al-, 75.
 Muhib Khān Gujrati, 358.
 Muhibullāh Khān, daughter of, 242, 244.
 Muḥiy-ud-Dīn 'Abdul-Qādir, 309.
 Muḥtashim Kāshī, 335.
 Muir, n. 112.
 Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Kaiqubād, 246, 253.
 Mu'izzuddin Muḥammad Kāshī, Amīr, 335.
 Mujāhid, (ibn-), 74, 272.
 Mujāhid Khān, 263, 266.
 Mukand, 296.
 Mukalla, Sulṭān of, 294.
 Mukṭūb Khān, 338.
 Mulavai, 29.

- Mullā Chānd, 393.
 Mullā Muḥammad, 349.
 Multān, 60, 256, 308.
 Mumtāz Maḥal, 388.
 Munawwar, Sayyid, 264, 265, 268.
 Mundhir, al-, Maḥmūd ibn, 70.
 Muni, 297.
 Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān, 336, 337.
 Munir, (Mullā), 118, 119, 120, 121.
 Munir-ud-Daulah, 168, 170.
 Munro, 305.
 Munawaruddīn Khān, n. 36.
 Muqri, al-, al-, Hasan b. Ghālib, 74.
 Muqdi, al-, Ismā'il ibn Bakr, 70.
 Murgotten, F. C., nn. 109, 111, and 113.
 Murtaza Nizām Shāh, 348.
 Murtuḍa (Murtuza) 'Alī Khān, 32, 37.
 Mūsā Mīr, 349.
 Mūsā ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ṭai ibn Muḥammad ibn Shaibān ibn 'Uthmān, 59, n. 60.
 Musharriq, Valley of, 19, n. 28.
 Mushfiq Naqqāsh, 333.
 Mūsīl, (A.), 24, n. 28.
 Muslim Architecture, 258.
 Muslim Guilds, 298.
 Muslim Polygamy, 394.
 Mustafa (Raymond), 243, 244.
 Mustafā Jang, 47.
 Mustawfī, 232, 234.
 Musta'sim Billāh, 66.
 Mu'tamad Khān, 391.
 Muthanna, al-, b. Ḥārith (a) ash-Shaibānī, 6, 7, 9, 11, n. 26.
 Muttul, 43.
 Muvas, 236.
 Muẓaffar, al-, b. Muẓaffar at-Tūsi, 53.
 Muẓaffar Jang (Sa'īdulla Khān Bahādur), 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.
 Muẓaffar Khān, 30, 33, n. 34.
 Muẓaffarabad, 137.
 Muzani, al-, 280.
 Mysore, 306.
 NADĪM, MIYAN, 333.
 Nadr, an-, Shāmil, 70.
 Nadri, S., n. 225.
 Nāfi', 272.
 Nagarkot, 330.
 Nahar Vala Patan, 342, 343.
 Nahrawala, 309.
 Nahrawali, an-, Quṭbuddīn Muḥammad, 309.
 Nainar, Muḥammad Husaini, nn. 30 and 31.
 Najaf, an-, 6, 12, 15, 23, n. 28.
 Najd, 8.
 Nallino, C. A., 53.
 Naman, 297.
 Nānak, religion of, 128.
 Nanha, 296, 297.
 Napellus L. Aconitum, 326.
 Nasaf, 311.
 Nasībī, an-, Abu'l Hasan, 78.
 Naṣir Jang (Nizāmud-Dowla Bahādur, Nawāb), 30 and note, 39, 41, 43, 46.
 Naṣir-ud-Dīn, 240, 253.
 Naṣirud-Dīn Bughrā' Khān, see Bughrā' Khān.
 Nasiruddīn Chirāg of Delhi, 329.
 Naṣiruddīn Hashimī, 142, 144.
 Naṣiruddīn, Maulānā, 329.
 Naṣir-ud-Dīn Qabaicha, 58.
 Naṣiruddīn, Shaikh, 356.
 Naṣrullāh, Maulānā, 345.
 Natha School, 140.
 Naufil, 251.
 Naulakha (Niyula), 115.
 Nawāb Lohārū, 340.
 Nazr-ul-Islam, Mr., 399.
 Nazir Aḥmad, Dr., 390.
 Nazir Khān, 369.
 Nazirī Nishāporī, 335.
 Nearchus, Admiral, 225.
 Nepal, 326.
 Nic(c)obars, 226, 240.
 Nicholson, nn. 286, 287, and 288.
 Nile, 224, 225.
 Ni'matullāh, 367.
 Nirun (Hydrabad), n. 61.
 Niyula (Naulakha), 115.
 Nizām (of the Deccan), n. 30, 32, 130, 168; Message of H.E.H. the, 291.
 Nizāmī (of Ganja), 246, 247.
 Nizāmshāhī State, 348.
 Nizam-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, 57.
 Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya', 258, 329.
 Nizāmuddīn Bakhshī, 333.
 Nizāmuddīn, Dr. M., 84.
 Nizām-ul-Mulk, 32, 33.
 Noushtrwān, 226.
 Nuaim, Abū-, Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Rabbihi the Ḥāfiz, 75.
 Nufaid, an-, Land of, n. 3.
 Numair, 377.
 Nu'mān, an-, b. Muqarrin, 14.

Nu'mān, valley of, 377.
 Nūr Ahmad, Mr., 305.
 Nūr, Syed Muḥammad, 124.
 Nūrjahān, 338.
 Nūruddīn, Qādī, 345.
 Nūruddīn Zāhūrī, Mullā, 335.
 Nūr-ul-Haq, 57.
 Nūr-un-Nisā' Begum, Nawāb, 338.
 Nushera, 132, 133.
 Nuwairī, 66, 233.

OCHTERLOMY, GENERAL, 130.

Odoric, 229.
 Orme, n. 31, 35, n. 37.
 Osmania University, 83, 189, 295, 384, 387.
 Oudh, 124, 128, 167, 169, 369.
 Oxford, 52,

PADANG, 224.

Pain Gaut, 41.
 Palar, n. 30, 36.
 Palk Strait, 240.
 Pallikonda, 35, 36.
 Pande, Naik, 355.
 Pānīpat, 168.
 Paris, 407.
 Parmaldeo (Parmal Devi) 55, 64.
 Parto Novo, 47.
 Parvez, Prince, 349.
 Pathora Rai, 260.
 Patiala, 245.
 Patissier, Charles Joseph, n. 36.
 Patna, 336.
 Pattison, General, n. 242.
 Paul, Saint, de, 34.
 Pawar, Dr. A.G., 292, 293.
 Pāyanda Hasan Ghaznawī, Mirzā, 301.
 Pearce, Col. Thomas Deane, n. 241, 243, 244.
 Percy Brown, 299.
 Perrins, Dyson, 298, 299.
 Persia, 13, 63, 230, 302; alarm in 6; Gateway of, 12; Imperial, 5 wealth of, 5.
 Persian Art, 335.
 Persian Empire, 2, 12.
 Persian Gulf, 2, 5, 12, n. 28, 224, 302.
 Persian Music, 356.
 Peshawar, 136, 138.
 Philby, St. John, 'Abdullāh, 99, 405.
 Pidurutalagala, 232.

Piedmont, 304.
 Pilibhīt, 242, 244.
 Pīr Ḥusain, 342.
 Pīr Muḥammad Shāh (Bijāpūrī), 343, 344, 347.
 Pissaleneer, n. 349.
 Plato, 134.
 Pliny, 224, 225, 230.
 Pondicherry, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47.
 Ponnair, 46.
 Prince of Wales Museum, 141, 142, 144.
 Prinsep, H.T. 130.
 Prophet, 5, 9, 10, 72, 73, 76, 77, 80, 146, 163, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 226, 227, 228, 272, 273, 274, 277, 278, 280, 284, 303, 341, 377, 379, 381, 383.
 Ptolemy, 225, 229, 230, 231.
 Pulisa, 229.
 Punjab, 128, 309, 361, 362.
 Punjtar, 135, 137.
 Puttelam, 236, 238, 239.

QABAICHA, NAṢĪR-UD-DĪN, 58.

Qādisiyya, al-, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 20, 21, 23, 24, n. 28; battle of, 1, nn. 25 and 26; map of, 27.
 Qai (Kai) qubād, 246, 253.
 Qairawānī, al-, Abul-Qāsim, 78.
 Qais b. Hubaira, n. 19, 21, 22, n. 25.
 Qali, see Galle.
 Qalqashandī, 329.
 Qamruddīn, Sayyid, 346.
 Qand(a)hār, 116, 132, 349.
 Qannauj, 264, 267.
 Qaqa, al-, b. 'Amr. 20, 21, 22, 23.
 Qarin, 6, 23.
 Qāsim, al-, b. Muḥammad, 274, 278, 279.
 Qatādah, 71.
 Qazvinī, 229, 232, 235, 327.
 Qazzāz, al-, Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd-ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad, 74, 172, 179, 282, 286, 289.
 Qudais, 12, 17, 18, 23, n. 28.
 Qudāma b. Ma'zūn al-Jumahī, 111.
 Qudāma (ibn-Ja'far) 67 and note.
 Qureshī, Dr. I.H. 302, 395.
 Qureshi, Khān Bahādur 'Abdul-Majīd, 230.
 Qusta (ibn Lūqā), 324.
 Qutb Dīn, 135.
 Qutb-i-'Alam, Hazrat, 341.

- Quṭb Minār, 259, 260, 271.
 Quṭbuddīn 'Alī Khān 31, 32.
 Quṭbuddīn (Khiljī) Mubārak Shāh Sul-
 tān, 255, 256, 258, 259, 304.
 Quṭbuddīn Muḥammad an-Nahrawālī,
 see Nahrawālī.
 Quṭb-ul-Mulk, 339.
 Quṭqutana, al-, 7.
 Quṭub Shāh, 349.

 RABER1, 366.
 Rabi'a b. 'Amir, 16.
 Rabia, tribe of, 9.
 Rae Bareli, 123, 124, 125.
 Raghūnāth, Rājā, 120.
 Raḥimād Dhārī, 358.
 Rahun (Ar-Ruhn), 232.
 Rājputa, 130.
 Rājput, Mr. A. B., 393.
 Rājputāna, 300, 361, 373.
 Rājwade Samshodhan Mandir, 389.
 Rām Shāh, Rājā, 359.
 Rāmāswāmī Aiyar, Sir C. P., 305.
 Ramsher (Rameshwaram), 231.
 Rang Khān, 355, 358.
 Rangapah, 43.
 Ranipet, 30.
 Ranjit Singh, Mahārājā, 128, 132.
 Ranunculaceae, 326.
 Rashid, 356.
 Rashid-ud-Dīn, 230.
 Rashid-ud-Dīn, Faḍl 'Allāh (Rashid Ta-
 bib), 402.
 Ratna-duripa, see Ceylon.
 Rāvāna, 229.
 Ravattannallur, Fort, 29.
 Rawar, 61 and note, 62, 65.
 Raymond, see Mustafa.
 Rayy, 75, 286., 287.
 Razā Shāhib ('Alī Razā Khān), 32, 33, 34,
 35, 41, 43, 44, 45, 46.
 Rāzī, ar-, 'Abdullāh, 75.
 Red Sea, 224, 226.
 Revestyn, Van, 349.
 Ribāb, 9.
 Ribbil, ar-, 21.
 Ricu, 116, 117.
 Rizqullāh, n. 362.
 Rogers, S., n. 239.
 Roh, 363.
 Romanus Deogenes, 352.
 Rome, 226; wars between Persia and, 3.
 Ross, Sir E. Denison, 310.
 Royal Asiatic Society, 336.
 Rūdhbārī, ar-, Abū-'Alī, 75.
 Rubelkhand, 243.
 Rukn(-i-) 'Ālam, 308, 329.
 Ruknuddīn, Maulānā, 329.
 Rukn-ud-Dīn Firoz, Prince, n. 58.
 Rūm, Maulavī (Maulānā), 345.
 Rumma, ar-, Wadi, 6.
 Rushbrook, Williams, Prof., 364, 368, 370.
 Rusta, Ibn-, 12.
 Rustam 5. 12. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23,
 24, n. 26.

 SABAR MATI, 341, 342.
 Sabat, 13, 14, 15.
 Sābūr II (Dhul Aḡtab), 2, 12, 15.
 Sachau, n. 229.
 Sa'd, 329.
 Sa'd, al-Khair b. Muḥamad al-Ansari,
 73.
 Sa'd b. 'Abdullāh ad-Dimishqī, 281.
 Sa'd b. Abī-Waqqās, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14,
 15, 16, 17, 18, 19., 20, 21, 22, 23,
 n. 26.
 Sa'dī, (Hazrat Shaikh), 117, 121, 258, 303,
 337.
 Šadr-ud-Dīn, 258.
 Šadr Yār Jung Bahādur, 311.
 Sa'dullāh Khān, 120.
 Sa'dullāh Muḥammad, 301.
 Šafdar 'Alī Khān, 38.
 Šafwāh b. Umayyah, 274.
 Šambu, see 'Ambar.
 Šahlan (Saylan, Siyalan), see Ceylon.
 Sahl (aṭ-Tūstari), n. 80, 171, 172.
 Sahl b. 'Abdullāh, 77, 78.
 Sahl b. Muḥammad, n. 286.
 Sahl b. Sa'd, 273.
 Šā'ib, 119.
 Sa'id Aḥmad Akbarabadi, Maulānā, 394,
 Sa'id b. al-Ḥusain, n. 286.
 Sa'id b. al-, Uṣayyib, 176, 377.
 Sa'id Farmūli, Shaikh, 369.
 Sa'id Khān, 358.
 Saif b. Dhu-Yāzan, 4, 5., nn. 25 and 26.
 Sailahin, al-, 15.
 Šairāfi, as-, al-Mubārak b. 'Alī, 73.
 Sakhāwī, as-, Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-
 ibn-Abdur-Rahmān, 308.
 Saksaki, as-, Abū-Kabsha-, 66.
 Salamah b. al-Akwa, 182, 381.

- Sālār Jung Bahārur, Nawāb Sir, 141, 142, 144.
 Saleem; n. 30.
 Saletoore, Dr. B.A., 292.
 Sālīh, 186, 282.
 Šālīh al-Murri, 289.
 Šālīh ibn 'Abdur-Rahmān, 66, 67.
 Sālike, see Ceylon.
 Salīm ibn Sulaimān, Sultān, 309.
 Salima Sultāna, 336.
 Salmān al-Fārisi, 13, 23.
 Salt Sea, 65.
 Saluba, Banū, 14.
 Samana, 256.
 Samarqand, 311.
 Sambhal, 129.
 Samir, 275.
 Sammar, 133.
 Sampat Rao, 29, 30.
 Sana'i, Khwāja Husain, 335.
 Saoji Sarfi, 335.
 Sapru, Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahādur, 397.
 Saracenic culture, 125.
 Šaraf, 9.
 Sarandib (Sarandip, Singal-dib), 87, also see Ceylon.
 Saraswati, 141.
 Sardesai, G. S., 293.
 Šari, as-Sagati, 73.
 Sarkhaiz, 341.
 Sarkar, n. 354.
 Sarraj, as-, see Abū-Naşr.
 Sarton, George, 323.
 Sarwan, 297.
 Sassanian Empire, 4, 6.
 Satara Historical Museum, 390.
 Sathyana, 139.
 Sauda, 311.
 Saunders, n. 31, 39.
 Savoy, Duke of, 304.
 Sawād, (as-), 1, 9, 13, 15.
 Sawād b. Malik at-Tamīnī, 18.
 Sawnla, 297.
 Saxena, n. 354.
 Saydo, 133.
 Sayyid 'Alī, Admiral, 331.
 Sayyid 'Alī al-Husainī, 339.
 Sawād Khān, 358.
 Schumann, 235.
 Sedi, 235.
 Seljūg Army, 352.
 Sereieddin Yaltkaya, 324.
 Serendivis, 230.
 Serjeant, R. B., 405.
 Sha'bi, ash-, 187.
 Shāfi'i, ash-, 182, 187, 188, 278, 280, 281, 282, 382.
 Shafiq, Lachmi Narāyan, 119.
 Shāh 'Alam (Sayyid Muḥammad), 167, 168, 169, 339, 341.
 Shāh Jahān, 115, 116, 117, 120, 140, 332, 335, 336, 338, 340, 341, 354, 355, 359.
 Shāh-Jahānābād, 120.
 Shāh Shujā', Prince, 358.
 Shāhābād Paraganah, 264.
 Shahābi, Khwāja Maḥmūd Ishāq, 337.
 Shāhpūr, 132, 260.
 Shāhpūr Shāh Hormasji Hodivalā, see Hodivala.
 Shaibānī, ash-, see Muthannā, also n., 289.
 Shaikh Aḥmad Khatwi, 341.
 Shaikh Anṣārī, 258.
 Shaikh, G. H., 390.
 Shaikh Hasan, 38.
 Shaikh Rājū, 373.
 Shakaibi, Mullā, 334, 335.
 Shakar, 249.
 Shakespeare, 248.
 Shal, 132.
 Shālī Haḍramī, 350.
 Sham Raj, Rājā, 293.
 Shām Rāo, Shende, Mr., 292.
 Shammākh, ash-, 18.
 Shams Sirāj 'Afīf, 330.
 Shamshir, 133.
 Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdur-Rahmān, see Sakhawī.
 Shankarnistajin, 324.
 Sharaf, 9, 10, 12, n. 26.
 Sharank, 324, 325, 326.
 Sharīf, 298, 299.
 Sharīf Abū Alī Abi Mūsā al-Hāshimī, 279.
 Sharīf, Shaikh Muḥammad, 38.
 Shaṭṭ-al-Arab, 224.
 Shaṭṭ-Uthmān, 113.
 Shaw, G. Howland, 407.
 Shawush, 238.
 Sher 'Alī, Mīr, 134.
 Sher Khān (Lodī), 116, 332.
 Sher Muḥammad, (Miyān), 356, 357, 358, 359.
 Sher Singh, 123, 137.
 Sherwānī, Prof. Hārūn Khān, 83, 291, 292, 302.
 Shibli, (ash-), 74, 311.
 Shibli Academy, 331 and note.
 Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn-Ḥajar al-Haithamī, 308.

- Shikārpūr, 132.
 Shirānī, Prof. Ḥāfiẓ Maḥmūd, 396.
 Shirāz, 304.
 Shirdadh, 6.
 Shirin, 249, 250.
 Snirīn Qalam, Khwāja 'Abduṣ-Ṣamad, 298, 299.
 Shīrūyah, ibn-, 70.
 Shitāb Rā'i, 168, 169.
 Shiv Dās, 392.
 Shivrājpur, 167.
 Shudar, 324, 326.
 Shujā, Shāh, 130.
 Shujā' Shīrāzī, 333.
 Shujā'-ud-Daulah, 167, 168, 169, 17., 242, 243, 244.
 Shujā'-ul-Mulk, 335.
 Shunizī, ash-, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, 79.
 Shurabhil, 23.
 Sialkot, 115.
 Sidi 'Alī, 309.
 Sikandar (Lodī), 308, 363, 364, 374.
 Sikkim, 326.
 Sinai Peninsula, 224.
 Sind, 56, 57, 63, 66, 67, 309, 332; Conqueror of, 54; Conquest of, 58, 66, 228; Governor of, 62, 66.
 Sindhbad, 229.
 Sinhala, 230, also see Ceylon.
 Shirāf, 237.
 Shirāfi, see Abū-Zaid.
 Shirāfi, as-, al-Ḥusain ibn Yazīd, 66.
 Sirāj Uthmān, Shaikh, 329.
 Sirāj-ud-Daula, 306.
 Sirar, 7.
 Siri, fort of, 260.
 Sirpi, 29.
 Sīstān, 130.
 Sītā Rām Kayestha Saksena, 396.
 Situbandha, 231.
 Siva, 227.
 Sivapada, 227.
 Smith, (Prof. Margaret), n. 167, 312, 405.
 Socotra, 230.
 Solomon, 74.
 Solomon the Great, 361.
 Sopatrus, 225.
 Spain, n. 60.
 Sprenger, Dr., 66.
 Srinivasachari, Rao Bahadur, 291, 292, 295.
 St. George, Fort, 168, 295.
 St. Thomas, 227.
 Stapif, 326.
 State Museum (Hyderabad), 141.
 Stephen Carr, 258, n. 260.
 Stoddard, Lothrop, 125.
 Stoughton, Mr., 405.
 Strachey, 168.
 Subal Sen, 358.
 Subba Rao, Prof. 292.
 Su'da, 288.
 Sufālah, 234.
 Ṣūfi, Maulānā, 334.
 Sufyān ath-Thaurī, 96, 174, 187.
 Sufyān b. 'Uyainah, 278.
 Suhrwardy, (Suhrawardi, Sir Ḥasan) Mr. H.S., 303, 403.
 Sulaimān, Abū-, (ad-Darānī), 70, 77.
 Sulaimān al-Mahri, 229, 236.
 Sulaimān b. 'Alī Sulaimān (Abū-Sulaimān), 69.
 Sulaimān ibn 'Abdul-Malik, 54, n. 60., 66, 67, 68, 275.
 Sulaimān Nadawī, nn. 110 and 113.
 Sulaimān Tajir, 229, 233, 239.
 Sulami, as-, (Abū-'Abd ar-Rahmān), 75, 281, 283, 287.
 Sultān Ahmad, 340.
 Sultān 'Alī (Mullā), 298, 332.
 Sultān Ḥusain, 335.
 Sultān Maḥmūd I, 345.
 Sumatra, 224, 226.
 Summa, 137.
 Sunda Islands, 239.
 Suraj-Devi, 64.
 Surat, 344, 346, 349.
 Suryadeo (Suraj-Devi), 55.
 Suzani, 311.
 Syed Ahmad (Shahid), 123, 124, 128, 129, 139.
 Syed Ahmad Khān, Sir, 125.
 Syria, 3, 6, 19, nn. 25, 26, and 64, 113, 224.
 Syrian desert, 224.
 ṬABRI, (AT-), ABU-JA'FAR IBN JA-RIR IBN YAZID, nn. 25 and 26, 58, and note, n. 60, 109, 110, 111, 112.
 Tabarna (Tabrobani), see Ceylon.
 Tabrizī, n. 109.
 Taff, 6, 9, 12, 15.
 Tāha, 372.
 Ṭahir bin Ahmad bin 'Abdur-Rashid Bukhārī, 345.
 Ṭahir Saifuddin, 344.
 Tahmasp, Shāh, 298.
 Ṭā'if, 109, 110, 111, 377.

- Taimūr, Amīr, 335.
 Tāj Aḥmed Khān, Lt. Col. 353.
 Tāj Maḥal, Agra, 340, 388.
 Takrītī, at-, Šūfī Abū-'Abdallāh, 381.
 Talḥa, 7, 181.
 Talia Mal, 343.
 Talmadi, 235.
 Tamar, 245.
 Tamīm ad-Dārī, 71.
 Tamīm, (Banū-), 8, 9.
 Tanjorī, n. 31, 40.
 Tānsen (Miyān) 355, 357, 358.
 Tape (isle), 229.
 Tāqī Khān, Muḥammad (Tāqī Šāhib), 32, 38.
 Tārā Chand, Dr. 396.
 Tārā Kalān, 297.
 Tārā Khurd, 297.
 Tarsus, n. 289.
 Tash Kubrazada, 311.
 Tātār Khān, 330.
 Tavakkul, Muḥammad, 31.
 Taylor, Capt. 36.
 Tej Bhān, 120, 121.
 Thābit, 71.
 Thābit b. Sa'd, 278.
 Thā'labīyya, ath-, 8.
 Thamūd, 160.
 Thana, 109, 112, 113.
 Thaqafī, ath-, see Ḥakam, Mughīra and 'Uthmān.
 Thaqīf, 109, 113.
 Thath, 333.
 Thaurī, ath-, (Sufyan), 69, 173.
 Thomas, St., 227.
 Thome, St., 47.
 Thomson, William, 407.
 Tennent, Emerson, nn. 223, 224, 225., 228, 235, and 240.
 Tiqrīs, 13, 64, 65.
 Timūr Pāshā, Amīr Aḥmed, 310.
 Tīpū Sultān, 306.
 Tirmidhī, at-, (Abū-'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī), 81, 177.
 Tiruvakkarai, 44.
 Tiruvannamalai, 35.
 Tiruviti, 39.
 Tiznabadh, 15.
 Todar Mal, 350.
 Toghān, 323.
 Tonk, 129, 130.
 Totapelakanda, 232.
 Tour, M. de la, 38.
 Trichinopoly, 29, 36, 38, 47.
 Tripathī, R. P., n. 362, 363, n. 365.
 Trivandrum, 305.
 Truman, President, 409.
 Tubal (Cain), 181.
 Tughluq, Muḥammad, 87, 329.
 Tuhmān Hamdānī, 'Alī, 63.
 Tulaiḥa, 18, 22.
 Tulsī Rām Kalāwant, 358.
 Turān, 119, 132.
 Turkey, 125, 132, 309, 410.
 Turkistan, 309.
 Tūsi, at-, Abū-Hāmid, 77.
 Tūsi, at-, Al-Muẓaffar b. Muẓaffar, 53.
 Tustari, at-, Sahl, n. 80.
 Tutagam, 236.
 U.S.A. 409.
 'Ubaid, 329.
 'Ubaid-Allāh b. al-Hasan al-Anbārī, 187.
 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī, Maulānā, 394.
 Ubulla(h), (al-), 6, 9, 224.
 Uch, Governor of, 256.
 Udai Bhan, 115.
 Udaipur, 116, 270, 300, 336.
 Udhafar (Udhapur), 55, 56, 60, 61, 64, 65.
 Udhāib, al-, 12, 13, 15, 19, 23 n. 28.
 Uḥud, battle of, 228.
 Ujjain, 229.
 Umair b. Mirdās, 178.
 Umān, 77, 109, 110, 111, 112, 224, 241.
 'Umar, 7, 8, 9, 10 and note, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 24, nn. 25, and 26, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 175, 227, 381, 382.
 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 274, 395.
 'Umar b. Ẓafar (al-Muqrī), 286.
 Umayyah, 279.
 Umm-Kulthūm, 73.
 Ummī, Muḥammad Baṣari, see Baṣari.
 'Umra b. Ẓafar, 79.
 'Uqbah, b. Mukram, 174.
 'Urī Shirāzī, 335.
 'Usmanpura, 341.
 Ustād Maḥmūd Lūrī, 238.
 'Utha b. Ghazwān, 111.
 'Uthmān, Abū, 76.
 'Uthmān (b. Abī'l-'Āṣ) (ath-Thaqafī), 59, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113.
 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn, 177, 178.
 'Uthmān, Shaikh Muḥammad, 341.
 'Uthmān, Shaikh of Shirāz, 238.
 'Uthmān, Shaikh Sirāj, 329.

VALIUDDIN (WALI-UD-DIN), DR.
MIR, 83, 395.

Valudaver, 44, 46, 48.

Vambery, A., 309.

Van Brocke, see Brocke.

Van, Lake of 352.

Van Revestyn, see Revestyn.

Vasistha, 229.

Vellore, 29. nn. 30, 32, 35, and 39.

Vijaya, 230.

Vijyanagar, Bahmani, 361.

Villénour (Villiyannallur) 34, 44, 46, 47.

Vincent W., nn. 225 and 229.

Visha, 325, 326.

Visha-kanya, 327.

WAHHĀB 'ABD AL-, B. AL-MUBĀ-
RAK AL-ANMATI, 187.

Wahhāb, 'Abd al-, b. al-Mubārak the
Hāfiz, 70, 72.

Wahid, Dr. Muḥammad, 256.

Wahida, 'Aziz, 307.

Wajihuddin Gujrati, 'Allāma Shāh, 342.

Walājā, al-, 12, n. 28.

Walī Dhari, 358.

Walī Gujrātī 347.

Walī Muḥammad Phailti, Shaikh, 138.

Walid al-, b. Yazid, n. 287.

Walid ibn 'Abdul-Malik (Khalifa) 54,
55, 63.

Wandiwash, 32, 38, 43.

Wāq Islands, 240.

Waqī' Nishāporī, Muḥammad, 335.

Wāqidi (al-), nn. 12, 26, and 66.

Warrāq Shāhāf, 333.

Washington, 406.

Waṣim (Dihu) 232.

Wasit, 66, 67.

Wayhind, 325, 326.

Wazir Khān, 308.

Wheeler, Lt., Col. G. E., 395.

William Ernest Hocking, 394.

William Crooke see Crooke.

Williams, Rushbrook Prof.,

See Rushbrook

YAHYA b. AL-HASAN, 181.

Yahya b. 'Alī al-Mudabbir, 176.

Yahya b. 'Alī (al-Mudir), 70, 272.

Yahya b. Thābit (b. Bundar), 70, 76.

Yaltkaya, Serefeddin, 324.

Yamama(h), al-, 60, 110, 111.

Yaman, (al-), (Yemen) 5, 9, 77, 224, 309.

Ya'qūb al-Hāshimī, 185.

Ya'qūb b. Ghiyāth, 185.

Ya'qūb, Maulānā, 340.

Ya'qūbī, al-, nn. 19 and 28.

Yāqūt, 87, 113, 230, 231, 232.

Yarmūk, battle of, 20, 24, 25; forces at,
n. 26; victory of, n. 25.

Yathrib, 304.

Yawmu 'Imās, 20.

Yawm-ul-Abāqir, 16.

Yawm-ul-Ḥitān, 16.

Yawm-us-Sakr, 17.

Yazd, city of, 297, 299.

Yazdajird, n. 2; III, 6, 7, 13, 14, 21, 24.

Yazid, Abū-, 76.

Yazid as-Saqqa, 70.

Yazid b. al-Walid, 275.

Yazid ibn Abū-Kabsh-as-Saksaki, 66.

Yūsuf, 141, 377.

Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh, 140, 141.

Yūsuf al-Hamdāni, 173.

Yūsuf 'Alī, Maulānā, 403.

Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain (ar-Rāzi), 286, 287.

Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Qawwās, 282.

Yūsuf, Dr. M., 394.

Yūsuf Husain Khān, Dr., 85, 293.

Yusuf Khail 369.

Yūsuf Shāhib bin Khat Khate, 342.

ZADH B. BUHAISH, 23.

Zafar b. 'Alī, 273.

Zafar Khān, 120.

Zaheer Yār Jung, Nawāb, 292.

Zahir bin Abi-Salma, 394.

Zāhir ibn-Tāhir, 70, 75, 281.

Zāhir-ud-Dīn Ardbeli, 311.

Zahūrī, Mullā Nūruddin, 335.

Zaid, 377.

Zainab, 377.

Zainuddin Khān, 29.

Zainu'd-Dīn Khwafī Wafā'i, 301.

Zainuddin Shaikh, n. 226.

Zakariyya as-Saji, 78, 187.

Zaki Validi, Prof., 314, 323.

Zākir Ḥusain Khān, Dr. 88.

Zanjibar, 234.

Zarqali, az-, 53.

Zarud, 8, 9.

Zauzani, az-, 288.

Ziyād b. 'Alī Sufyān, 13.

Zodiac circle, 49.

Zubairi, az-, Abū-'Abdullāh, 78.

Zuhra b. al-Hawiyya, 12, 16, 17, 23.

Zuhūrī, 141, 142.

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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. THE BATTLE OF AL-QĀDISIYYA	
—DR. S. M. YUSUF.	1
II. MUẒAFFAR JANG AND CHANDĀ ŠĀHIB IN THE CARNATIC	
—DR. YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN.	29
III. THE NOMENCLATURE AND COMMON USES OF THE ASTROLABE (<i>Illustrated</i>)	
—DR. D. M. DONALDSON.	49
IV. END OF ʿIMĀD-UD-DĪN MUḤAMMAD IBN QĀSIM, THE ARAB CONQUEROR OF SIND	
—S. M. JAFFAR, ESQ.	54
V. THE DEVIL'S DELUSION	
—LATE D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.	69
VI. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	82
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA	
VII. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	105

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

THE BATTLE OF AL-QĀDISIYYA

THE Battle of al-Qādisiyya stands out in the annals of early Islam as an example of a well-planned, concentrated, large-scale contest with a mighty foreign power, carefully conceived in all its bearings at the centre and faithfully executed down to the minutest details by an unfaltering general on the spot. It marked the climax of the efforts, involving minor sporadic clashes, made by individual Muslim armies ever since the beginning of 12 H. at penetrating into the rich bordering land of as-Sawād along the Middle and the Lower Euphrates; which formed a dependency and a bulwark of the Sassanian empire. In its results the battle proved momentous inasmuch as, though it took a few more years to bring about the final overthrow of their empire, the might and the morale of the Persians were decidedly broken for good at al-Qādisiyya. The most remarkable thing about the battle is that its conduct reveals a definite plan, an elaborate scheme, and a conscious method at every step on the part of the Arabs, who did not win this victory by dint of sheer desperate courage or the superior faith of the fatalist alone. Unwonted attention to questions of strategy, manœuvre, supplies and administrative organisation form the rare features of the campaign, bearing testimony to the superb military genius of 'Umar in whose hands rested the direction of the entire operations. No doubt, until Islam gave them for the first time in their history the essential prerequisite of any large-scale continuous offensive, *i.e.*, a unified central government at home, the Arabs could not have had an occasion to try their arms in a determined fight against the concentrated might of any great foreign power. The pitched encounters, not to speak of the razzias, that they had among themselves against sister tribes were in their very nature scarcely conducive to teaching them a regard for strategy and other problems incidental only to massive attack and prolonged warfare. But once the circumstances changed so as to call for new methods of planning, the Muslims proved equal to the test, most notably in the early wars under 'Umar, and this is exemplified, as we shall presently see, in the battle of al-Qādisiyya.

BACKGROUND OF ARABO-PERSIAN RELATIONS

THROUGH the mists of the ages we see Arab emigrant tribes massing around al-Baḥrain and Ḥajar in an upward thrust along the eastern brim

of the cup-shaped inhospitable peninsula of Arabia. It was here that several constituent tribes merged their identity under a common name (Tanūkh)—an almost unprecedented phenomenon which must be regarded as an exceptionally strong expression of a feeling of collective security most probably impelled by the grim prospect of a struggle with an alien people, whose land they were now going to encroach upon and whose incursions into the settlements on the Persian Gulf were not in any way infrequent. Taking the path of least resistance these immigrant tribes penetrated, by successive stages spread over a long time, in a north-westerly direction along the course of the Euphrates till they reached Mesopotamia and even passed beyond. The steppe region lying west of the Euphrates between al-Ḥirah and al-Anbār with its abundant streams, rich vegetation, and salubrious climate, was marked out by nature as the most suitable habitat and soon became a stronghold of the Arabs. The intruders were but a thorn in the side of the original inhabitants; they proved unwelcome in a special sense. Although they did not take long to learn to lead a settled life in their new physical surroundings of plenty and fertility, they still retained undiminished the traditional spirit of adventure and razzia, which the peculiar conditions of life in their desert home had bred in them for ages past. They were not infrequently tempted to raid in characteristically Arab style the rich cultivated lands of Babylonia and the neighbouring districts belonging to the native landlords and lying just on the other side of the Euphrates. The natives were no match for the Arabs in these sweeping raids, which came upon them like a whirlwind at almost any time and without any warning. The Arabs were also particularly shrewd in taking advantage of any weakness in the Persian home front, their every influx into al-ʿIrāq being made during the period when Persia was divided into several petty principalities. But the Persians tolerated such hostile acts only so long as they were powerless to bring a collective force against their aggressive foe. No sooner did they set their house in order and achieve sufficient unity in the empire than they launched large punitive expeditions which cleared off at one stroke all the accumulated debt of bitter vengeance with compound interest, in terms of the most heinous brutalities imaginable in that barbarous age. The wars of Sābūr II, who is still remembered by the dreaded sobriquet of Dhu'l-ʿAktāf,¹ are a typical instance in question. Originally the political and social organisation of the Arabs was but a confederation of tribes; later, on under the stress of dealings with the Persians they tended to develop it into a State. But how could they ever hope to command such resources in men and equipment as lay at the disposal of the vast Persian empire? The Persians, on the other hand, though

1. The atrocities of Sābūr II were long remembered by Arabs as attempts at annihilation. A poet says :-

على رغم سايورين سايور أصبحت قباب اباد حوفا الخيل والنعم

Yazdajird also in his indignation against the Muslim spokesmen from al-Qādisiyya could not recall a more terrible performance of the Persians. See Tab., I, 2243, 2-3.

always confident of their superior strength, could not afford to pin down a large standing army against the Arabs, whose traditional spirit no periodical massacres could ever destroy. In the meantime the long wars between Persia and Rome brought into light the worth of the Hīrites as a useful counterbalance to the Ghassānids of Syria. Thus a very natural balance of adjustment in the relationship between the two peoples was struck in the form of a permanent amicable understanding whereby the Arabs acknowledged the overlordship of the Kosroes, involving a pledge of partnership in the defence of the empire, and were granted in turn a free hand in their own affairs together with military and every other kind of assistance for the strengthening and extension of their sway over the borderland.¹

This was the setting in which the Persians and the Arabs first came into contact with each other. And the impression that they formed of each other during this early period of friction was strong and indelible enough to survive and to betray itself even at the time with which we are concerned. The Persians, on their part, looked down upon the Arabs chiefly on the score of the latter's acute economic poverty and marked inferiority in equipment and organised military power. To them the Arabs were but an uncouth people who were often reduced to indigence,² and who, having no government of their own, could never muster a strong force in battle although they caused a good deal of nuisance by their hit-and-run tactics, which made it expedient for the Persians to deal with them and to keep them pacified with concessions and favours. This estimate was based on hard facts and actual experience and, naturally enough, had its opposite counterpart in the minds of the Arabs. Firstly the Arabs, though they yielded to none so far as pride in *individual valour* was concerned, were yet obsessed with a sense of helplessness before the arms, equipment, and the military organisation of the Persians.³ Invitations from remote parts of the peninsula, like the one extended by Saif

1. Special Persian troops, ad-Duasar and al-Waḍā'i' (I. Sida : *al-Mukhaṣṣas*, VI, 204), who served as auxiliaries to the kings of al-Hīra, are known. The Hīrites were also instrumental in curbing the excesses and utilising the war potential of the Bedouin tribes that roamed the desert land of an-Nufūd.

2. Vide the words of Rustam, Tab. I, 2276 ; 2281 ; Cf. 2352.

3. The records of the later Shu'ūbiyya controversy present a reflex of old prejudices. The relevant passage from I. Qutaiba : *Kitābu'l-'Arab (Rasā'il-u'l-Bulaghā* ' ed. M. Kurd 'Ali, Egypt, 1331, p. 289) deserves to be quoted here :

” وأما الشجاعة فإن العرب في الجاهلية أعز الأمم أنفسا وأعزها حريما وأحمادا أنوفا وأشدها جازبا وكانت تغير في جذبات فارس و تطرقها حتى تحتاج الملوك إلى مداراتها وأخذ الرهن منها والعجم تفخر بإساورة فارس و مرأزبتها وقد كان لعمري لهم الإأس والتجدة غير أن بين العرب وبينها في ذلك فرقاً منه أن العجم كانت أكثر أموالا وأجود سلاحا وأحصن بيتا وأشد اجتماعا وكانت تحارب برأسة ملك وسياسة سلطان وهذه أمور تقوى المنة وتشد الأركان وتويد القلوب وتثبت الأقدام والعرب يومئذ منقطعة ليس لها نظام ومتفرقة ليس لها التام وأكثرها يحارب راجلا

b. Dhū-Yazn, to intervene in internecine war, and the desperation with which the Arabs plunged into the Battle at Dhū-Qār, were but manifestations of the same awe of superior might. Even on the occasion of the Battle of al-Jisr (13 H.), the call for enlistment went unanswered for three days till special measures were taken to assure the people that the invincibility of the Persian arms had been reduced to a myth.¹ (Ṭab. I, 2159-60). Secondly the Arabs were very much impressed by the wealth of the Persians and the prosperity of their lands, whither they had to turn not infrequently for relief in times of distress, as did Ḥājjib b. Zurāra of the proverbial bow.² But whatever the dread the Arabs might have had of the Persian arms they never had any awe for the Persians themselves. Remarkably enough they never allowed their strong sense of pride in national honour and character to flicker in any way, as is evidenced by the fact that they contemptuously looked down upon many a social custom of the Persians. For example, the evil practice of marrying one's own sisters and daughters was commonly denounced as "الفارسية", and constituted a perpetual stigma on any individual Arab who might fall a prey to it.² Their virile faith in the superiority of their national standards remained unimpaired even though, to a certain extent, they fondly emulated their more fortunate neighbours in respect of luxuries and court manners.

Thus the relations between the two peoples grew to a high degree of mutual confidence and identity of interests. On the one hand the Arabs played their part faithfully and on occasions of external danger took up the cause of the Sassanian empire with genuine zeal. The Persian monarchs on the other hand, showed full honour to the Arabs, whom they did not hesitate to entrust with the education and upbringing of the royal princes, and whose position was now strong enough to be reckoned with in the matter of succession to the empire. This happy adjustment was, however, upset by the ill-advised policy, in most cases the result of court intrigues, pursued by the later Sassanids, whose arrogant, wayward and tyrannical attitude alienated the allegiance of the Arabs to such an extent that it

1. *Al-'Iqd* (1302), II, 130; I. Qutaiba, *al-Ma'ārif* (Göttingen), 295.

2. The same Ḥājjib b. Zurāra, who was tempted to this practice, expresses his anguish in the following verses (*Rasā'il u'l-Bulaghā*, 290-91):—

لِإِلهٍ دِينِكَ مِنْ أَغْلَفٍ يَحِلُّ الْخَوَاتِ لَنَا وَالْبَاتِ
أَجَشْتُ (؟) عَلَى أَسْوَى سَوْءَةٍ وَطَوَّقْتُ جَيْدِي بِالْمُخْزِيَّاتِ
وَأَبْقَيْتُ فِي عُنُقِي سِيَةً مَشَاتِمَ يَحْيِينَ بَعْدَ الْمَمَاتِ

Mark the use of the word "أغلف" (uncircumcised) so symbolical of Arab national pride. Another poet, Aus b. Ḥajar says (*Tahdhibu'l-'Alfāz*, 301; *Al-Muḥabbar*, 325):

وَالْفَارِسِيَّةُ فِيهِمْ غَيْرُ مَكْرَةٍ فَكَلِّهِمْ لَا يَهْ ضِيرْنَ سَلَفَ

The word "ضيرن" is also of Persian origin (Addi Sher; *Al-Alfāzu'l-Fārisiyya al-Mu'arraba*, Beirut, 1908—p. 110).

I am indebted for these references to my revered teacher and constant guide, Prof. A. A. Memon.

was found necessary to substitute direct rule through a Persian viceroy for the traditional rule of the puppet Arab kings. The feelings of the Arabs were exacerbated by deliberate wanton affronts to the limit that they once burnt their boats and plunged into battle at Dhū-Qār with such desperation and vengeance that the Persian army was utterly routed. This unique victory, which, in the words of the Prophet, was the first occasion when "the Arabs obtained their due from the non-Arabs," roused a new spirit among them, but in the circumstances of the time it was not enough to raise any hope of deliverance from the hated foreign yoke. All that the Arab tribes could do was to shift a little to the borderlands, where they continued nursing their grudge. Thus we see that in this as well as in many other spheres Islam came at the proper psychological moment, and the drive against Persia was launched at a time when the people were longing to be rid of the extortions, inequalities, and injustices of the Sassanian rule. The cruelty of some of the Persian lords (Vide "أخوت من هرمز" Ṭab. I, 2024) and the strong appeal that the description of social equality among the Arabs made to the attendants of Rustām (Ṭab., I, 2269; 2275) were unmistakable signs that the time was ripe for the advent of a new order.

As for the rest of Arabia, the ambitions of the Persians, like those of their rivals, the Romans, were only limited by the difficulties of the physical terrain which baffled all their ingenuity and material resources. They could only establish their sway over certain regions along the coast of the Persian Gulf and also in al-Yaman by taking advantage of an appeal for help on behalf of Saif b. Dhū-Yazn. And it appears that at some time al-Madīna was also a tributary to the Kosroe.¹ Anyway the Arabs inland had a sharp reminder of the might and material wealth of Persia in the form of the 'Laṭīma,' which the Kosroe was very particular to organise every year as if it were a matter of prestige with him.

Now the liquidation of these outposts of Persian influence was undoubtedly the first concern of the newly-founded Islamic State, and it was achieved without any great difficulty because fortunately enough the internal condition of Persia was at this time too weak to allow of any reinforcements. But a clash with Imperial Persia was inevitable. The first prerequisite for an Arab attack was provided by the Prophet himself, who did more than anybody else to rouse a keen interest in the waning fortunes of Persia (explicitly referred to in the *Sūra ar-Rūm*), to create a consciousness of the atrocities, the arrogance and above all the heathen ideals (more heathen than those of the Romans) of the Persians, and to banish by means of his pronouncements and promises all terror of the Sassanians that had existed in the minds of the Arabs for centuries past. The second essential factor for such a venture was provided by the consolidation of the sway of Islam over the whole of Arabia under Abū-Bakr, thus creating for the first time in her history a national army directed by a unified central

1. Khurdādbih, 128.

command. But it must be remembered that the Arabs were yet inferior in man-power and equipment and the last indispensable requisite for success was a strategy and a wise command which (of course in conjunction with strong faith and missionary zeal) might guarantee a triumph against heavy odds. Such a strategy was devised, as we shall presently see, by the military genius of 'Umar, aided by the practical experience of such local veterans as al-Muthanna b. Ḥārith ash-Shaibānī.

A glance at a relief map will show that the desert barrier of an-Nufūd leaves to the Arabs only two possible lines of contact with the Persians: the one along the Wādī ar-Rumma leading to the region of al-'Ubulla and the other along the old caravan route across the desert from Central Arabia to the eminence of an-Najaf. The former had been the scene of the clash between the rival ambitions of the two peoples from time immemorial, while the latter constituted the highway to the heart of the Sassanian empire. Early in 12 H. 'Abū-Bakr switched Khālid b. al-Walīd, soon after the latter had crushed the rebellion on al-Yamāmah, on to the 'Ubulla front. His plan was to bite off the fringe of the Sassanian empire lying along the Euphrates by what we should now call a pincer movement with its two arms extending from below (Ubulla) and from above (Najaf) and then to march on to al-Madā'in after securing the rear (Tab., I, 2022, cf. 2056, 12-3). This plan of a pincer movement, however, did not succeed, for the other column commanded by 'Iyād b. Ghanam was stranded at Dūma and could never reach its objective of Najaf until Khālid came to its rescue. It fell to the lot of the latter general to conquer the whole of the Ṭaff from al-Baṣra up to al-Anbār and al-Firād before he departed for Syria early in the year 13. Khālid had a series of battles with military chiefs and local feudal lords—Jābān, Bahman, Qārin, Hurmuz and Shīrdhādh—some of whom made common cause with others but only on express orders from the centre (Tab., I, 2037). Khālid's successes, however, were but of local importance; a general mobilisation of the imperial forces, which the internal chaotic conditions of Persia did not so far allow, was yet to come. And it did come very soon, perhaps sooner than was expected. Though the fortunes of war did not hereafter go steadily in favour of the Muslims because of the depletion of their forces consequent on the departure of Khālid and the strengthening of resistance on the part of the enemy, yet their undaunted persistence in offensive crowned by the victory at al-Buwaib in Sha'bān-Ramaḍān, 14 H., which more than avenged the disaster at al-Jisr the previous year, was enough to cause an outburst of alarm in Persia. As happens very often, the stress of external danger welded the Persians together under the command of the boy king, Yazdajird III, and they set about to meet the Arabs on a gigantic scale. Evidently it was to be a convulsive effort which almost electrified the whole empire and had a particularly strong and, from our view-point, unfavourable reaction on the population of the Ṭaff, which had by now passed under the sway of the Muslims. These inhabitants of the Ṭaff, though they were conscious of their Arab descent and were

partisans of the cause of 'their own people' in preference to the Persians,¹ were yet so overawed by centuries of domination by the latter that the preparations for war under Yazdajird could not fail to bring them an assurance of the eventual victory of their old masters. Anxious to safeguard their position they revolted in a body during the closing months of the year 14 H. not very long after the battle at al-Buwaib, and compelled the various Muslim columns to withdraw from their far-flung posts to a point around Dhū-Qār where al-Muthanna pitched his camp. This enabled the Persians forthwith to restore their garrisons on the old fortified line of defence erected by the early Sassanians along the entire Arabia-Persia boundary stretching from al-Qutqūṭāna (on the western limits of al-Kūfa) to the mountains of Ghudayy near al-Basra. Learning of this adverse turn, which would have driven a weaker man into despair, 'Umar ordered al-Muthanna to dispose small bands opposite the Persians at points protected by ravines and rivulets on his own side of the frontier, so as to be able to patrol the entire line from one end to the other. In the meantime he set about organising a frantic effort to meet the challenge of the Persians. He delegated to al-Muthanna the authority to call to the colours all men of prowess among the neighbouring tribes and even to apply compulsion if necessary. (Tab., I, 2210). At the same time he also issued a circular letter in his own name to the governors of the various districts, asking them to despatch levies of troops direct to the front if the place were situated more than half the way up to al-Madīna and *via* the capital if the case were otherwise.

By the turn of the year 14 H., when enlistment had gone a considerable way 'Umar proceeded to hold a rally at Sirār 3 miles from al-Madīna) where he delivered an address inviting the People to counsel him as to the course of action. The people were of the view that in the interests of maintaining a high morale it would be better if the Caliph himself proceeded to the front—a view which did not commend itself to 'Umar but to which, with a rare grace, he agreed provisionally till such time as the people themselves arrived at a different decision. Thereafter he presented the problem before a meeting of the chiefs and the Companions of the Prophet to which were specially summoned 'Alī, who had been left behind to act as deputy for the Caliph at al-Madīna, and Ṭalḥa, who had gone ahead to al-A'was at the head of the vanguard. The consensus of opinion was that it would be too rash to risk the highest stake at the very outset and that the Caliph could more profitably remain behind to organise the sinews of a war which might turn out to be protracted beyond expectations. The next morning 'Umar again ascended the pulpit and communicated the decision of the Ahlu'r-Rāy to the people in words which deserve full quotation because of the rare principle

1. Tab., I, 2041; Cf. 2047, 5-6; 2190. It will be seen later on how the Hīrites continued to act as spies for the Muslims. A number of foreigners also fought on the side of the Arabs at al-Qādisiyyah. Tab. I, 2261; 1340.

of administration enunciated therein. He said :

“ It is obligatory on people that they should adhere to the (practice of) ‘Shūra’ as between themselves and the men of judgment among them. Accordingly the general body of people are only to concur with those who are actually engaged in a particular task. Whatever they agreed upon and adopted was binding on the mass of the people, who would only follow them. And those charged with any task would follow the men of judgment among them. Whatever they (the men of judgment) deemed best and chose for themselves as regards strategy in war was to be followed by them (those charged with the task). O people, I was but one of you (in concurring in the previous decision) till the men of judgment among you have turned me from that view”

The new decision gave rise to the problem of the choice of a suitable commander. The arrival of a letter from Sa’d b. Abī Waqqās, then acting as a Ṣadaqāt agent over the Hawāzin in Najd, strongly suggested his name to the advisers of ‘Umar who were yet pondering over it and to whom Sa’d was but a “lion with claws” (Ṭab., I, 2215, 6) and a “lion used to prey” (Ṭab., 2216, 13). ‘Umar concurred and forthwith appointed Sa’d to the command of the army though, as the subsequent events show, he never trusted him with the planning and the direction of war, perhaps because he knew that the task of a strategist called for many qualities other than those to be found in a “lion.” Bidding farewell to the troops ‘Umar in an oration emphasised the qualities of patience, piety and selflessness, enjoined upon Sa’d to measure his popularity with Allāh in terms of his popularity with the people, and assured the soldiers that he deemed it his bounden duty to look carefully into any complaints, which they should never hesitate to refer to him. ‘Umar also accompanied Sa’d for a few miles up to al-A’waṣ, whence the latter proceeded straight to Zarūd and pitched his first camp there or, according to some traditions, at ath-Tha’labiyya, the next station from it. Now Zarūd lay at a distance of 320 Arab miles from al-Madīna (a little over 600 kilometres), about 70 miles more than half the way to al-Qādisiyya. It formed the pivot of the settlements of the Tamīm and the Asad in the country around and was thus eminently suitable as a centre from which to accelerate and push through the preparations for enlistment which had already been set afoot among those tribes ever since the receipt of the circular letter from ‘Umar. The arrival of Sa’d at Zarūd is one sure point in the rather uncertain chronology of this battle; it occurred beyond doubt in the early days of winter (approximately about the turn of the year 14 H./February, 636 A.D.)—a timing which, together with all the subsequent chronology based on it, fits in exceptionally well with the exigencies of weather in relation to the various stages of the preparations and the actual operations of war. Sa’d came from al-Madīna at the head of an army barely 4000 strong, inclusive of both combatants and non-combatants (women and children), 3000 of whom

were drawn from Yaman and Sarāt and the rest from various other parts. His efforts during his stay at Zarūd, which lasted the whole of the cold season (no less than three months, cf. al-Balādhurī: *Futūḥ*, 255), swelled the ranks by an addition of 7000 troops (4000 from among the Banū-Tamīm and Ribāb plus 3000 from among the Banū-Asad), who, prudently enough, were ordered to wait farther north "between the hard ground (of Arabia) and the soft plain of as-Sawād" till they were called to join the army at a more convenient point nearer the frontier. At the end of the cold season we find Sa'd moving his camp forward to Sharāf after having despatched a body of 500 troops under the command of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba to the Ubulla region (the Indian Front "فرج اخند" as it was called) in order to guard his flank against any harassment and to cut off all succour reaching the Persians from that direction. Al-Mughīra proceeded to join Jarīr b. 'Abdullāh al-Bajalī, who had already been on patrol duty at Ghuday in the mountains near al-Baṣra,¹ while Sa'd waited for the instructions of 'Umar as to the next step. Now Sharāf lay at a distance of barely 84 miles from al-Qādisiyya and it was clear that in the next hop the Muslim army was to confront the enemy patrols stationed in the fortified outposts along the boundary of the Ṭaff. Thus it was necessary that the army should leave that point in full strength and in perfect battle array. Accordingly 'Umar issued instructions that all the newly enlisted troops, which had been waiting at various points, as well as the old remnants of al-Muthanna, should foregather at Sharāf for general review. Consistently with the plan of a concentrated battle all the patrols were soon withdrawn from the borders of as-Sawād, including the band of al-Mughīra which could not serve a useful purpose any more. The total number of troops at this final reckoning was more or less 30,000.² In addition to 11 thousand troops already mentioned 'Umar had sent further reinforcements of 1000 Qaisite crack troops and about 2000 Yamanites, and these new recruits, 14,000 in all, were joined by more than 12,000 old veterans who had already been there at the front under al-Muthanna b. Hāritha.³ In fulfilment of the vow of 'Umar that he would confront the princes of Persia with the princes of Arabia, these troops comprised the flower and the cream of the Muslims—high dignitaries, poets, orators, and men of judgment, prowess and resources. The ranks contained a large number of the tribe of Rabī'a, who, because of the proximity of their settlements and experience in the past, were considered to be the most aggressive against the Persians, so much so that they had earned the name "ربعة الاسد (الاسد - فارس)" or "ربعة الفرس". There were more than 70 heroes of Badr, more than 300 of those who had enjoyed the companionship of the Prophet from Bai'atur-Ridwān onwards, 300

1. The city of al-Baṣra may or may not have been founded as yet, but the existence of a military post in its vicinity from the very early days of Muslim invasion is beyond all doubt. Vide al-Balādhurī, 256.

2. According to al-Balādhurī (256, 1), from 9 to 10 thousand, which is obviously an underestimate, particularly in view of his agreement on the number of the Persians being 120,000.

3. Tab., I, 2221.

of those who had participated in the conquest of Mecca, and 700 sons of the Companions of the Prophet belonging to all the tribes.

Now as regards the all-important question of the organisation of the Muslim army we are fortunate enough in possessing the text of the detailed instructions of 'Umar according to which the whole thing was done by Sa'd before his departure from Sharāf. A close study of the document will reveal that there were to be :—

(a) a Decurion " العريف " over every ten soldiers, which had been the practice since the days of the Prophet ;

(b) a Standard-bearer for each tribe and important branch of a tribe, which honour belonged to those who had distinguished themselves by services to Islam and not necessarily to the chiefs of the tribes. It will be remembered that Islam had adopted the tribal system of the Arabs for purposes of military organisation and the tribes fought under their own flags. To have more than one standard was a measure of the unusual strength and importance of a tribe. (cf., Abū-'Isma'il al-Azdī, ed. N. Lees, p. 131, l. 3) ;

(c) a Commander for each of the ten units " الأعتار " into which the whole army was to be divided, ¹ namely :—

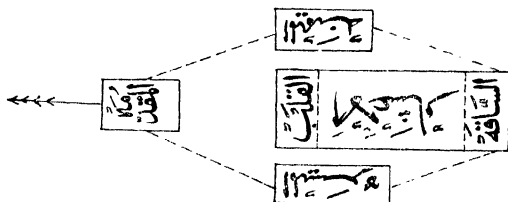
1. Al-Muqaddama or the Vanguard. 2. Al-Maimana or the Right Wing. 3. Al-Maisara or the Left Wing. 4. Al-Qalb or the Centre. 5. As-Sāqa or the Rearguard. 6. At-Ṭalā'-i- (sing. Ṭalī'a) consisting of small bodies of light horse, generally not more than ten strong (cf. Tab., I, 2261), used for purposes of scouting. 7. Ar-Rajil or al-Rajjāla, i.e., footmen or infantry. 8. Ar-Rukbān or the Camel Corps. The Arabs seldom fought on camels, the animal being quite unsuitable for the purpose, but used them for transport only. 9. Al-Mujarrada or a Special Task Force consisting of picked horsemen reserved for emergencies, for example that of strengthening a weak point. 10. Al-Murāmiya or the Corps of Archers.

The first three divisions formed separate wings and their commanders were designated " أمراء الأعتار ". These Wing Commanders,

1. The expression " عشر الناس " is often taken to mean " divide the people into tens." I am, however, strongly of the opinion that it must be interpreted as " divide the people into ten (units)." No doubt lexicography allows both the interpretations, the word " أعتار " being the equivalent of " عشرة عشرة " (in tens) as well as the plural of " عشرة " the tenth part of anything. In the latter sense cf. Imru'ul-Qais : *بسميك في أعتار قلب مقتل وما ذرقت عيناك إلا لتضري* (" ") But the context in the letter of 'Umar (Tab., I, 2223-4) can only warrant my conclusion because the appointment of 'Urafā is mentioned quite separately. Further we see that the command devolved from the " أمراء الأعتار " to " أصحاب الرايات " and therefore the former must represent a larger division than the latter, which is impossible if the A'shār comprised no more than ten soldiers each. It will be noted that nine of these ten units are mentioned in the same context while the Murāmiya is referred to in another tradition (*Ibid.*, 2266 1. 1).

2. It is remarkable that the Wing Commanders are enumerated with the words " استعمل على " while the word used with the other commanders is " جعل على " (*Ibid.*, 2224-5).

as I shall call them hereafter, enjoyed greater discretionary powers and were trusted more with their independent judgement than the commanders of the rest of the units, who were called the *أمراء الاعشار* and had, roughly speaking, only to take their commands from the Supreme Commander. This was quite natural in view of the fact that the Wings had to move at some distance from the Qalb, where the Supreme Commander had his position, whereas the other units were immediately attached to it so as to be more or less under his direct control. The *Sāqa* or the Rear-guard at this period, it seems, formed only the tail or the other end of the Centre though, in later times it developed into a separate wing like the Vanguard. Thus the picture of the Muslim army on the move was like this :—



It will be observed that the above arrangement is a most scientific one, ensuring safety from attack from all sides. The command of the army, as is explicitly mentioned, devolved in the following order: the Supreme Commander (who sometimes appointed a Deputy for himself as in the present case), the "أمراء العبيد", the "أمراء الاعشار", the "أصحاب الرايات", and then the leaders and the knights of the tribes.¹ It is significant that the 'Urafā' are not mentioned at all in this connection, obviously because they had no power to command. In a large army of thousands the position of the Decurions was bound to dwindle into unimportance and their duties to be reduced to general vigilance and administration.

Next came the question of strategy and the choice of a battlefield. Again this question was decided independently by 'Umar though, remarkably enough, his decisions coincided exactly with the valedictory advice of al-Muthanna b. Hāritha, who had by now succumbed to his wounds. A salient feature of the plan was to avoid engaging in a concentrated battle far within the interior of the land of the enemy.² This time the Muslims would join battle on a field of their own choice, which, they had calculated, must lie not far from the border of the two countries, at the nearest point "where the stony ground of Arabia met the soft soil of Persia." The clear advantage in this case was that if the Muslims were

1. Tab., I, 2225, 11-13.

2. Ibid., 2226, 16-17.

routed they had behind them a safe line of retreat through familiar country where they could easily regroup their forces for renewed attacks. To answer such a purpose 'Umar's choice of a battlefield fell on al-Qādisiyya, a verdant well-fortified spot at the extremity of the Taff, protected on many sides by streams and canals and surrounded by high ground suitable for establishing watch-houses and armed posts. It lay between al-Khandaq (the ditch made by Sābūr Dhul'-Aktāf from Hit through the Taff down to Kāzima and the Persian Gulf—(Ibn Rusta, 107-8) and al-'Atīq, a stream running into what remained of the old bed of the Euphrates during the days when the river flowed towards an-Najaf to join the inner arm of the Persian Gulf then extending as far as the region of al-Hira (Vide al-Mas'ūdī: *Murūj*, I, 215). Further, there were two arms of water stretching NW and SE up to al-Hira and al-Walaja respectively thus helping to maintain the security of the flanks.

Moreover al-Qādisiyya had throughout been the "gateway to Persia." 'Umar's clear aim was to draw out to this principal inlet all the best resources of the Persians and to overthrow them in one gigantic stroke, so that they might never hope to rise again. (Tab., I, 2228, 11). He planned to strike a blow directly at the heart of the Persian empire, and in this respect his plan differed from that of Abū-Bakr who wanted to bite at the fringe. Accordingly, Sa'd was instructed, in case of the defeat of the Persians, not to let the enemy have any respite but to press the advantage and press on straight to al-Madā'in.

All the plans having been elaborated and worked out, Sa'd was permitted by 'Umar to move from Sharāf in the beginning of the spring, 15 H./636 A.D. He marched forward till he reached al-'Udhaib, a fortified post 6 miles from al-Qādisiyya, which was stormed by his vanguard commanded by Zuhra b. al-Ḥawīyya, with such complete surprise that the guards were unable to put up any resistance and in their hasty flight left behind a large number of weapons and other useful articles stored there in the magazine. Sa'd then advanced to al-Qādisiyya where he established himself in Qudais, an old fort at a distance of one mile from al-'Atīq, while his vanguard camped just opposite the bridge over the stream, thus capturing the vital line of communication and ensuring against any crossing of the stream from the other side.

To spend the months of winter in preparations at a safe distance from the frontier and then to arrive at the front in spring, about four months ahead of summer, the most favourable time for operations, was excellent timing indeed and showed a clear realisation of all the problems incidental to the unorthodox plan now adopted to meet a new situation. It will be remembered that the Muslim army was set on meeting the enemy only on the battlefield of its own choice, which it had now occupied. Such a course was in sharp contrast with the simple traditional way of the Arabs according to which the opposing armies started from their respective points in diametrically opposite directions and came into collision at any

convenient place where they might cross each other. This gave birth to a number of entirely new problems such as supplies, communication, maintenance of morale and discipline, and diplomacy. To all these problems we shall return later; let us for the moment confine our attention to administrative arrangements within the camp. We see that 'Umar with his characteristic foresight had dispatched with the army a Qāḍī, who was also put in charge of the booty, a Rā'id or Manager of Supplies (Salmān al-Fārisī who must have had a knowledge of local conditions), an Interpreter, and a Kātib (Ziyād b. 'Abī Sufyān). Further the Muslim army, in accordance with the old tradition among the Arabs, was also accompanied by women and children, who had important and very useful duties assigned to them apart from their being a source of noble inspiration to the men.¹ The arrangements made for the stay of these women and children were remarkable. They were put in a separate camp at al-'Udhaib, a convenient distance behind the front and close to the area where they had to work, and the camp was cordoned off by an army detachment comprising members of all the important houses to which the women belonged.

Let us now leave Sa'd and his army entrenched at al-Qādisiyya and turn for a moment to the side of the Persians. The boy king Yazdajird was so alarmed at the reports of the advance of the Arabs and their depredations in the Sawād that he at once decided upon a policy of "all the birds rising against the eagle in one body" (Tab., I, 2248). His view was that the Arabs had been encouraged in their aggressive designs because the Persians had not cared to bring their full collective force to bear against them. He therefore summoned Rustam, the best general that Persia possessed at the time and the one who had enough experience of war against the Arabs, and sternly enjoined upon him to stake everything in a mighty contest which was to be undertaken at the earliest possible time. Rustam counselled patience and restraint and urged importantly that it was rather rash to stake the reputation of the highest general at the very outset—a view very similar to the decision ultimately adopted by 'Umar on the side of the Muslims. Further Rustam was convinced that it was more expedient to have a number of successive battles involving gradual attrition of the resources and strength of the enemy than to risk a defeat in a single decisive contest—a plan which was undoubtedly based on a clear understanding of the strategy decided upon by the Arabs. But Yazdajird was unimaginative and implacable. He compelled Rustam to call a rally of his troops at Sābāt on the other side of the Tigris and to prepare to advance. Rustam executed the orders under duress though he was full of despair as to the final outcome curiously enough, his misgivings were further confirmed by alarming dreams and evil portents in which he, like most of his countrymen, had a strong

1. The Persians, on the other hand, drew inspiration from their hoarded wealth which they had brought out with them to the battle front. Al-Wāqidi, *Futūḥ al-'Irāq* (Newwalkshire Press, p. 59).

superstitious belief. Most of the other commanders like Jābān were also without any hope and they in turn wrote letters of warning to the friends, as a result of which some influential lords, Jushnasmāh, for example, thought fit to secure their position by secretly allying themselves with the probable victors.

Now the Arabs did not neglect to have an intelligence service and for this purpose utilised all those whose reading of the situation convinced them of an Arab victory. The original treaty with the Banū Ṣalūbā of al-Ḥira contained an explicit stipulation to the same effect (Ṭab., I, 2020). Jushnasmāh was the latest accretion. These sources were quite enough to keep Sa'd informed of the day-to-day movements of the enemy. It was about a month after the arrival at al-Qādisiyya that he learnt the news of the rally at Ṣābāṭ. There was daily communication between al-Madīna and the front and the news was passed on immediately to 'Umar, who ordered the despatch of a mission to explain the Muslim standpoint to Yazdajird and to try to win him over by persuasion. 'Umar was fully conscious of the value of diplomatic moves and he knew that such a move was bound ultimately to redound to the discredit of the enemy and to mean a reverse for him.

Accordingly a mission consisting of men especially chosen for their nobility and statesmanship, like an-Nu'mān b. Muqarrin, and for their impressive personality, like 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib and al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba, was soon sent to the Persian capital. These spokesmen passed by the camp of Rustam at Ṣābāṭ on their way to Ctesiphon. There at the court they put forward their case boldly, simply, and precisely, making it clear that their invasion was prompted solely by the injunction of the Prophet to issue a call to the neighbouring peoples to adopt the righteous way, and not by economic poverty or any other similar cause as suggested by Yazdajird. Further, they presented three clear-cut alternatives to the Persian King: Islam, Jizya, or open war. They were out to "extricate man from the slavery of man to the worship of Allāh (Ṭab., I, 2268, 15-16). If a people accepted Islam, they were prepared to let it have full freedom of government and to retire on the assurance that the Book of Allāh would be adhered to willingly and conscientiously. There was no motive of enslavement, domination, exploitation or selfish colonisation. And if a people were unable to see its way to the acceptance of Islam it could have a guarantee of peace and protection against all kinds of external as well as internal dangers on payment of the Jizya, which arrangement represented the minimum necessary, of course consistently with freedom of conscience and belief, to stop the rot in human society and to promote the civilising mission of Islam. The third alternative was that of war, and Yazdajird chose this. He was furious at the mention of Jizya and would have slain the Arab spokesman had it not been unlawful to kill ambassadors. Still, he did all that he could to humiliate and disgrace them. He threatened them with expeditions similar to those of

Sābūr and in his arrogance ordered that the chief among them be burdened with a bag of dust and driven like a beast out of Ctesiphon. To his great astonishment, however, the Arabs received the dust with joy, regarding it as a token and a presage of the handing over of the entire country, and deriving strength from augury in the same way as the Persians were wont to see the reflection of their drooping spirits in omens.

After the departure of the mission Rustam went to al-Madā'in to enquire what had transpired and was all the more grieved to learn of the unhappy outcome. He was then convinced that there was no escape from war and proceeded apace with the preparations therefor. He despatched his vanguard, numbering forty thousand and commanded by Jālnūs, followed by himself at the head of no less than 60,000 troops in addition to the rearguard of 20,000 under the command of al-Bīrazān,¹ These 120,000 Persian nobles, who were accompanied by a considerable number of servants and attendants of the lower class, marched on in three divisions commanded in order of precedence by Jālnūs, Dhu'l-Hājib (Bahman Jādhawayh), and Rustam. The route taken by them was from Sābāt to al-Hīra and then to an-Najaf, the western extremity of the Ṭaff, where they established their camp for some time and whence they proceeded southwards to al-Sailāḥīn, Tiznābādh and al-'Atīq.

It will be remembered that the Muslims had pinned their faith to a policy of الانغاض and الانحطام, i.e. to compel the enemy to come out to meet them on a battlefield of their own choice. This policy involved two important problems, namely, the maintenance of morale and the supply of provisions for the period (no less than four months) during which they stood waiting for the enemy to arrive. There does not seem to have been much difficulty in keeping up the morale; occasional expressions of impatience and ennui having been sternly put down by Sa'd (Ṭab., I, 2258). As for the problem of supplies, which perhaps never faced the Arabs in such magnitude before, it is recorded that 'Umar had arranged for a continuous flow of commodities as well as animals from the centre (Ṭab., I, 2257; *al-Futūḥ*, 256). But these supplies from home had to be supplemented by booty gained during raids committed by small parties on the population of the Sawād, who, it will be remembered, had been treacherous enough to break solemn treaties and revolt against Muslims and on whom open war had now been declared. These raids started the very day that the Arabs arrived at al-'Udhaib when they waylaid near as-Sailāḥīn the marriage party of the sister of 'Azādhmard b. Azādhbin, the Marzubān of al-Hīra. They extended to the farthest limits of the Sawād, from Kaskar in the east to al-Anbār in the west, and continued throughout to be the daily pastime of the Arabs who, it appears, prized meat above all things and fondly remembered the lucky days when they had a big haul of any kind of animals (*Vide* Yawmu'l-

1. Evidently Ibn-Ishāq does not take the Vanguard and the Rearguard into account when he gives the strength of the Persian army as sixty thousand only. See Ṭab., I, 2351, 8.

Hītān, Yawmu'l-Abāqir (Tab., 2242 and 2235 respectively). Apart from replenishing the Arab's supply of foodstuffs to such an extent that they had nothing to worry about on this account, and keeping the warriors in good fighting spirits, these raids served excellently in another way. It is really doubtful if without these raids the Arabs could have succeeded so well in their policy of drawing out the enemy. For it was only as a result of the terror spread throughout the land by these depredations that the local population plied the Persian monarch with alarming reports that there was no safety of life or property, and that if succour tarried there was no alternative but to surrender to the invaders. This clamour kept the nerves of the boy king high-strung and did not let him relax his pressure on Rustam, who was advancing only under compulsion (Tab., 2253, 13; 2257, 3-4), to plunge into battle speedily. Otherwise it will be remembered that Rustam had decided on a policy of *المطالبة مع المأزاة*, i.e., of procrastination while standing guard nearby, till such time as the enemy was wearied into withdrawal or there came about a moment when he could enter the battle with the assurance of advantage on his side. This, it will be observed, was a fitting reply to the strategy of the Muslims and at least would have made the outcome uncertain for some time.

At last when Sa'd had waited for more than four months, Rustam arrived at al-'Atiq and established the camp of his army on the other side of the river just opposite the Muslims, the bridge being guarded on the Arab side by Zuhra and on the Persian side by Dhu'l-Hājjib. It must be clearly understood that the strategy of the Muslims was only that of *"الانقاص"* and not in any way of procrastination or gradual attrition. On the other hand they had explicit orders from the centre to open hostilities the very moment the enemy arrived on the scene, and not to let him stand without a fight for any length of time. Thus the Muslims were determined not to lose any time in commencing actual hostilities. But Rustam was reluctant as ever to take a plunge immediately and wanted to negotiate peace and put off the Arabs with some concessions if possible. So the very next morning after he arrived at al-'Atiq, Rustam went on a reconnaissance up and down the stream, and standing at the end of the bridge called out to Zuhra on the other side expressing his desire to avoid war and inviting a plenipotentiary to explore the possibility of a peaceful settlement. Again a number of prominent knights were called together by Sa'd, and they among themselves decided not to send more than one envoy lest the sending of a larger mission as on the previous occasion be construed, according to Persian manners, as undue honour shown to a mere general. Accordingly they despatched Rabi'a b. 'Amir, who reiterated the Muslim case as presented earlier at the imperial court, and at the request of Rustam agreed to a truce for three days so as to allow time for consultation and deliberation. As a matter of fact Rustam only desired to mark time by obtaining truce for an indefinite period, but having failed in this object he again invited ambas-

sadors on the second and the third day for further negotiations. On the third day, when al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba went to meet him on behalf of the Muslims, Rustam adopted a somewhat bullying attitude recalling the Arabs' economic poverty and submission to Persia in old days and comparing them to lean foxes, rats, and bees which, lured by the prospects of plenty, are ultimately embroiled in a position where they find it difficult to escape utter annihilation. Rustam also showed himself impressed by the Islamic principles of equality and fraternity but acceptance of Islam was ruled out if only on account of the recalcitrance of his countrymen. And when al-Mughīra, refusing to be cowed in any way, reiterated the other alternative of Jizya, Rustam got exasperated and declared open war. In his excitement he also agreed then and there to the suggestion of al-Mughīra that the Persians should cross over to the other side of the 'Atīq where the Muslim encampment was. The process of crossing actually started the same evening.¹

Sa'd having declined to allow them passage over the bridge which the Muslims had captured by force, the Persians were engaged the whole night in improvising a dam across the 'Atīq a little downwards, just opposite the Qudais. The next morning, known as the "Yawm-us-Sakr," the whole of the Persian army crossed over to the other side with all their baggage and equipment, Rustam having promised them to annihilate the Muslims "even if it were against the will of God." The Muslim army had definite orders not to molest the enemy so far and the crossing being over both sides began arraying their forces in preparation for the following day. The Persian army took up a position along the western bank of the 'Atīq with their backs to the stream and faces towards the castle of Qudais, which formed the centre of the Arabs' line of battle. The formation of the army, with remarkable similarity on each side, was in almost straight lines several deep and slightly thrown forward on either end of the kind described by Ibn-Khaldūn as "قال الزحف" in contradistinction to "قال الكر والفر," which represented the characteristically Arab mode of fighting. The line was broken at two points so as to divide itself into three distinct parts: the Centre, the Right and the Left wings. The position of the commander was in the heart of the Centre, where Rustam sat on a high throne imposingly covered with an awning. The true position of the Vanguard and the Rearguard being incompatible with the line formation they were interposed between the Centre and the Right and the Left wings respectively. Both Zuhra and Jālnūs, the commanders of the Vanguards who had so far stood guard at either end of the bridge, were recalled for the purpose, the bridge being left to the care of small detachments. (Tab., I, 2287, 5 and 2288, 6-7). The fourth arm—in addition to Cavalry, Infantry, and Archery—of the Persian force, peculiarly its own, i.e. the Elephant Corps,

1. Ad-Dīnāwari is evidently wrong in saying that the negotiations between Sa'd and Rustam lasted one month. p. 127, l. 7.

of which the Muslims had had a foretaste in previous wars, consisted of 33 animals, 18 of whom were placed in the Centre and 8 and 7 in one and the other of the two wings. These elephants bore wooden boxes, each occupied by twenty warriors. The ranks of the Persians also included no less than thirty thousand special troops who had bound themselves in chains as a sign of their determination to maintain the line and banish all thought of retreat—again a characteristically Persian military practice.

Facing the Persians at a distance of about one mile (Cf. *ad-Dīnāwari*, 127, 6) to the west the Muslim line of battle extended either side at the foot of the castle of Qudais, behind which ran the old famous Ditch. (*Ibid.*, 2294, 11-13). Being prevented on account of purulent wounds from riding and personally leading his army into battle, Sa'd lay on his face with a cushion under his breast at a dominating height in the castle, from which he could overlook the whole field and watch the progress of the battle. Just below Sa'd was arranged the seat of his deputy, Khālid b. 'Urfuta, to whom he continuously passed on his instructions on pieces of paper dropped from above.¹

The disposition of troops having been completed, the zero hour was given after the *Ẓuhr* prayer the next day. In the meantime Sa'd called together all the prominent knights noted for their statesmanship and prowess like al-Mughīra, Ṭulaiḥa, and 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, as well as those renowned for their gifts of poetry and eloquence like ash-Shammākh, al-Hutai' al-Aus b. Maghrā, and 'Abda b. at-Ṭabīb, and ordered them to go about haranguing the troops and raising their spirits by their appearance and words. The Persians in their own way did the same.

THE OPENING DAY OF THE BATTLE

THE next day the Mu'adhdhin issued the call for midday prayers, which curiously enough was taken by Rustam as the voice of 'Umar instructing his soldiers. The prayer being over, the *Sūra* of al-Jihād was recited aloud throughout the army, and then the zero hour was signalled, according to a prearranged method, by three *Takbīrs* from Sa'd. The first two *Takbīrs* were only a warning to get ready and to get into poise, while the third was an order to go into action. Tactically the battle proceeded by three successive stages: al-Muṭārādāt (which was the traditional way of opening war), at-Takattub, and az-Zahf. During the first stage of al-Muṭārādāt or individual combats on horseback, which was the special responsibility of the commander of the *Ṭalā'i*, Sawād b., Mālik at-Tamīmī (Ṭab., 2287, 14), the Muslim army fared well; Hurmuz one of the great crowned chiefs was captured and the Muslim knights

1. Actually the command of the campaign remained in the hands of Sa'd, Khālid being only a medium for passing on his instructions to the lower ranks. The appointment of Khālid as deputy had previously caused some protests and Sa'd had to labour with the troops to appease them.

rode about declaring the Persian soldier to be no better than a "roe-buck." But when it came to at-Takattub or fighting by small detachments the Persian elephant corps wrought havoc and created confusion in Muslim ranks. The horses were scared at the sight of the bulky animals and the footmen were being crushed under the brunt of the attack. The plight became worse when, on information supplied by a deserter from the Muslim camp, the Persians turned about half of the elephant corps towards one single point *viz.*, the tribal division of Bajila. Sa'd immediately directed the Banū-Asad to rush to their succour, which they did with good results.¹ Thereupon the Persians launched a vigorous offensive against the detachment of Asad, whose losses were no less than 500, and while the engagement was at its height, Sa'd issued the fourth Takbīr, which was reserved to signalise the third and last stage of az-Zahf or general advance and mass attack. Ultimately the position of the Muslims was saved by 'Āṣim b. 'Amr and his Tamīmīte division, who hit upon a device to counter the menace of the elephants. The archers concentrated their arrows upon the riders of the elephants while the Muslim knights deftly wound their way till they got behind the animals, and hanging by their tails or the tassels of the boxes borne upon them cut off the girths with amazing daring. The result was that all the boxes fell down, killing their occupants, and a great hue and cry ensued in the Persian army. The battle continued till late into the night when both sides retired to their respective camps.

THE SECOND DAY (THE DAY OF AL-AGHIWĀTH)

THE next day the Muslims took the field early in the morning and only waited for the casualties to be removed in order to renew the fighting. The arrangements made for the treatment of the wounded and the disposal of the killed were remarkably good. There was a medical unit specially sent by 'Umar (Tab., 225, 17) and a regular ambulance unit charged with the duty of transporting the casualties on camels to al-'Udhaib, where the wounded were entrusted to the care of women and the killed were buried on both sides of the valley of Musharriq nearby. (Tab., 2304).

The camels bearing the casualties had scarcely departed from the battle-field and the battle had not yet started when reinforcements from Syria appeared on the scene. These reinforcements consisted mainly of the 'Irāqī troops² who had been switched on to the Syrian front under

1. Evidently the Arabs knew the military practice of keeping reserves (عزلة Tab., 2301) for use at critical moments.

2. The number of these troops is variously given as 850 (Azdi, 67, 1; 70, 11) and 10,000 (I. 'Asākir, I, 170). Similarly the number of those repatriated is given in the latter source (p. 155) as the same 10,000, it being made clear that the losses were made good by substitutes, and in Tab., 2305, 5; Cf. al-Ya'qūbī, as 5,000. Anyhow the reinforcements to al-Qādisiyya included a number of those who did not originally belong to the contingent of Khālid. Qais b. Hubaira was a prominent example in question.

Khālīd, and who were now ordered by 'Umar to be repatriated to al-Qādisiyya with all haste. The arrivals on the Day of al-Aghwāth one month after the battle of al-Yarmūk constituted but the vanguard of the reinforcements under the command of al-Qa'qā' b. 'Amr, who had rushed ahead of the main army commanded by Hāshim b. 'Utba, a nephew of Sa'd. Al-Qa'qā' was in himself a greater asset and source of inspiration than the whole body of troops, and amply justified the tribute of Abū-Bakr that an army which included one like him could never be defeated (Tab., 2306). He showed his masterly insight into the direction of war when he ordered his troops to divide themselves in batches of ten and to proceed to the battle-field wave after wave in a continuous stream. Then arriving at the front he gave such a vigorous drive to the battle as would not have been possible without his personal example. The battle again started with al-Mutāradat in the usual way, in the course of which three of the chief commanders of the enemy force were killed, Bahman Jādhawaih and al-Bīrazān at the hands of al-Qa'qā', and one al-Bindawān at the hands of one of his companions. A peculiar feature of the day's battle was that while the Persians could not use their elephants because their boxes were too badly broken to be repaired so soon, the Muslims improvised a strange make-shift device which was to cover a certain number of camels with ample cloths, put ten riders on the back of each, and then send them forward under the escort of cavalry. The strange and unfamiliar sight of these veiled camels had the same effect in scaring the horses and causing confusion in the enemy ranks as the Persian elephant corps had produced on the previous day. About midday the Mutāradat changed to a general offensive which lasted till late into the night. The Muslims had throughout had the upper hand of the enemy, whose cavalry was routed from the Centre, so that if it had not returned to the charge once again Rustam would have been captured. The Muslims were in particularly high spirits, boasting of their pedigrees aloud, because of their triumph over the three great generals early in the day and the unending influx of Syrian reinforcements, every batch of which was hailed with a Takbīr of good cheer till late in the evening. Al-Aghwāth completely obliterated the memory of al-Armāth from the mind of the Muslims.

THE THIRD DAY (YAWMU 'IMĀS)

ON the third day the battle-ground, littered as it was with corpses, presented the appearance of a red stony expanse. Again the Muslims had their casualties, 2000 in number, carefully removed by the ambulance squad headed by Hājib b. Zaid; the wounded were attended to in the usual manner by the women, while the dead were consigned to the graves which the women and children had been digging during the two previous days. The Persians did not bother much about this matter and their

casualties, five times those of the Muslims, lay uncared for between the lines of battle.

No sooner were the casualties removed than fighting was resumed early in the morning. Encouraged by the previous day's results, al-Qa'qā' had quite secretly retaken his troops under cover of darkness to the point on the Syrian route whence they emerged on the second day of the battle. These troops were instructed to proceed to the front once again at daybreak in batches of 100 and were expected soon to be joined by the main body of reinforcements under Hāshim b. 'Utba. Not content with that, al-Qa'qā' had also counselled 'Āsim b. 'Amr likewise to take the troops under his command to some distance towards Khaffān at the other end of the Muslim army, and to instruct them to proceed in waves to the battle-field. Thus immediately on the start of the fighting these troops were believed by both sides to be fresh reinforcements, as they began to pour in from either end. And actually they were soon joined by Hāshim who had raced, perhaps ahead of the rest of his army, in a contingent of 700 (or 300—Tab., 2321,8) picked warriors like Qais b. Hubaira, so as to arrive just in the nick of time.¹ This plan of al-Qa'qā' proved very helpful in steadying the morale particularly in view of the fact that the Persians were also receiving reinforcements post haste from Yazdajird, who was momentarily kept informed of every new turn in the battle through an elaborate system of guards stationed at proper distances all along the route, and charged with the duty of re-echoing to one another every message from al-Qādisiyya till it was transmitted to the other end at al-Mada'in.

Thus the battle opened with even odds. By this time the Persians had repaired the boxes and were again using the elephants with this difference that the animals were surrounded by footmen who in turn were protected by cavalry (Tab., 2320)—all this to guard against any attempt to cut off the girths. This arrangement no doubt prevented the Muslims from repeating their tactics of the first day but at the same time it also reduced very much the menace of the elephants because under the escort of footmen and cavalry they behaved rather tamely. Still, whatever confusion they created in the Muslim ranks was further effectively countered by the advice of the Persian converts to Islam who had crossed over to Sa'd. These men pointed out that the vital parts of an elephant were the eyes and the trunk, and the foremost Muslim knights like al-Qa'qā', 'Āsim, Hammāl, and ar-Ribbīl were not slow to act upon the hint. They went in small detachments, surrounded the animals, and while the enemy, who could not anticipate the new design, turned to protect the girths, the Muslim warriors made their horses stand on their hind feet and in concert hit the eyes and trunks of two king elephants with spears. The wounded animals turned, as is their wont, backwards, and they being

1. The reinforcements from Syria continued to arrive in batches till the third day after the victory. See al-Balādhuri, 256; Tab., I, 2367.

the leaders, were soon followed by the rest, who trampled upon the ranks of the Persians and crossed over to the other side of the 'Atīq.

Thus the Muslims successfully eliminated the elephant corps of the Persians, hoisting them with their own petard, but a similar fate awaited its improvised counterpart in their own camp. While they were busy dealing with the elephants, their own camels flocked together and soon fell an easy victim to hamstringing, covered though they were with coats of mail and other armour. Thus when it came to a general offensive late in the day both sides found themselves reduced to hand-to-hand fighting. The Muslims went on trying single combats for some time but soon they found that the enemy was bent on different and somewhat new tactics. The Persians refused to come out of their lines either for single combats or to fight in small detachments. They had formed themselves into 13 compact lines, slightly curved at the ends so as to have "two ears" (اذنان — Tab., I, 2329), both in the Centre and on the two wings, and threatened to hurl those lines, quite solid and unbroken, one after another in a general advance. The Muslims realised that the enemy could only be countered with his own method. But much as they desired to proceed to a general offensive, Sa'd had not yet given the signal for it. He took a long time to be convinced of the necessity of such a step until the situation became so pressing that al-Qa'qā' thought fit to act on his own initiative. Sa'd however gladly forgave al-Qa'qā' and falling in with his view issued three Takbirs at the last of which the army was to go into a mass offensive. But the impatience of the rank and file was so great that they rushed at the very first or the second Takbīr, leaving behind only the chiefs to wait for the third. Similarly in an excess of zeal Tulaiha, who was deputed to guard a ford some distance down the stream, crossed over to the other side and from the centre of the enemy camp issued a Takbīr which caused not a little pleasant surprise to the Muslims and awkward perturbation to the Persians. At last, going into a general offensive, the Muslims adopted the same tactics as the Persians; they arranged their troops in three lines, the first consisting of horsemen, the second of footmen equipped with swords and lances, and the third of archers. (Tab., 2330; cf. ad-Dīnawarī, 128). Then they advanced in regular formation (al-Izdilāf), each division in its proper position, after most of the commanders had dismounted as a traditional sign of desperation and, on the advice of Qais b. Ḥubaira, had also taken care to have their horses escorted by footmen so as to guard against their being hamstrung by enemy infantry. Hard and close fighting ensued, (known as the "Lailat-ul-Harīr," because of the 'snarls' made by the warriors in an effort to muster strength in exhaustion) which lasted till late into the night without advantage on either side.

The latter part of the night proved to be a hard and critical test of patience and perseverance. The combatants had been carrying on deadly fighting all the time without allowing themselves a moment's sleep. Both

sides were utterly exhausted, but the Muslim commanders knew that this was their opportunity for dealing the last decisive blow. Early at dawn the redoubtable al-Qa'qā' and other Muslim knights went about warning the troops against any relaxation and telling them that victory would soon go to the side which managed to put up a bold offensive at that moment of weakness. Accordingly the Muslim warriors made a last courageous effort, and before the sun was warm al-Hurmuzān and al-Birazān at the head of the Right and the Left Wings respectively were pushed back and a wedge was driven into the Centre of the opposite army. Nature too came to their aid and a strong western wind blew dust in the faces of the Persians. Al-Qa'qā' with his detachment soon reached the throne of Rustam, the awning over which had already been torn and blown into the 'Atiq by the wind. Rustam sought refuge under a transport mule in the rear of his lines, whence he was chased into the 'Atiq by his assailant, probably Hilāl b. 'Ullafa who brought him ashore and then put him to the sword. And no sooner did Hilāl stand on the throne and issue the cry that Rustam was dead than the Persian army was routed in utter confusion. At the orders of al-Jālnūs, who now took up the command, they crossed over to the eastern bank of the 'Atiq and fled in disorder, destroying the dam and the causeway behind them. The thirty thousand "chained warriors" also fell together into the stream, only to be done to death by the lances of the Muslims, and the sacred standard of the Persians called the "Dirafshi Kābiyān" was captured. There remained about 33 detachments entrenched on the field and determined to fight to the last man, a number of whom like al-Hurmuzān, Qārīn, and Zādh b. Buhaish ultimately went back upon their resolve while the rest were dealt with by Muslim knights, prominent among them being Salmān and 'Abdur-Rahmān Dhu'n-Nūr.

The battle being over, Sa'd despatched Zuhra to pursue the remnant and al-Qa'qā' and Shurahbil to mop up the whole country up and down the stream of al-'Atiq. In the meantime women and children were called from al-'Udhaib to go round the prostrate bodies of fallen warriors, which covered the whole space between Qudais and the 'Atiq, supplying water and tending the wounded Muslims while despatching the enemy soldiers on point of death. Zuhra overtook al-Jālnūs on the way to an-Najaf and killed him (Tab., 2339; cf. al-Balādhurī, 259). Thereafter the Persians escaped to al-Madā'in and Zuhra returned to al-Qādisiyya before next morning, when al-Qa'qā' and Shurahbil had also returned from their task. The casualties on the third day and the following night are reported to be six (var. three—Tab., I, 2337 last line; cf. 2338, 8) thousand on the side of the Arabs and ten thousand, in addition to the 30 thousand drowned in the 'Atiq, on the side of the Persians. Thus roughly speaking, the battle cost the Muslims about one-third and the Persians a little more than the same proportion of their respective armies.

In conclusion it only remains to advert briefly to the different views about the nature and the motives behind the Arabo-Islamic expansion

in so far as the records of this battle throw light upon the subject. Was it merely a natural consequence of the desiccation of the desert? An answer to this important question is amply provided in the diplomatic exchange preceding the opening of hostilities at al-Qādisiyya, which form a personal exposition of the objectives and motives of those who actually participated in the events. The categorical assertions of Arab spokesmen on the occasion (as well as that of al-Yarmūk) make it amply clear that they were far from being actuated by a mere desire for *lebensraum*. P. K. Hitti¹ cites the words of Rustam in support of the characteristically Western theory of purely economic forces worked out by Cætani and Becker and controverted by Musil and Lammens, but ignores the answer of the Arab envoy which constitutes an express denial of what the author seeks to prove. Of course economic advantages were not out of the mind of the Arabs, but the real point is that they were fully conscious that their primary object was "to fight for the cause of Allāh."² Physical conditions undoubtedly conduce to the development of certain qualities like hardihood and aggressiveness, but it must not be forgotten that by the time with which we are concerned the Arabs had attained to a stage of mental development when they could imbibe moral and spiritual values in such a way that these could become the sole determining forces in their action.

Similarly one looks in vain for any evidence justifying the view that the war was a defensive one. Significantly enough, there is no reference in the utterances of the Arabs to the atrocities of the Persians in the past, though they were indeed too many. On the other hand there is positive proof that 'Umar would not let the Muslims dwell upon the misdeeds of the Persians in pre-Islamic days.³ Missionary zeal was an effective antidote against all thought of vengeance. Heathen ideals behind an organised power constituted a menace in themselves without their being necessarily accompanied by any overt sign of aggression. Thus the early wars of Islam were idealistic wars not necessarily caused by any immediate provocation, though in some cases they were actually so, and this important change in the outlook of the Arabs is explicitly and most graphically described by their spokesmen to Yazdajird and Rustam, as well as Hāmān.⁴

1. *A History of the Arabs*, p. 144. Other citations of the author can also be proved to be similarly torn from their proper context.

2. Vide the words of no less a person than Khālid b. al-Walid—Tab., I, 2031,3-6—uttered long before al-Qādisiyya:

”و بالله لو لم يزل منا الجهاد في سبيل الله والدعاء الى الله عز وجل ولم يكن الا المعاش لكان الرأى أن نقارع على هذا الريف حتى نكون أولى به ونولى الجوع والافلال من تولاه من اتاقل عما اثم عليه“

3. Note how the cry of ”تغريق بئحريق“ had perturbed 'Umar because of its supposed reference to an old atrocity of the Persians. Tab., I, 2208.

4. I am thankful to Dr. M. Ḥamidullāh of the Osmania University for drawing my attention to this subject and acquainting me through translation with the arguments of Cætani on the point of chronology.

APPENDIX

(A) NOTE ON CHRONOLOGY.

1. The year 13 H. and the following three years are so crowded with events concurrently on both the Persian and the Syrian fronts that their interdependent chronology is as confounding as a jigsaw puzzle. Speaking of the Persian front, we are on sure ground as far as the Battle of al-Jisr, which took place according to Saif in Sha'bān but more probably in Ramaḍān, 13 H. (al-Balādhurī: *Futūh*, 252; ad-Dīnawarī, 119). The next event was undoubtedly the battle at al-Buwaib, in which Jarir b. 'Abdullāh joined at the head of fresh reinforcements from al-Madīna. We can safely adopt the report of Abū-Mikhnaḥ that it took the Muslims one year to recover from the shock of the disastrous defeat at al-Jisr, and can thus place the Battle of al-Buwaib roughly in the third quarter of the year 14 H. It must be clearly realised that there was no rigid one-front policy such as may warrant the assumption that the Muslims took all the thrashing on the Persian front lying down until the decisive victory of al-Yarmūk on the Syrian front; they had obviously had no hesitation in opening two fronts simultaneously. The distinguishing feature of their policy in this respect, to which they attended with great care and circumspection, was the shifting of emphasis alternately between the two fronts without ever neglecting the one for the other. The sagacity of 'Umar consisted in seizing with great alacrity on every respite following some important favourable event on the Syrian front to resume active operations in al-'Irāq. Thus the conquest of Damascus in Rajab, 14 H., was an event important enough to assure the Muslims of stability for the time being, and can very well explain 'Umar's reference to the strengthening of the position in Syria in the course of his exhortations to the people to enlist for the Battle of al-Buwaib. It is quite plausible that the conquest of Damascus should have been followed within two or three months, but not more than that, by the battle of al-Buwaib.

2. Next we have to consider the following verses by some warrior-poet, probably Qais b. Hubaira:—

كل مدحج كاللث حامى	جلبا الخيل من صعاء بردى
الى البرموك والبلد الشامى	الى وادى القرى قد ياركب
عطفناها ضوامر كالخلام	فلما أنزونا الروم عنها
مسومة دوائرها دواى	فابن القادسية بعد شهر
وأضاء المرازبة العظام	فنهضنا هالك جوع كسرى

(Al-Balādhurī: *Futūh*, 261; ad-Dīnawarī, 132).

Here we have the personal testimony of a prominent actor in the drama preserved to us in the most reliable form of poetry—the Register of the Arabs—to the effect that the battle of al-Qādisiyya occurred just one month after the battle of al-Yarmūk, in Rajab, 15 H. Qais b. Hubaira's military career as given in the verses is confirmed in Tab., I, 2385. Khālīd's detachment could not have returned to al-'Irāq earlier than the battle of al-Yarmūk because its leaders, including Hāshim b. 'Uṭba, are reported to have played a prominent part in the battle. At the same time its return could not have been delayed any further because it was no more needed in Syria and the orders of 'Umar on the point were already there in advance. The fact that though the detachment rushed up with all speed, only a part of it could reach al-Qādisiyya in time, also provides a corroborating circumstance.

A reference to al-Qādisiyya's following Yarmūk by one month also occurs three times in the narrative of at-Ṭabarī (I, 2319; 2305; 2321), but significantly enough it is coupled in the two latter places with (some event relating to) Damascus, in such a way as to suggest the close proximity of the two events so as to allow of their in-

terchangeability with one another. If this apparent incongruity could be solved then an agreed date for the battle of al-Qādisiyya might be assigned. Now the chronology of the conquest of Damascus is again a matter of argument. Suffice it here to say that I have found it quite safe to depend on the comprehensive, continuous and coherent account of Abū-Isma'il al-Azdi (ed. Nassu Lees) which, when compared with other sources, yields the following results:—The Muslims appeared before the city soon after Khālid joined them in the middle of the year 13 H.; after a short diversion towards the end of the year they began to press the siege in right earnest in the beginning of 14 H., and finally entered the city in Rajab the same year, a date which is agreed upon by all the annalists except Saif, whose chronology of the events in Syria is explicitly rejected by I. 'Asākir (p. 159). It is an established fact that soon after this conquest the Muslims decided on a policy of general evacuation in order to concentrate their forces at Yarmūk. Thus Damascus, which was no exception (al-Azdi, 142), had to be reoccupied after Yarmūk. The reoccupation took place immediately after the victory at Yarmūk because this time Damascus offered no resistance and welcomed the Muslim conquerors with open arms (*Ibid.*, 208). Thus it seems to me that it is this reoccupation of Damascus which is bracketed with the victory of Yarmūk in the references quoted above—a view which is supported by an important variant “الرموك من دمشق” in the last place. Cātani, by stretching not a little a tradition in I. 'Asākir to the effect that the siege of Damascus lasted from Rajab to Shawwāl has magnified this reoccupation into a second siege, but I think that the tradition can more precisely be taken as a reference to the year 13, when the Muslims first appeared before the city and remained there exactly for the months specified. Further, in the same source (I. 'Asākir, 158), there is another tradition to the effect that the siege of Damascus started under Abū-Bakr and was brought to a successful issue under 'Umar, which can only square with the view advanced by me.

3. We have now only to pick up a few landmarks in the annals of al-Qādisiyya and to see if the stray references to their chronology fit in with the assumption above. It is more or less agreed that :

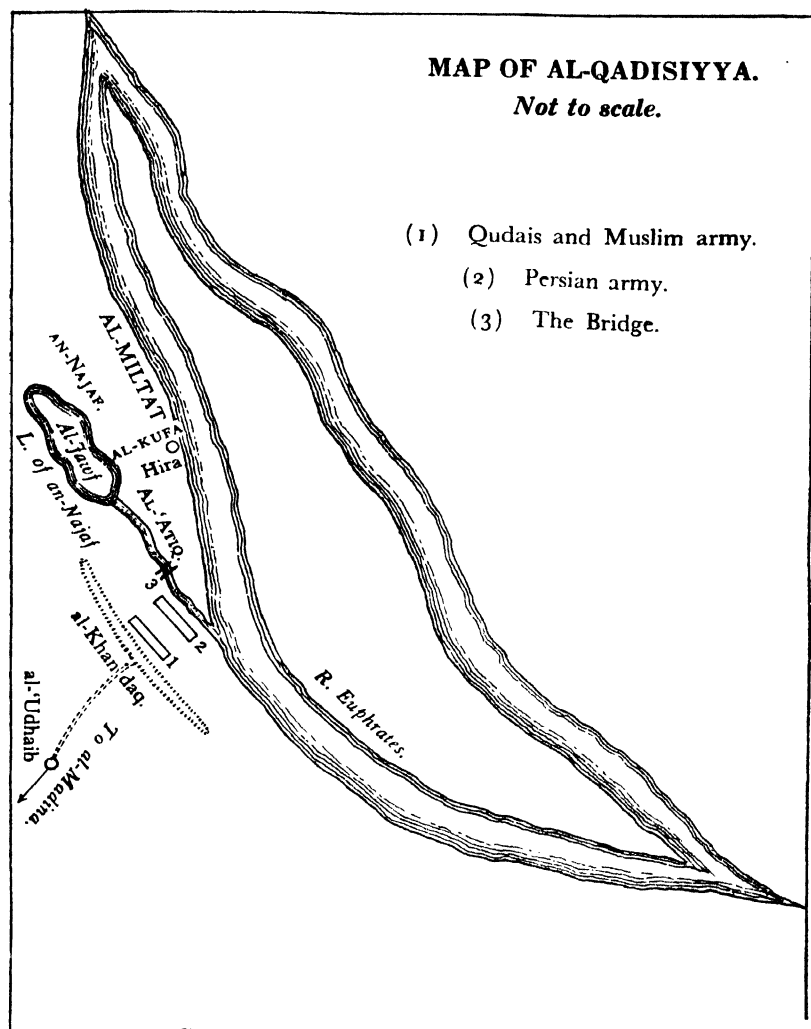
1. Sa'd left al-Madīna at the beginning of winter.

2. Three months later, at the end of the winter, Sa'd was at Sharāf, where he took to wife the widow of al-Muthanna. It is explicitly mentioned that al-Mu'anna, who escorted his brother's widow, was delayed on his way to Sa'd's camp and that by the time he arrived there the “'Iddat” of the widow had expired (ad-Dīnawarī, 126). This squares well with the report that al-Muthanna died when Sa'd had already left al-Madīna. The year of al-Muthanna's death is mentioned as 14 H., which can only mean the fag-end of it. Sa'd's marriage, which is mentioned along with al-Muthanna's death, can only be an event of the following year.

3. Sa'd reached his camp at al-Qādisiyya early in spring (cf. *Tarjama-i-Kitāb-ul-Futūh* of Ātham al-Kūfī, Bombay, 1305 H., p. 31—“تازحت سرما و زمستان بگذشت و بهار” also the following page—“زحمت سرما برطرف شد، علوفه چهار یا بان” i.e. in the month of Rabi' I or II.

4. Sa'd waited for the arrival of Rustam at al-Qādisiyya for no less than four months (al-Balādhuri: *Futūh*, 255). The presence of Sa'd at al-Qādisiyya during the months of Jumādā-Rajab is further proved by a folk-song quoted by at-Ṭabari (p. 2419).

All these facts militate against the view taken by Cātani that the battle of al-Qādisiyya must be placed in the first half of the year. They inevitably lead to the conclusion that it must have taken place a little after Rajab, that is to say, one month after al-Yarmūk. Even al-Wāqidī agrees that Sa'd departed from al-Qādisiyya in Shawwāl, after having stayed there for two months after the victory. (*Futūh al-'Irāq*, Newalkishor, p. 77; cf. Ṭab., I, 2420).

**(B) NOTES ON GEOGRAPHY**

N.B.—In regard to geographical data one has to rely chiefly on the descriptions contained in historical annals; geographical works often excerpt the same without adding to our knowledge in any way.

- Al-Qādisiyya, 15 Arab miles, more probably farsakhs (farsakh=3 miles or 5721 metres) as in *al-Mushtarak*, 537; cf. I.-Hauqal 232 في أقل من مرحلتين from al-Kūfa, directly south of an-Najaf, situated, according to A. Musil, 310 45 N. Lat. and 44 81 E. Long. *Vide Ency. of Islam*.
- Qudais, over 1 mile west of al-'Atiq (Tab., I, 2316, 14). It had an exit toward al-Khandaq (Ibid., 2313, 11), which lay behind it. The Bridge (جسر القادسيه or جسر العتيق) stood 1 mile above Qudais. Tab. I, 2230, 15-16; cf. 2233, 14-15 and 2286, 1.
- Al-'Udhaib, 4 or 6 miles from al-Qādisiyya, with which it was connected by two walls. There was a spring at al-'Udhaib (al-Muḥabbar).
- 'Ain-Shams, a little below al-Qādisiyya. The Wādī of Musharriq where the Muslim casualties were buried, lay between 'Ain-Shams and al-'Udhaib.
- Al-Ḥira, 3 miles south of al-Kūfa on the eminence of an-Najaf. (al-Ya'qūbī: *al-Buldān*, 309). The main arm of the Euphrates once flowed towards al-Ḥira and poured its waters into the inner arm of the Persian Gulf, then stretching up to the region of al-Qādisiyya (Mas: *Murūj* I, 125). When the Euphrates shifted its course eastwards there remained a lake, at times dried up, in the depression (الحواف) lying immediately west of an-Najaf on the coast of the desert, which was connected with the Kūfa arm of the Euphrates at al-Maqr (Tab., I, 2038, 6) by al-'Atiq, a river flowing in the old bed of the Euphrates. The course of al-'Atiq lay to the North East of al-Qādisiyya and not between al-'Udhaib and al-Qādisiyya, as is stated in the *Ency. of Islam*.

The other arm of water mentioned by Sa'd as stretching south of al-Qādisiyya up to al-Walaja is not traceable on the modern map, while precise details relating to it are lacking. Al-Walaja is most probably the place where Khālīd had a battle earlier, and which was situated not on the Euphrates but away from it inland. (Tab., I, 2029).

S. M. YŪSUF.

MUZAFFAR JANG AND CHANDĀ ŚĀHIB IN THE CARNATIC

MUZAFFAR JANG and Chandā Śāhib, at the head of fourteen thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, embarked on their invasion of the Carnatic in the third week of June, 1749. In the first week of July they were at Govala, Mulavai, and thereabouts in the Anantpur district,¹ and then descended into the plain of Kolar.

The official newsletter from Arcot received at Pondicherry on the 3rd of July, 1749, said that messengers had brought news to Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān that Muẓaffar Jang and Chandā Śāhib were already camping at Sirpi. Thereupon Husain Tāhir's, Zainuddīn Khān's and Sampat Rao's families and others had been sent to Chingleput Fort under escort. The Nawāb sent some of the members of his family to Ravattanallur Fort and left some in Trichinopoly, from where he hastily advanced past Gingee to Arcot and thence proceeded towards the Ambur pass. The soldiers were given eleven months' arrears of pay and a month's advance. The Nawāb also promised them that if they fought well and held their ground firmly they would be rewarded, but if they fled, they would lose their livelihood and would be "dishonoured as widows."²

The news of Muẓaffar Jang's and Chandā Śāhib's approach created great confusion and tumult in Arcot. Every one was in a panic and the place was full of all sorts of rumours. Most of the wealthy merchants had removed to Vellore and elsewhere. The bazaar people had fled to neighbouring places except for those daring ones who were carrying goods to Arcot and reaping high profits. Hīrāsāt Khān, the Killedār of Arcot and Chandā Śāhib's son-in-law, had made some twenty or thirty thousand rupees by taking a rupee for every parcel of goods received in Arcot from outside. The general state of nervousness in Arcot was such that neither a coolie nor a bullock-cart could be had even for ten rupees. In the words of the French agent at Arcot "for these three days there has been so much confusion that not a man would stop to pick up a fallen child. It is indescribable. I do not know what else will happen."³

1. *The Diary of Ananda Rango Pillai*, Vol. VI, p. 110.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

Nawāb 'Anwaruddīn Khān set out from Arcot on the 3rd July, 1749, with Muẓaffar Khān, Sampat Rao, Ḥusain Ṣāhib Ṭāhir, and other prominent persons, and camped at Ranipet. From here he wrote to Muẓaffar Jang as follows:—

"I make no difference between you and Nāṣir Jang; when Nāṣir Jang was master, I folded my arms, obeyed his orders and paid him tribute; but as you have succeeded Nāṣir Jang, the accounts and money shall be rendered to you instead of to him, and I will obey your orders and be responsible for the revenues. For the present I have resolved to send you five lakhs of rupees."¹

It was at the suggestion of Ḥusain Khān Ṭāhir, Killedār of Ambur, that Anwaruddīn Khān finally decided to encamp at Ambur which was considered to be a spacious place for the camping of a vast army and which also commanded one of the principal passes leading into the Carnatic.² There was a further advantage in taking up a position there, in that the fortress would have been at the back of the country from which supplies could easily be despatched. Added to this, it was defended on one flank by a mountain and on the other by a large lake. The ground between these had been fortified by entrenchments.³ Strategically also Ambur barred the way to Pondicherry. According to

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.* The letter of Anwaruddīn Khān, according to *Tuzuk-i-Wāḥjāhī*, runs thus:—

In consideration of your being the daughter's son of Nawāb Ḥāf Jāh, and of our long friendship, and out of regard that you are a Muslim, I do not wish that my sword of menace (whose wound has no cure except the plaster of the death-knell) should come down on your head. Even so it is not advisable for you to fight against one like myself who is a brother in the Faith and a true friend of your grandfather Nawāb Ḥāf Jāh, and who has the right to claim politeness and kindness from you. The deliberations of war and mischief are considered improper in the regulations for preserving and protecting long-standing friendship and unity. It is opposed to the nature of trustworthy men. However much you may have the intention to subdue the country of the Carnatic and the desire to wrest it from me, yet I have my regard and friendship for Nawāb Nizāmud-Dowla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, and I cannot entrust the kingdom to you without his consent. Considering that you are the daughter's son of Nawāb Ḥāf Jāh, I do not wish to draw the sword against you. Accordingly I have resolved to give up my life and thus free myself from committing any of these two conflicting things, yet in revenge for this the punishment will be (the loss of) your life. Your endeavours in the hope of (getting) this country are useless. In avenging this bloodshed, Nawāb Nizāmud-Dowla Bahādur Nāṣir Jang will not let you off easily, and wily age will bear within itself endless troubles. If you wish safety, then give a place to my advice in your sensible ear. That is, put off your refractoriness and conceit on one side, and obey your uncle the Nāẓim of the Deccan. As far as I can, I shall be the means of getting you his pardon and the generosity of his kindness. In addition to the previous Jagirs granted by Nawāb Ḥāf Jāh, *viz.* the Taluq of Adoni, I shall get you new Jagirs that would be becoming your status and give you sufficient comfort. What more can I write than this; and what pains shall I take? (*Tuzuk-i-Wāḥjāhī*, Asafia Lib. Per. Hist. No. 2113, Eng. Tr. by Muḥammad Ḥusain Nainar, part I, p. 142).

2. Ambur is situated (12°48' N. and 78°43' E.) on the south bank of the Palar about thirty miles from Vellore and commands the Kadapanatham Pass leading into Salem (*New Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. V, p. 291).

3. *Tārīkh-i-Fathīyah*, see also Malletson's *History of the French in India*, p. 227.

Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi, most of the Killedārs and Zamindārs to whom Anwaruddīn Khān had written, instructing them to gather together in the plain of Arcot, did not respond to his appeal, for most of them were secretly hostile to him.¹ As Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān had already got an inkling of the fact that his adversaries would get assistance from the French, he sought help from the English to make up his deficiency in artillery, but the latter, not being ready with their army, excused themselves.² Then he requested Dupleix not to help MuẒaffar Jang and Chandā Šāhib in the coming struggle. He also offered Dupleix the same concessions as Chandā Šāhib was prepared to offer.³ But Dupleix was much offended by Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān's policy on the occasion of the French operations round Fort St. David, and later when the English laid siege to Pondicherry. Although seemingly, he was inclined more and more towards accommodation with the Nawab, he secretly schemed all the time for the release of Chandā Šāhib from Maratha captivity and for the deposition of Anwaruddīn and his two sons from the throne of the Carnatic. Through the intermediation of Muḥammad Tavakkul, the resident agent of the Nawāb at Pondicherry, Anwaruddīn Khān again offered to send money to Dupleix for troops or to make a grant of villages, and proposed to come in person and discuss the matter if desired, but it was too late.⁴ Dupleix was determined to support his rival and had entered into a definite agreement with him which suited his schemes and purposes to seize ultimately the reins of power in the Carnatic.

Chandā Šāhib's messenger Qutbuddīn 'Alī Khān came to Pondicherry on 9th July, 1749. He was sent in advance to get all things ready. He said that when he set out, Chandā Šāhib was already at Devanalli with MuẒaffar Jang. He also read out to Dupleix a letter in Chandā

1. *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi*. The author of this work suspects a treacherous motive on the part of Ḥusain Khān Tāhir in persuading Anwaruddīn Khān to encamp in the plain before his fort to give battle to his adversaries. But *Anwar Nāma* and *Tārīkh-i-Fatḥiyah* are silent on this point, while the latter points out that there was old enmity between Chandā Šāhib and Ḥusain Khān Tāhir, who was killed in action at Ambur.

2. *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi*, Āsafia Library, Pers. Hist. MS. No. 2113; Nainar's *Eng. tr.* p. 140; Orme, however, holds that "He (Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān) neglected probably from the parsimony of his disposition to ask from the English the assistance of a body of their troops, and they, employed in supporting a much less important cause (i.e. Tanjore affair, were equally blind to their real interest, in neglecting to join the Nabob of their own accord as soon as they found the French determined to support his rival" (Vol. I, p. 127). Dupleix in his letter to Saunders says:—"I was then told and assured by Aneverdy Cawn's people themselves that the deceased, seeing the storm that was gathering against him, applied to Mr. Boscawen for assistance, making him at the same time advantageous offers, but the General answered him that as the French were at war with him, the Nabob, he would, not give him any succour without going directly counter to the treaty of peace just concluded between our Sovereigns." (Records of Fort St. George, French Correspondence, 1752, p. 3).

3. *Memoire de la compagnie contre Dupleix*, p. 40.

4. *Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 145.

Šāhib's own hand, asking Razā Šāhib to satisfy the Governor (Dupleix) in all possible ways, and requested the latter to receive the next day Muzaffar Jang's letter and dress of honour, and Chandā Šāhib's letter and presents, with the same pomp and grandeur with which he used to receive Nizāmu'l-Mulk's presents. The governor was overjoyed, and, saying that he would do so, ordered all to be made ready.¹ Qutbuddin 'Alī Khān also conveyed to Dupleix that Muzaffar Jang would secure a correspondence between him and the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, which must certainly have appealed a great deal to his imagination. The messenger also said that Muzaffar Jang was very anxious to see the cannon which fired twenty-one rounds a minute. So saying he showed the bags containing Muzaffar Jang's letters to the five famous Killedārs of the Carnatic, Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, Killedār of Chidambaram, Mīr Asad 'Alī Khān, Killedār of Chetpattu, Hīrāsāt Khān, Killedār of Arcot, Murtuḍa 'Alī Khān, Killedār of Vellore, and Muḥammad Taqī Khān, Killedār of Wandiwash. It goes to the credit of Dupleix's keen sense of observation that after seeing the bags containing letters to the Killedārs, he asked if a man who held the position of the Nizām should send letters in bags to Killedārs. The messenger replied, "The Nizām used to write on small sheets of paper which were sent by messengers without being put into an envelope; and he who now has that position should have done so too. But as these Killedārs are brother-in-law, brother, or son-in-law to Chandā Šāhib, and as Chandā Šāhib is coming, he considered that he should show respect to them and magnify their greatness, and accordingly ordered their letters to be enclosed in bags." The Governor was satisfied with the explanation.²

Three days later Razā Šāhib, in accordance with the message which Qutbuddin 'Alī Khān had brought from his father, entered into an agreement with Dupleix, the text of which is reproduced in the proceedings of the *Conseil Supérieur de Pondichery* and runs thus:—

"The Governor (Dupleix) having decided, on the 1st of last March, to discharge all the sepoy maintained by the Company since the last war, the son of Chandā Šāhib, who has all the time been here, daily expecting the return of his father to take possession of the Government of the Province, requested him, at the instance of his father, to be so good as to transfer to him all the troops in the service of the Company, and till his (Chandā Šāhib's) return continue to pay and to provide all their ordinary requirements from the funds of the Company, as if they were still in its service. It was not so much for the cash payment as in order to prevent the enemies of his father from getting any information regarding this arrangement that this settlement has been considered necessary. As soon as

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 127.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

he (Chandā Śāḥib) would be in possession of the Government of the Province he would reimburse all the expenses thus occasioned from the 1st of March last. In view of the great advantages which would accrue to the Company if this lord (Chandā Śāḥib) succeeded in obtaining the Government of this Province, the Governor had pledged himself not only to continue to be in close correspondence with him but also to use his best endeavours to advance his interests with the Marathas as well as at the Courts of the Moors (*i.e.*, Nizām-u'l-Mulk). The Governor having done so much for him, now when his affairs are nearing a settlement, it would not be proper to go back on this occasion and decline the grace which would entail loss to the Company of the fruit of all the pains and fatigues which he (Dupleix) has undergone on behalf of this lord. Moreover, it would open an honourable way to the Company to generally discharge all the service troops about whom we had every reason to be satisfied during siege operations as well as in diverse actions of war when they were in service.

“ The son of Chandā Śāḥib has received advice from his father to the effect that the latter has arrived at Ambur which is only two days' march from Arcot. He has asked his son to join him with the Sepoys and other troops, which he had already given him orders to levy. This young man came to the Governor to inform him of these news and requested him to put our troops at his disposal. According to the account of expenses which have been incurred since 1st March last in connection with pay (of the troops) and cost of provisions, etc., the total comes to 30,516 pagodas which at the rate of 320 rupees per 100 pagodas comes to 97,651 rupees, 1 fanum, 32 caches, for which sum he (Razā Śāḥib) has executed a bond, not being in a position to make cash payment. The text of the bond runs thus :—

“ I, the undersigned, 'Alī Razā Khān, son of Chandā Śāḥib, do hereby acknowledge and confess to owe and guarantee to the *Compagnie des Indes* the sum of 30,516 pagodas at the rate of 320 rupees per 100 pagodas, incurred during five months for the maintenance of the Sepoys of Muzaffar Khān, Shaikh Ḥusain, and Shaikh Ibrāhīm, who should be considered as transferred to my service from 1st March last in accordance with the orders of Ḥusain Dost Khān (Chandā Śāḥib). The said sum has been paid by the Company by the order of Monsieur Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, which I promise to reimburse by withdrawing the present bond which I have executed at Pondicherry on the 20th Rajab of the second year of the reign of Aḥmad Shāh. (*i.e.*, 12th July 1749).

“ The original bond was handed over to M. Guillard who is one of us and occupies the post of General Superintendent of the stores of gold and silver, so that the amount may be debited to the accounts of Chandā Śāḥib, and a similar amount should be deducted from the

expenses of the troops.

“Chandā Śāhib, as has been mentioned before, is two days’ journey from Arcot of which he is going to take possession, and has thought fit to give expression to his sentiments of gratitude towards the Governor for the service the latter has rendered to him, his family, and his children, who have all along remained in Pondicherry since his captivity in the hands of the Marathas. He (Chandā Śāhib) has sent him a copy of the Parwāna by virtue of which he has taken possession of the Government of the Province. He has also sent another Parwāna to the Governor by which he has, in his capacity as the Nawab of Arcot, presented in perpetuity to the Company the town of Villenour and its dependent forty villages.

“This acquisition by its situation will be of advantage to the Company in that it will increase its territory and ensure its future expansion. In fact for quite a long time the Company has desired to gain possession of this territory. Now we have got it without incurring any expense. When peace and tranquillity are established and commerce prospers, it will be possible to organise there manufacturing centres for all kinds of merchandise without cost and incidental expenses. It was decided by the Council to accept the present which Chandā Śāhib wishes to offer to the Company. To express our gratitude to him for this, it was resolved that the Governor should continue to favour him in all suitable ways that lie within our means, so that he may get settled and enter into tranquil possession of his government.

“This was deliberated upon and resolved in the Chamber of the Superior Council of Pondicherry, on the day and the year mentioned previously. Signed by : Dupleix, de Saint-Paul, Guillard, Le Maire, Friell.”¹

When Razā Śāhib visited the Governor on 12th July 1749 in order to hand over the Parwāna for Villiyanallur, in the immediate neighbourhood of Pondicherry, and to append his signature to the bond referred to above in the minutes of the Pondicherry Council, he was duly honoured by Dupleix and other members of the French Government as the representative of Chandā Śāhib, the would-be Nawāb of Arcot. Dupleix ordered the South gate of his house to be opened, and soldiers and Sepoys to be drawn up in a lane from his house to Razā Śāhib’s lodgings. Then Razā Śāhib set out in a Palanquin accompanied by Shaikh Hasan and ‘Abdur Raḥmān,² etc., on horse-back, with fifty troops, with music

1. Fr. p. 9167, 43 Extrait du registre des délibérations du Conseil Supérieure de Pondichery, commençant le 25 Janvier, 1746, f. 62 de 13 Juillet 1749. Quoted by Cultru, p. 234-36.

2. He was also known as Muẓaffar Khān. He was the Chief Subedar of the Sepoys taken into Chandā Śāhib’s service from that of the French. Later he accompanied Bussy to the Deccan and owing to certain differences went over to the service of the Peshwa Balaji Rao.

and Naubat, He arrived in State at half-past nine. On reaching the gate, he got out and a salute of fifteen guns was fired.¹ Monsieur Friell one of the members of the Pondicherry Council, received him, and having embraced him took his hands and led him in. When Razā Śāhib arrived, the Governor, who was waiting in the hall, went down one step to meet him as he came up, and taking him by the hand let him to a seat and they sat down in the hall. Another salute of fifteen guns was fired when the Parwāna was read. Having taken leave, Razā Śāhib mounted his elephant, and with the rest in palanquins or on horse-back went home with music and Naubat.²

After obtaining the sanction of the Superior Council of Pondicherry to take all measures, military and diplomatic, to advance the cause of Chandā Śāhib, Dupleix ordered M. d'Auteuil at the head of 420 French soldiers, 2000 sepoy and 100 topasses (soldiers of Eurasian descent) and a train of artillery to accompany Razā Śāhib to join his father. They started on the 15th of July, covered the distance of 90 miles between Pondicherry and Arcot in six days, and reached Arcot on the 21st of July, 1749. Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān, who was counting complacently on fighting MuẒaffar Jang and Chandā Śāhib before they received French aid, tried to check their march at Tiruvannamalai.³ But MuẒaffar Jang and Chandā Śāhib bypassing him proceeded in the northern direction towards Pallikonda, half-way between Ambur and Vellore, where Monsieur d'Auteuil and Razā Śāhib joined them on the 28th of July, 1749.

Orme and others hold that Chandā Śāhib had advanced through the Damalcheruvu pass, through which the Marathas had invaded the Carnatic in 1740.⁴ But Ambur, as Dodwell pertinently observes, does not lie on the road which would lead an invading army from Damalcheruvu to Arcot.⁵ According to the news-entry made by Ananda Ranga Pillai, Chandā Śāhib and MuẒaffar Jang entered the Carnatic from the west by the Chengam Pass. This is why Anwaruddīn Khān took up his position at Ambur so as to be able to bar the enemy from proceeding in the direction of Pondicherry. But it is surprising that the Nawāb was so unrealistic as not to see that his enemies might receive French assistance by way of Arcot and Vellore. It seems that while entering the Carnatic from the south-west, MuẒaffar Jang and Chandā Śāhib had divided their forces into two separate parties. Chanda Śāhib was the first to cross the Chengam Pass at the head of six thousand horse, while MuẒaffar Jang followed him a few days later. The two parties joined forces at Mallapadi, where they camped below Faqir

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. VI, p. 130.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

3. J. Dubreuil, *Dupleix*, p. 217.

4. Orme, p. 127; Malleison, *History of the French in India*, p. 23.

5. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, introduction, p. vii.

'Alī Khān's Fort.¹ After a few days, having received news of d'Auteuil's march from Arcot to Pallikonda, Muẓaffar Jang and Chandā Ṣāhib joined him at the latter place.

From Pallikonda the allied forces proceeded towards the north-west, crossed the river Palar, and marched to Ambur, where Anwaruddīn Khān and his two sons had taken up their position with 4,500 horse, 7,000 foot,² and twenty-six guns served by sixty European adventurers who had joined the Nawāb's service.

On the morning of August, 3rd 1749, the allied armies came in sight of Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān's position and resolved to storm it. Although Muẓaffar Jang was the nominal commander-in-Chief, d'Auteuil was allowed to take all the initiative in conducting the operations. M. d'Auteuil offered to lead the attack without the assistance of any part of Muẓaffar Jang's army. His attacks were twice repulsed by the Nawāb's gunners. In the second attack M. d'Auteuil received slight wounds. M. Bussy was called upon to lead the third attack, which staggered the courageous resistance of the Nawāb's forces.³ The French reserved their fire till they were close to the fortified entrenchments, whose defenders were compelled to take to flight. Captain Taylor, a Scottish Officer, who had deserted Boscawen at the time of the siege of Pondicherry, had joined the Nawāb's service and was in charge of the artillery when the engagement took place. He gallantly stuck to his guns and was killed.⁴ Then M. Bussy delivered a general charge, the fury of which broke the spirits of the Nawāb's soldiery. The Nawāb tried his best to animate and encourage the drooping spirits of his men but without avail. He himself fought gallantly to the last and was slain in the desperate bid to stem the pressure of the French onslaught.⁵

His eldest son Maḥfūẓ Khān,⁶ who commanded the vanguard of the Nawāb's army, was taken prisoner, and the second son Muḥammad 'Alī Khān managed to make good his escape and fled in the direction of Trichinopoly, of which he had been Governor under his father and where the late Nawāb had sent his family and treasures to be guarded. When the rout became general in the army of the late Nawāb, Muẓaffar Jang and Chandā Ṣāhib ordered their troops to pursue the fugitives. Their troops advanced only when they saw the French flags on the

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 138.

2. *Fort St. David Consultations*, 1749, p. 137 (Records of Fort St. George). According to Ananda Ranga Pillai the Nawāb had only 3 thousand horse at his disposal (Vol. VI, pp. 137, 138).

3. Charles Joseph Patissier, Marquis De Bussy, who later acquired great fame and influence in Deccan politics.

4. Cultru, p. 238.

5. *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhi*, see also *Anwar Nāma* of Mir Abjadī (Aṣafia Lib. Pers. Hist. MS. 1707).

6. Among the prisoners was also the Nawāb's younger brother Munawaruddīn Khān (*Fort St. David Consultations* 1749, p. 137).

entrenchments and were sure that the enemy had lost all power of resistance.¹ In this battle 12 French soldiers were killed and 63 wounded. The casualties among the Sepoys led by French officers were about 300. The armies of Muzaffar Jang and Chandā Śāhib remained intact. They plundered great quantities of baggage and stores found in Nawāb Anwaruddin's camp. Muzaffar Jang reserved for himself 43 elephants and the best horses. Chandā Śāhib received 19 elephants. The soldiery were permitted to appropriate the rest of the spoil.²

The battle of Ambur is certainly one of the most decisive and important battles fought in the modern period of Indian history. Its military importance is not so great as its political significance. This battle is remarkable as being the first important occasion when European troops played a conspicuous part in Indian warfare, and is memorable also for the effect it had on the subsequent course of events. To a great extent the result of this battle determined the complexion of Dupleix's political course which he later pursued so boldly and ruthlessly, and which was so successfully followed by the English. It was this policy which later on rendered the European nations victims to the most inordinate thirst for political authority and domination in India. The French had borne the brunt of the fight, which fact increased their self-importance and the value of their association in the eyes of the country powers. J. Dubreuil rightly suggests that probably Dupleix wanted d'Auteuil to undertake the attack alone, without the assistance of any part of Muzaffar Jang's army, with a view to showing their prowess and also proving that they were the real conquerors of the Carnatic.³ He was sure that the force which was sent from Pondicherry under the command of d'Auteuil was sufficient to beat the Nawāb, the weakness of whose army and the inadequacy of whose technique he had previously experienced several times.

On the 7th of August, 1749, Muzaffar Jang and Chandā Śāhib entered Arcot and took possession of the city and the fortress without any opposition. Muzaffar Jang proclaimed himself Śubedār of the Deccan and nominated Chandā Śāhib Nawāb of the Carnatic. Most of the Jāgirdārs and Killedārs of the Carnatic offered their submission to the victors of Ambur. It was already planned by Chandā Śāhib, after his entry into the Carnatic, that he would settle with Hīrāsāt Khān, the Killedār of Arcot and his own son-in-law, for five lakhs of Rupees on reaching Satghar; with Murtuza 'Alī Khān for ten lakhs on reaching Vellore; and with Mir Asad Khān and other Killedārs for twenty-five lakhs on reaching

1. *Bibliothèque Nationale*, I, VII, F.F. 12087, fol. 62, quoted by J. Dubreuil, *Dupleix*, p. 218.

2. *Orme*, p. 129; Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, Vol. III, p. 95.

3. *Dupleix*, p. 217; In spite of the evidence recorded in French contemporary documents to the contrary, we have the following statement recorded in *Fort St. David Consultations, 1749* (p. 137): "At the beginning of the action, the advantage seemed to be on his (the Nawāb's) side, but Sunda Saib (Chandā Śāhib) leading up a fresh party of horse to the assistance of his Confederates, immediately turned the fortune of the day."

Arcot.¹ All the Killedārs submitted except Mīr Asad Khān, Killedār of Chetpattu (in the North Arcot District), who had formerly been Dīwān to Nawāb Dost 'Alī Khān and to Šafdar 'Alī Khān, and was in close touch with the English. He refused to pay the contribution allotted to him.² Chandā Šāhib asked Dupleix to send a force of Europeans to compel Mīr Asad to submit. 300 French soldiers under two officers, M. Duquesne and M. de la Tour, with two mortars firing eight inch shells, two 6-pound guns, two 12-pound guns, powder, shot, etc., were sent and Shaikh Hasan, a Musket-master (Jamedār) in the service of the French, was ordered to proceed to Chetpattu with 1,000 Sepoys and 1,000 horsemen. Mīr Asad hearing of this development, yielded. Negotiations were carried out through the intercession of Shaikh Muḥammad Sharif who settled affairs for three lakhs of rupees.³ The surrounding country was secured by means of flying parties of soldiers, and recalcitrant Jāgirdārs and Killedārs were brought to book. Shaikh Khalilullāh, the Killedār of Gingee, refused to deliver the fort to Chandā Šāhib's men and said that he would do so only with the permission of M. Dupleix, whom he visited in order to hand over the keys of the fortress to him personally. This incident clearly shows that the French were now regarded as the masters of the situation. The political ascendancy of the French in the Carnatic dates from the battle of Ambur and its subsequent developments, which more or less regularised their position in relation to the country powers. Probably Dupleix himself did not visualise, when he sought alliance with Chandā Šāhib, that he would soon be called upon to face the political problems of the Deccan and the Carnatic, fraught with issues of tremendous importance. This was the beginning of his policy of assuming power without responsibility. The extraordinary series of events which followed in the wake of this policy took every one by surprise.

After reaching Arcot, Muẓaffar Jang and Chandā Šāhib were employed in settling the affairs of their new Government and raising new levies to be able to gather sufficient force to attack Trichinopoly, where Muḥammad 'Alī Khān had taken refuge. Many soldiers of Anwaruddin Khān's army joined their standards after the battle of Ambur. They agreed to appoint Taqī Šāhib, who was Killedār of Wandiwash and sometime Dīwān to Nawāb Dost 'Alī Khān, to be the Nā'ib and Dīwān of Arcot. This appointment was not to the liking of Dupleix, who, when he was informed about it, said:— "What a stupid thing to do! They forget that Taqī Šāhib has done nothing to help them. Why have they made him Dīwān and Nā'ib of Arcot?"⁴ In fact Dupleix suspected that Taqī Šāhib, being a shrewd and independent man, would resist his plans to get possession of territories in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. But

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 114.

2. *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 54.

3. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 163.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 174.

he was determined to take possession of Tiruviti and other Parganahs as a pledge, in lieu of two lakhs of rupees advanced to Chandā Šāhib. Ananda Ranga Pillai reports him saying, "We only want to rent them (Tiruvati and other Parganas) like any one else, and do not even ask for a reduction of ten or twenty thousand. If they give us them, well; but if not, we must act according to circumstances."¹

Muzaffar Jang gave M. d'Auteuil a feast and also a dress of honour and a horse, and the French officers each received a dress of honour. As M. d'Auteuil's dress of honour was worth only thirty or forty rupees and the horse 100 rupees, he said that he would return them. Thereupon Chandā Šāhib, who wanted to avoid ill-feeling, sent for M. Law, showed him the dress of honour that he himself had received from Muzaffar Jang, and explained that the presents given by great men need not necessarily be of great value but are only marks of honour and favour. So the matter was smoothed over, and M. Law explained it to M. d'Auteuil who was then satisfied.²

In order to appease the French, without whom the victory of Ambur would never have been possible, Chandā Šāhib gave a donation of 50,000 rupees for the French officers and soldiers. He also gave M. d'Auteuil a Maṇṣab of 100 horse and with it a village worth 2,000 rupees as an In'ām.³ On the orders of Dupleix, d'Auteuil paid the soldiers six rupees each and kept the balance, which would be about forty-seven thousand rupees, for himself.⁴ Dupleix and his wife, Johanna Begam, were rewarded for the moment with a village a piece.⁵

It appears from several letters of Dupleix to d'Auteuil, when the latter was at Arcot, that he wanted him to take full advantage of the situation in the way of reaping profit. He even urged him not to give up his prisoners, some of whom were wealthy persons, without getting a share of their ransom. In one of his letters to d'Auteuil he wrote:— "If Chandā Šāhib desires the French to serve him with affection against Nāṣir Jang, (whose approach was already known) it was necessary that he should do his best to attach them to himself by rewarding those to whom he owes the position he holds."⁶

The French troops, contrary to what Dupleix wrote to the Company, were not under the orders of Muzaffar Jang but under his own. Later on, in his letter to Saunders, he made this point clear when he said:— "Our troops, as I have before had the honour to tell you, joined his (Muzaffar Jang's) on the other side of Vellore; our forces were not on the footing

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 175.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

4. Cultru, *Dupleix, ses plans politiques*, p. 243.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 242.

6. *Lettre de Dupleix à d'Auteuil*, 30 Aout, 1749, (Cultru. *op. cit.*, p. 242).

of Auxiliaries. They acted as Principals ; former insults authorized it, and during the whole course of the war we have never looked upon ourselves in any other light."¹ Thus at Ambur, the French considered themselves to be the Principals, so naturally the position of Muẓaffar Jang and Chandā Ṣāhib was that of auxiliaries. Although sensible of the fact that since the battle of Ambur the real power had passed into the hands of the French, Dupleix had enough statesmanship in him to maintain the name and shadow of authority of the new Nawāb (Chandā Ṣāhib) and the new Ṣūbah (Muẓaffar Jang). If he had not done so, the English might have taken umbrage and even his own Directors might have objected to his ambitious designs, which would have had embarrassing consequences for himself. The territorial possessions that he was going to acquire from the new Nawāb might have been represented as sheer usurpation against the country powers, in consequence of which the French Government would be embroiled with the representatives of other European nations in the East. In order not to throw the Directors into a fright the superior council of Pondicherry wrote to them to say that the French troops were sent merely to produce an impression. They would not be obliged to take part in any military operation. They have been sent to protect Chandā Ṣāhib from his ally, Muẓaffar Jang.²

In these circumstances Dupleix wanted to proceed with the utmost caution. In fact he was anxious about the consequences that Chandā Ṣāhib's alliance with Muẓaffar Jang might bring and he asked d'Auteuil, who had embroiled himself with everybody during his five week's sojourn at Arcot, to handle matters tactfully and obey Chandā Ṣāhib implicitly and not to leave him in a hurry, as that would be detrimental to the interests of the French. D'Auteuil complained of Muẓaffar Jang's and Chandā Ṣāhib's treatment, he complained of the captains of the Sepoys who would not obey him, and last but not least he complained of the gout from which he was suffering. He was anxious to go to Pondicherry as his wife wanted him to return. Dupleix repeatedly advised him to stay on, as he would never again get such an opportunity of advancing his personal interests.³

It appears from contemporary documents that, even after the battle of Ambur, Dupleix was looking forward only to an expedition against Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī with a view to reinstating Chandā Ṣāhib in more or less the same manner as Boscawen had done in the Tanjore affair. He had no far-sighted scheme of action such as has been credited to him by some of his enthusiastic admirers.⁴ In the beginning he was afraid of the complications that might result from Chandā Ṣāhib's alliance with

1. *French Correspondence*, 1752, p. 3 (Records of Fort St. George).

2. Fr. Acq. 8931, 21, *lettre du conseil Supérieur de Pondicherry à la compagnie ler. Aout, 1749* (Cultru, p. 237).

3. Cultru, p. 241.

4. T. Hamont, *Dupleix d'après sa correspondance inédite*, p. 15-18.

Muzaffar Jang. As his immediate interest lay in controlling the Carnatic politics, he advised d'Auteuil to keep the French detachment with Chandā Šāhib until he got rid of "this leech that will prove difficult to satisfy."¹ But Chandā Šāhib's position became untenable without Muzaffar Jang's authority, on which alone he rested his claims and fortunes.

It is quite likely that if Chandā Šāhib had not insisted otherwise, Dupleix would have preferred to leave Muzaffar Jang in the lurch. But the inscrutable forces of history were working differently. Dupleix consulted his interest in not only protecting Chandā Šāhib from Muzaffar Jang but protecting the latter also against his uncle Nāsir Jang, the necessary corollary of the step he had already taken. Now his course of action was to a great extent determined. His audacious spirit, encouraged by the recent successes, inspired him to embark on new adventures which would bring fame and profit to himself and to his nation.

While at Arcot Chandā Šāhib wanted to establish diplomatic relations with the English, in accordance with the instructions received from M. Dupleix. It seems that the latter had suggested a definite plan of action to Raza Šāhib in this regard before he left Pondicherry to join his father. The plan aimed at lulling the suspicions of the English regarding the political developments that were soon going to take place in the Carnatic. M. Dubreuil even suspects that Dupleix had prepared the text of the letter which Chandā Šāhib was to send to the English Governor after defeating Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān.²

The English Governor Floyer received the following letter at Fort St. David from Chandā Šāhib on 4th August, 1749 (24th, July, old style) : —

"This is on purpose to acquaint you that by the Blessing of God and his Prophet, Nawab Saudella Cawn Behader Muzepher Jung has been favourable to me. He has a commission for the Nabobship of the Decan Country from the Mugul's court and was pleas'd to favour me with a Saned or Phirmaund for the Government of Pain Gaut, alias Arcot Country. The said Muzepher Jung is arrived in this province with his Army but Aneverdy Cawn has prov'd Disobedient to him and has met with a deserved punishment for it. I suppose you have had a particular Account of all this matter from other hands. As you have been my old friend and well-wisher and continue so, I thought proper to write this joyful News to you. You may be assured of my good inclination to you and write to me concerning your welfare. I wish you health and happiness. What can I say more."

Translation of another letter inclos'd.

"I have been inform'd that Buzenzee Causeydoos, a merchant, has fled from Arcot to your protection. He has had dealings in the

1. Cultru, p. 241.

2. Dubreuil, Dupleix, p. 219.

Circar with Us, which I suppose you know, and I have bills for several Lacks of money under his hand. There has been some money belonging to Hassen Ally Cawn Deceas'd, deliver'd to the said Merchant from Ally Doast Cawn's wife, which he also detains, as also several sums of money from the Havildars in the Country, which he has received in order to pay the Circar. As he has kept these several sums of money he was afraid to stay in Arcot and therefore went away to your place. As there is a strict Unity between us, I write this to you hoping that you'll take care to keep him with you. By the Blessing of God, I will decide this Affair agreeable to reason and equity. What can I say more."¹

To the above letter Floyer sent the following reply to Chandā Śāhib :—

" It was an inexpressible joy and satisfaction to me to receive your kind letter which gave an account of your having a Phirmaund from Saudella Cawn Behader Muzepher Jung for the Government of Arcot and also of your late Victory. I must inform you that it was my constant prayer to the Almighty God to restore the Government of this province to the people of your caste as formerly and as it has pleased him at present to hear my prayer and to make you the Governor of the province, I return'd my thanks to him and congratulate you on the same occasion and wish that he may increase your power and Riches and Destroy Your Enemies.

" I suppose you are very sensible of the mutual Friendship between your Forefathers and the English who professed always great regard and have done good offices to Your people of which without Doubt they will inform you very fully. I hope therefore that you'll look upon our affairs in the same light as your own on all accounts, and continue to write to me of your health and welfare.

" I take the liberty of sending you a present of some Mohurs as a mark of my joy and I hope you'll accept them kindly. I design shortly to send a proper person to pay my compliments to your Excellency.

" It being what your Excellency is pleas'd to write me concerning Buckanjee Cossodoss, he is in Cuddalore where he will remain and will be always ready to answer any just demands that may be made on him. I wish you health and success in all your Affairs. What can I say more."²

In this letter Floyer indirectly acknowledged Chandā Śāhib as the lawful ruler of the Carnatic and even sent a present of Mohurs (gold coins) as a token of official recognition. This was exactly what Dupleix was aiming at. He expected the English to remain mere onlookers of the developments that were to take place in the Carnatic in consequence of the defeat and death of Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān, and in which the

1. *Country Correspondence*, 1749, letter Number 94.

2. *Ibid.*, letter Number 59.

French were to act as Principals and not as "Auxiliaries."¹

Curiously enough it was Razā Šāhib and not Chandā Šāhib who replied to the above-mentioned letter of Floyer. M. Dubreuil asks pertinently why Chandā Šāhib did not reply to this letter himself.² According to him Razā Šāhib wanted to expedite the letter, the draft of which had already been approved by Dupleix. Razā Šāhib's letter reached Floyer on 13th August, 1749 and said:—

"Tho' your old and true friendship to us were still in my remembrance yet on my perusing your complaisant and submissive letter which you wrote in answer to that of my Father they came fresher into my memory. And as the French have met with great favour from us on account of their sincerity and service to Us, I write this to you with a design to reward Your friendship and hope therefore that You'll either send Muttal or Rangapah to me that I may get you the menseb together with the Jacqueer from Nabob Sandella Cawn Behader Muzcefer Jung according as you shall desire. I write this to you in regard to your old Friendship, and as many were happy by our Benevolence, it is necessary that you should be happy likewise. What can I say more."³

But Floyer, the English Governor of Fort St. David, was not so gullible as to swallow all this stuff offered by Razā Šāhib, without questioning its seriousness. He understood the game involved in the offers of Jagir and Mansab and the friendly solicitude shown to the English by the Victors of Ambur. He replied that he thanked Razā Šāhib for the offer of Jagir and Mansab and that he would take another opportunity to send a proper person about settling that business.⁴ On the same day he wrote to Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān promising to assist him with some guns, mortars, and shells and also with four European officers in accordance with the latter's request.⁵ A little later Floyer requested Muḥammad 'Alī Khān to use his best endeavours to procure a Jagir and Mansab from Nāṣir Jang, so that their status in the Carnatic might not in any way be lowered to that of the French. Muḥammad 'Alī Khān asked him to draw up his request and send it to him to be forwarded to Nāṣir Jang.⁶

Dupleix was eagerly awaiting the arrival of MuẒaffar Jang and Chandā Šāhib at Pondicherry. The latter wrote to him from Wandiwash that he and MuẒaffar Jang would come after observing the Khutba on the appearance of the new moon. After a lot of unnecessary delay MuẒaffar Jang and Chandā Šāhib set out for Pondicherry on 14th September, 1749, and proceeded by easy stages to the French capital by way of Chetpattu

1. *French Correspondence*, p. 3 (Dupleix's letter to Saunders).

2. *Dupleix*, p. 219.

3. *Country Correspondence*, 1749, letter Number 100.

4. *Ibid.*, 1749, letter number 103.

5. *Ibid.*, letter number 102.

6. *Ibid.*, letter number 135.

and Gingi.¹ Chandā Śāhib halted with Muẓaffar Jang at Tiruvakkarai and from there set out in advance. M. d'Auteuil, Ananda Ranga Pillai, and others were directed by Dupleix to receive Chandā Śāhib near Valudavur and ordered to draw up the troops and pitch tents at the Villyanallur gate, as Chandā Śāhib was to enter by it. Many soldiers and Sepoys formed a line from the Villiyanallur gate up to the Governor's house. Chandā Śāhib, Razā Śāhib, and the party arrived on the morning of 28th September in great magnificence with their Naubats beating. The Governor met Chandā Śāhib at the Villiyanallur gate, and they embraced. Twenty-one guns were fired when they sat down. Then they enquired after each other's welfare. When they mounted and entered the gate on their way to the Governor's, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and another when they passed by the Fort. Another salute was fired when they were nearing the Governor's house. M. d'Albert, Dupleix's brother-in-law, acted as Persian interpreter.²

Then in the afternoon great tables were spread in the Governor's house, one for the Governor's Councillors and other gentleman, and other opposite for Chandā Śāhib, Razā Śāhib, and other nobles. Twenty-one guns were fired when dinner was over. Then there was a dancing-party (Nautch). Next day Chandā Śāhib was feasted in the same manner. In the afternoon Chandā Śāhib set out for Valudavur to receive Muẓaffar Jang. He along with others visited Muẓaffar Jang and offered him the Governor's compliments. Chandā Śāhib and the party stayed the night at Valudavur.³

Next morning (30th September, 1749) Muẓaffar Jang set out in great pomp with some troops, Jamedārs, and nobles to visit Pondicherry. His army, amounting to about fifty-thousand men, remained encamped meanwhile within twenty miles of the French capital. M. Dupleix went with all his councillors to the tent pitched near the Madras gate to receive Muẓaffar Jang, who arrived there at about two in the afternoon. Horsemen, quarter-masters, musketeers, and elephants with guns and others who bore arms came first and entered the town in array. The Governor set out from his tent and met Muẓaffar Jang just as he was passing the bound-hedge. They embraced and enquired after each other's welfare. Then all the guns on the batteries from the Madras gate to the corner of the sea-wall were fired together. All then entered the tent and watched a Nautch. Then the Governor and Chandā Śāhib went first; Muẓaffar Jang and his son, who was eight years old, came next in great pomp, seated in the Howdah of his big white elephant, with Chandā Śāhib's son, Razā Śāhib, sitting behind in order that he might point out all the features of the fort of Pondicherry. All the guns were fired together

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. VI, p. 172.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 185-86.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, 187.

when they entered the town gate.¹ They went in procession along the Raja Street, passed by the Councillor's houses, and, coming to the South gate of the Governor's house, got down from their elephants. The Governor came to the gate to receive them, and all sat down inside. Four or five of the big guns on the sea-wall battery were fired continuously for about half an hour, making a loud roar. The ships fired both their broadsides. Then the Governors showed Muẓaffar Jang, Chandā Šāhib, Razā Šāhib, 'Alī Naqī Šāhib and others the curiosities in his house—the fine violet glass, the fine crystal chandeliers which hung in several places, and the factory writing-room, etc. Muẓaffar Jang supped at the Governor's house. Next day, when Muẓaffar Jang and Chandā Šāhib dined at noon in the Governor's house, 21 guns were fired in their honour. After four o'clock the Governor took them into the Fort, showed them the armoury, powder-magazine, the counting house, silver godown, ware-houses, rockets and guns and clock-tower.

On 2nd October, 1749, the soldiers were drawn up and divided into two armies for a show-fight. Then the Governor, Muẓaffar Jang, Chandā Šāhib and others went to watch from the clock-tower in the fort. Muẓaffar Jang's wife and other women watched from a tent with curtains, pitched on the south corner. Battery guns were fired from the ships as though for a fight. The two armies fired continuously upon each other with their guns *à minute* and mortars, being loaded with powder only, in imitation of war. The horse-guards with brandished swords charged through the smoke as though about to slay their enemies. But when the mortars, guns and muskets were fired at the horsemen, some fell and others fled. Then one side took the other's position by a stratagem, and the enemy fired cannon and shells at the Fort, till the smoke poured up into the sky and descended covering the Fort with a whirling cloud, as though shot and shell were falling upon it. Those in the Fort fired many guns at the enemy till they retreated. Thus they fought for about two hours, firing their muskets and mortars from the Fort, 'so terribly as to make pregnant women miscarry.'²

The same day Muẓaffar Jang presented M. Dupleix with a gold-sprigged turban and a Sarpēch³ to fasten it, set with diamonds, with rubies in the middle, a great pendant emerald hanging from it, and a Kalgiturra with pendant pearls. Muẓaffar Jang himself put this turban on the Governor's head. The latter was also given a breast ornament set with diamonds and an emerald in the middle; a fine dress of honour, with five jewels; and a great elephant. To Madame Dupleix and her daughter Chonchon, dresses of honour and a pair of pearl earrings were given.⁴

1. *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Vol. II, pp. 719, etc. (ed. Aimé Martin); *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, pp. 188, etc.

2. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 194.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

4. *Gaebele, Créole et Grande Dame* (Johanna Begam, Marquis Dupleix), p. 234.

Having presented these gifts, Muẓaffar Jang went to the Governor's house where he dined with Madame, the Councillors' wives, and other European ladies. Chandā Šāhib also presented two elephants, dresses of honour, and jewels set with precious stones to M. Dupleix, Madame, and her daughter.¹

In the night all kinds of fire-works—coloured lights, sky-rockets, squibs—were displayed. About a lakh of lights were lit on the Fort and on the walls round the Governor's house, till all was as bright as day. A pavilion was set up on the roof of the Governor's house, and chairs, etc. were arranged there. The Governor, Muẓaffar Jang, Chandā Šāhib, Razā Šāhib and others assembled there to watch. All the townsfolk and those who followed the camp filled every empty space. By a cunning device the fireworks were connected in four or five places with the Governor's house. When all was ready, guns were fired in the Fort as a signal, and the device in the Governor's house was lit so that the rockets took fire and coloured lights filled the sky. This went on for about two hours.²

On 6th October, 1749, it was arranged to have the ships ready to show to Muẓaffar Jang, but the ceremony was postponed because Muẓaffar Jang had received a letter saying that Morar Rao Ghorepade of Gooty, at the instance of Nāšir Jang, was marching with 3,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, turning everything upside down, plundering the country and causing great confusion; that he intended to march to Arcot, and that Nāšir Jang had already marched southward from Aurangabad with 30,000 horse and had advanced seven stages. Thereupon Muẓaffar Jang sent urgently to Chandā Šāhib for two lakhs of Pagodas to meet his expenses. Chandā Šāhib importunated Dupleix to help him with this sum which would be repaid in two months. Dupleix somehow managed to pay this sum to Miyān Mas'ūd, the Dīwān of Muẓaffar Jang.³

In view of the services rendered by the French to their joint cause, Chandā Šāhib, with the approval of Muẓaffar Jang, granted M. Dupleix the sovereignty of the districts of Villiyannallur, Valudavur, and Bahur in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, comprising 81 villages. Muẓaffar Jang in his abundant gratitude also presented to M. Dupleix the sea-port of Masulipatam and the island of Divy, with an area of about seventy-two miles and having rupees eight lakhs as its annual revenue.⁴ The thirty-six villages of the Bahur Jagir lay immediately around the limits of Fort St. David, and carried the French outpost up to the Ponniar river, 12 miles south of Pondicherry. The Government of Madras, whose headquarters at this time was at Fort St. David, viewed these developments

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 203.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 212-13.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 221.

4. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde Française*, p. 1

with alarm, as they bore the menacing aspect of a scheme to cut off all trade and communication with the interior of the country.¹ They, in a letter to the Court of Directors, after mentioning that Chandā Śāhib had taken "upon him the Government of this Province as Nobob by an illegal Fermaund procured from Mustafa Jang without the knowledge or consent of Nazar Jang," added :—

"The first act he did after arriving at this dignity was the recompensing his good allies by granting them 42 villages of the Villanour country which lay around this settlement and by way of reward to M. Dupleix in particular the following towns, and their revenues have been given to him and his relations, viz :

Corbelong (Covelong) to Mr. Dupleix,

Parto Novo to Madame Dupleix,

Alempara to Monsieur D'Autael (d'Auteuil), his brother-in-law,

St. Thome to Padrie D' la Purification, a relation of Madame Dupleix.

"So that, we are surrounded in such a manner as for the French to have it entirely in their power to stop our trade or debar us from any supplies of provision from the Country and we have great reason to believe, from what has already happened they will not be wanting to make use of this advantage."²

A few days before his departure from Pondicherry Muzaffar Jang asked for the hand of Madame Dupleix's daughter, Chonchon, who was 13½ years old. But Madame Dupleix, being an orthodox Catholic, was not agreeable to the proposal. Dupleix tactfully said that he was greatly honoured by the proposal but the differences of religion did not allow this union to be practicable.³

Dupleix knew full well that the territorial concessions which he had obtained from Muzaffar Jang and Chandā Śāhib had no value until both of them were securely installed in their respective positions. He entered into an agreement with both of them, putting at their disposal 800 French soldiers, 24 officers, 300 Europeans (Toppasses), and a suitable train of artillery. It was also decided that the expenses involved should be reimbursed to the French Government. It was expected that with the help of this force the capture of Trichnopoly would be assured.

After a sojourn of ten days at Pondicherry, Muzaffar Jang left the place on 10th October, 1749, to rejoin his camp. Chandā Śāhib was retained

1. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 39.

2. *Despatches from Fort St. David*, October 18, 1749 (Records of Fort St. George); *Forrest's Bengal and Madras Papers*, Vol. II, 1688-1757.

3. *Creole et Grande Dame*, p. 236.

by Dupleix for eighteen days more, to settle the plan of campaign for the conquest of the Carnatic and to have all the Company's documents sealed by him. Chandā Şāhib took leave of Dupleix on 28th October 1749, and rejoined Muẓaffar Jang on the Valudavur river.¹

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN.

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 231

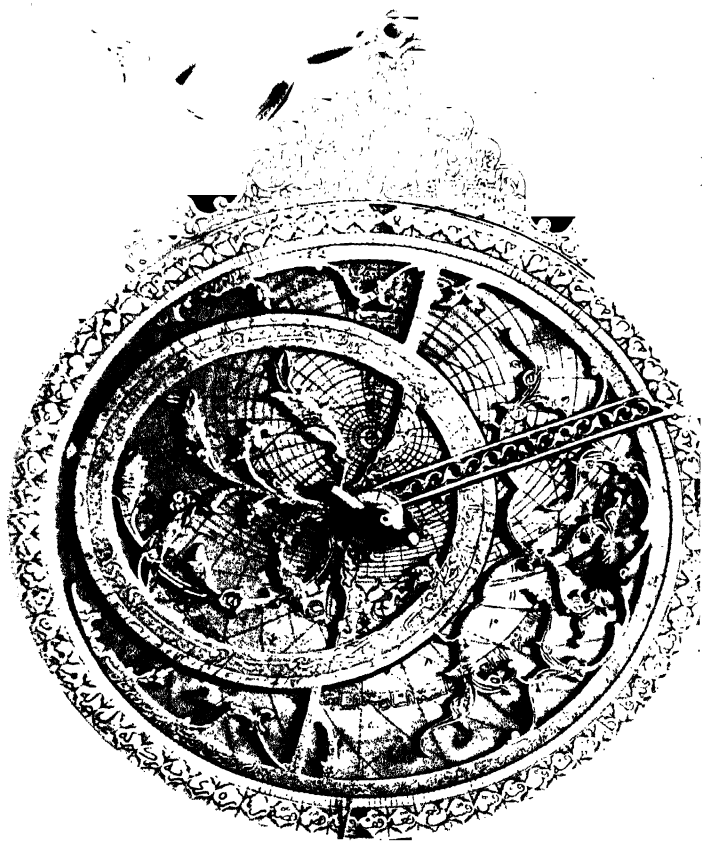


FIG. 1. The "face" of the astrolabe when it is closed.

Islamic Culture, Jan., 1945.

THE NOMENCLATURE AND COMMON USES OF THE ASTROLABE

THE original astrolabe (*αστρολαβος*) is thought to have been an astronomical instrument that was invented by Hipparchus (150 B.C.).

"In its most usual form," as it is described by Professor R. T. Gunther in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (14th edition), "it consists of an evenly balanced circle or disc of metal or of wood, having a ring and provided with a rotatable *alidade* or diametrical rule with sights, turning within a circle of degrees for measuring the altitudes of the sun or stars. Seamen from the time of Martin Bahaim (c. 1480 A.D.) to the middle of the 18th century, when the astrolabe and cross-staff were superseded as navigational instruments by Hadley's quadrant, relied largely upon such instruments and tables of the sun's declension for finding their latitude.

"On the back is a circular map of the stars, the *rete*, beautifully designed in fretwork cut from a sheet of metal, with named pointers to show the position of the brighter stars relatively to one another and to a Zodiac circle showing the sun's position every day in the year. Lying below the *rete* are one or more interchangeable plates engraved with circles of altitude or *almucanters*."

For this portable metal instrument, usually a disc of from 3.9"-7.8" in diameter, "shadow-scales" were introduced so that it could also be used in surveying to measure heights and distances; and "calendar scales" were employed to show the sun's place in the Zodiac for every day in the year. Astrologers were accustomed to add also sundry lines and tables that were useful for their special purposes.

Several good photographs are absolutely necessary for an intelligible explanation of the astrolabe. The beautiful instrument that is here presented is dated 1019 A.H./1610 A.D. This date may be seen written in the Abjad characters at the bottom of Figure 3, *Jām Jamshīdī shud Ustārlābā*. And the accompanying description is only 62 solar years more recent, for it is but a somewhat condensed translation of a Persian treatise, on the nomenclature and the common uses of the astrolabe, that was written in 1083 A.H./1672 A.D. by Muḥammad Barārī Umī

in his '*Uqūl-i-Ashrah*, "Ten Sciences," pp. 44-52 in the text that was lithographed in Shiraz in 1317 A.H.

The astrolabe hangs vertically from a ring (Halqa) which is connected with the hook ('Urwa) on the upper part, which is called the throne (Kursi). The disc on which the throne is fastened, (Figure 2), and which contains the tablets (Ṣafāfa), is called the chamber (Hujra) or the mother (Umm). On the front of the astrolabe (Figure 1) is the open-work top or "net" (Shabaka), which is called the "spider" ('Ankabūt), (Figure 4).

The circles on the face of the chamber (Figure 2) are divided into 360 parts (degrees). Beginning at the mark under the throne, and proceeding to the right, spaces of 5 and 10 degrees are indicated in succession. These spaces are called the divisions (Ajzā') of the chamber.

On the back of the astrolabe (Figure 3), i.e. on the rear side (Zahr) of the chamber, two straight lines are drawn at a right angle, (Zāwaya-i-Qā'ima). One of these lines runs in the direction of the fastening chain ('Alāqa), and it is designated by several names, "the line of the chain" (Khaṭṭ-i-'Alāqa), the "sky-line" (Khaṭṭ-i-Samā'), and the "vertical line," (Khaṭṭ-i-Intiṣāb). The other is called the East and West line (Khaṭṭ-i-Mashriq-wa-Maghrib), or the line of the horizon (Khaṭṭ-i-Ufq). A circle drawn from the point of intersection of these lines will be divided into four equal parts. Each of the two quadrants (Rub') towards the throne is divided into 90 degrees, which are the divisions of altitude. The graduation in the two lower quadrants, which are known as the "quadrants of the night," indicate the "divisions of the shadow of declination" (Ajzā'-i-Zill-i-Naqs).

Three parallel circles are drawn from the point which is the centre of the tablets (Figures 5 & 6). The inner one of these circles is the Tropic of Cancer (Madār-i-Rās as-Sartān), the central one is the Tropic of Aries and Libra (Madār-i-Rās al-Hamal wal-Mizān), and the outside one is the Tropic of Capricorn (Madār-i-Rās al-Jadī). This applies in the case of a "northern" astrolabe, when the six signs of the Zodiac, i.e. from the first of Aries to the last of Virgo (Sumbulah), fall within the smaller section of the "spider" ('Ankabūt), and the signs from the first of Libra to the last of Pisces (Hūt) fall on the Tropic of Capricorn, which forms the boundary (Kinār) of the astrolabe. In the case of a "southern" astrolabe the Tropic of Capricorn lies within the 'Ankabūt and the Tropic of Cancer is on the outside. Other circles are drawn one beyond another from a centre which is the particular latitude of the location for which that special tablet is adapted (Figure 5). Some of these circles are incomplete. They are the circles parallel with the horizon" (Muqantarāt), and are called the circles of altitude (Irtifā'), in the sense of the measured distance from the earth. The point which is at the apex of these circles, and which is marked with the sign ☉, they call the Zenith (Samt ar-Rās). The circles that are incomplete, drawn from the Zenith to the Nadir, are the longitudinal circles.

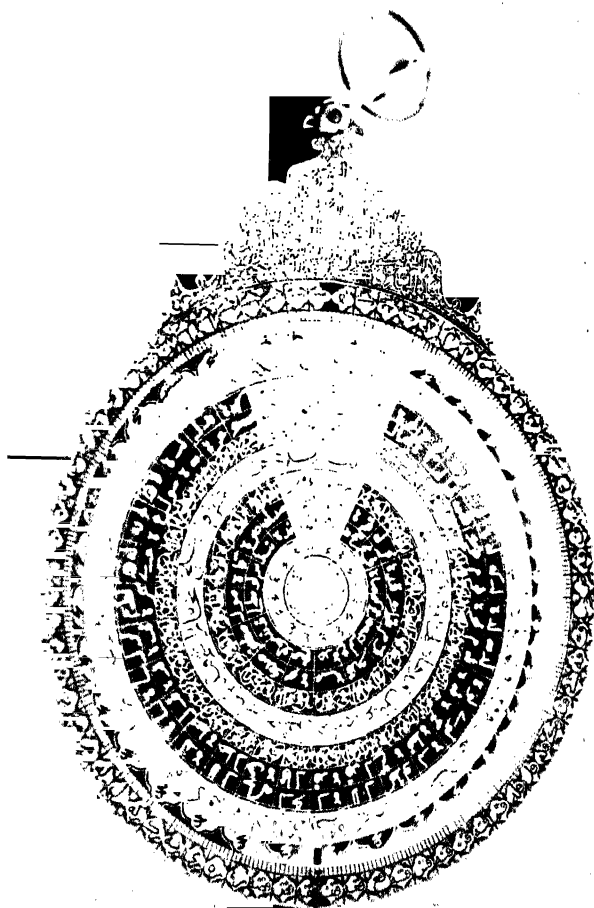


FIG. 2. *The interior of the "Chamber" without the disc.*

Islamic Culture, Jan., 1945.

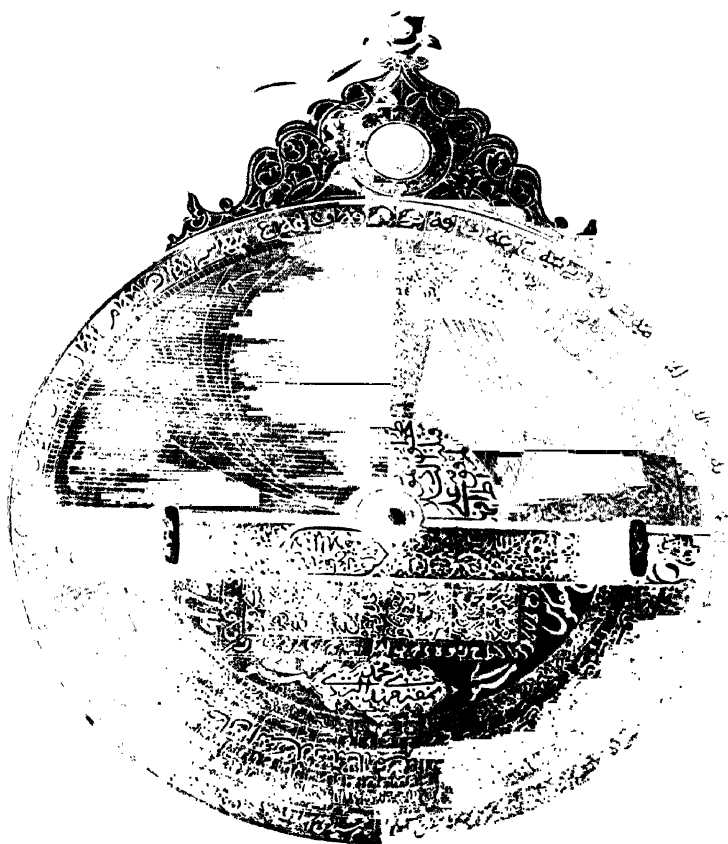




FIG. 3. The back (Zahr) of the Astrolabe

Of the two straight lines at the centre of the separate tablets, the one that is marked  is the line indicating the centre of the sky, or the meridional line, (Khaṭṭ-i-Niṣf an-Nahār), and the other is known as the line East and West, the longitudinal line, and as the Equator (Khaṭṭ-i-Istiṣā'). The half on the right is called the western line and the left half is called the eastern line, or in the same way the western horizon and the eastern horizon. Between the circles parallel with the horizon (Figure 5), there are numbers written in the Abjad characters. One type of astrolabe progresses by sixes (Sudsī), another by threes (Thulthī), and still another by fives (Khumsī). There is also the Tis'ī type, which progresses by nines, the Niṣfi which is by twos, the complete (Tām) which is by ones, and the 'Ashrī which is by tens.

Underneath the lines parallel with the horizon, i.e. beneath the level of the earth, there are small arcs that are divided into twelve parts, six to the right between the western horizon ('Ufq-i-Maghrib) and the meridional line, and six also between this line and the eastern horizon. These arcs are called the "curved hour lines" (Khuṭūṭ-i-Sa'āt-i-Mu'awwajah), or they may be designated as the lines of the hours according to the seasons (Khuṭūṭ-i-Sa'āt-i-Zamānī).

Other curves are drawn which join at the mark . These are called the celestial circles (Dawā'ir-i-Samawāt). Frequently curves are drawn on the lower part of the earth, and on the "spider" there will be a complete circle, and on this the twelve signs of the Zodiac will be indicated. This they call the celestial girdle (Mintaqat al-Burūj). In the Sudsī type of astrolabe each sign is divided by sixes, and by threes in the Thulthī type, etc. There is a projection at the head of Jadī (Figure 1), where it is in line with the graduations on the circumference of the "chamber." They call this the "agreement at the head of Jadī" (Mir'ala-Rās al-Jadī). Other projections in the ornamental work within the circle of the 'Ankabūt have the names of stars written at the points they indicate. These are called the projections of the stars (Ashzaha-yi-Kawākib). Each one is designated as a star projection or as an "agreement of a star."

In the "northern" astrolabe, that part which lies within the Zodiac is called the northern section, and that lying without is the southern section. In figure 1, that which is like a bolt at the common centre of the chamber, the tablet and the spider, is called the pole (Qutb). In figure 3, the bar on the back of the chamber to which the sighting pieces (Dafanān or Libna) are fastened is called the 'Aḍāda, and its two "points" are the Shaziyāt. Through the two sighting pieces are two holes which are spoken of as the "holes of altitude" (Thuqbahā-i-Istifā'). The little bar which holds the Qutb firmly in place they call the "horse" (Faras), and the ring under the Faras, which is to remove it from the surface of the "spider," they name the "coin" (Pisheza or Fils). The handle-like projection which is separate from the "spider" serves for revolving it and is called the Mudīr or "chief."

On the 'Aḍāda (Figure 3) of some astrolabes there are twelve lines that are drawn crosswise and these are also called "curved hour lines." There are separate tablets for use in various cities. In a few astrolabes there may be found the "horizon tablet" (Ṣafāt-i-Āfāqī), which has many section (Taḳātū') of the "eastern line" (Khaṭṭ-i-Mashriq) and the Tropic of Aries (Madār-i-Ras-i-Hamal). Each one of these eastern horizon curves has a place where its width is indicated. When the tablet is held so that these curves fall to the left and convex with the base (Muhdab bā Shīb), this horizon line will cross the dividing sky-line (Khaṭṭ-i-Wasaf as-Samā') above the centre of the tablet.

To determine the altitude of the sun, hold the handle of the astrolabe in the right hand and let the instrument hang with its back towards you. It will be observed that on the back, and to one side, the degrees of altitude are indicated. The sighting pieces are facing each other in line with the 'Aḍāda, which must now be moved until the light of the sun can be seen from one of these sighting pieces through the other. Then you must look and see to what degree of altitude the ray of light points, which will be the altitude of the sun at that particular time.

If the altitude of a star is wanted, the back of the astrolabe is held upwards. Then you must look with one eye through one of the sighting pieces and turn the 'Aḍāda until the star comes in view through the other hole. Look then and see the degree of altitude that is indicated.

If a person is standing on a minaret or on a wall, so that the "point of the falling of a stone" from his position can be reached, to determine his height, you should first set the altitude scale at forty-five degrees. You then step back to the point where you can see the person through the sighting pieces. You will then measure the distance to the "point of the falling stone" and this distance will be the same as the height of the minaret.

For convenient reference, on the inner face of the "chamber," (Figure 2), the longitude (Ṭūl) and the latitude ('Ard) of important places are indicated beneath their names in the Abjad characters. For example, in the case of Kufa, the latitude is given immediately below the name as ٧١, i.e. 61 degrees, and beneath this is the longitude, ٤٠, or 40 degrees.

The Lewis Evans Collection of Scientific Instruments, which is in Oxford, includes the principal varieties of astrolabes that were employed in European countries or in the Near East. They are much the same kind of instruments as those that were in use during the Crusades to determine the heights of hills and fortresses. Two of the very best examples of those that were made in later years in England are to be found in St. Andrew's University, Edinburgh. One of these, prepared by Cole and dated 1573 A.D., is two feet in diameter. Another, which was made by Elias Allen as a seaman's astrolabe, is dated 1616 A.D.



FIG. 1. *The "Spider" Gankabut*

Farmer Culture, June, 194

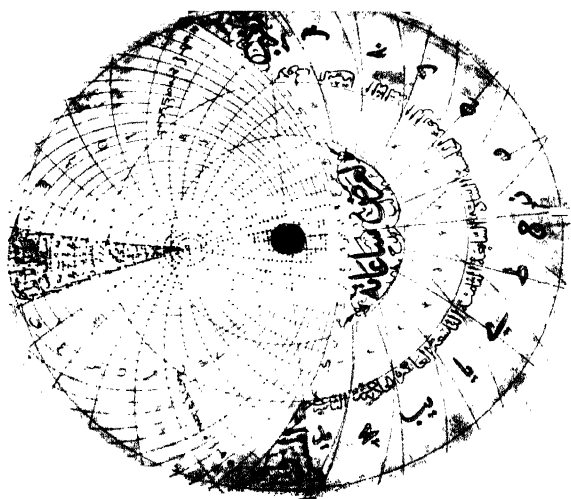


FIG. 5. One of the discs or circular tablets.



FIG. 6. The "Horizon tablet."

But astrolabes from Muslim countries have a special interest in that their markings are in the beautiful Arabic script, and it is only one of these, such as the one described in this article, that will enable the student to appreciate the excellent description of the planispheric "Asturlāb" that is given in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* by C. A. Nallino. This type represents the projection of the celestial sphere on a plane and the names of its separate parts are in Arabic, as for example, the Umm ("mother"), the Safā'ih ("circular tablets"), the 'Ankabūt ("spider"), and the 'Aḍāda ("ruler, deopter, or alhidade").

The astrolabe that was intended for use in the northern hemisphere was called Shamālī (northern), and the one to be employed in the southern hemisphere was distinguished as the Janūbī (southern). The one that was described as Kāmil (perfect) had additional markings to show the circle of the sun's equation.

In his *Chronology* al-Bīrūnī explained a flattened (Mubattah) astrolabe, which served as a stellar chart, on which "the pole of the ecliptic was the centre of the projection, and the parallels with the ecliptics, or circles of longitude, were represented as equidistant concentric circle and the circles of latitude by equidistant radii." This shows the influence of the Spanish Arab, az-Zarqālī (d. 1091 A.D.), who recognised the limitations involved in the ordinary planispherical astrolabes, in that they had to be either northern or southern; and who saw also that because of the precession of the equinoxes no ordinary astrolabe could be relied upon after the lapse of a long period of years. He therefore "transformed the particular astrolabe into a general one by taking rather the horizontal projection." According to his method the eye of the observer was directed towards one of the two equinoctial points. Thus the plane of projection would be the plane of the solstitial colure, or the meridian which passes through the solstitial points. Since the projections of the two celestial hemispheres would then coincide, one sign could suffice for both.

But in addition to the planispheric astrolabe, the nomenclature of which is studied in this article, there were linear and the spherical types. The former was called "the rod of Tusi," in honour of its inventor, al-Muẓaffar b. Muẓaffar aṭ-Ṭūsī, (d. 1214 A.D.); and the latter, which was developed somewhat later, consisted of a metal globe which fitted inside a movable metal hemisphere. For details in regard to the construction and particular uses of these special types of the astrolabe, students may refer to the comprehensive study that has been made by Professor R. T. Gunther in his recent book, *The History of the Astrolabe*, (London, 1939).

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

END OF 'IMAD-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD IBN QĀSIM, THE ARAB CONQUEROR OF SIND

INTRODUCTORY

THERE are two conflicting and contradictory accounts of the circumstances that led to the dismissal and death of 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, the Arab Conqueror of Sind. One of these accounts is based on the authority of the *Chach-Nāma*, which is relied upon by Mīr Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm of Bhakkar in his *Tārīkh-us-Sind*, also called *Tārīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī* after his name, and other subsequent writers. It is also frequently repeated by European writers and is widely in vogue. The source of the other account, which is less current, is the *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān* of Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jābir al-Balādhurī; while the author of the *Chach-Nāma* and his followers hold the Khalīfa Walīd ibn 'Abdul-Malik responsible for the unjust and unmerited dismissal and death of the hero of Sind, Balādhurī and his followers throw the entire onus of the blame on his brother and successor, Sulaimān ibn 'Abdul-Malik, and attribute the perpetration of the tragedy to a different motive. Now these two accounts are so divergent and indeed diametrically opposite that it is impossible to reconcile them. One of them must be wrong and it is for us to find out which is correct. In this article I propose to examine both these accounts as critically, and yet as briefly, as possible, with a view to ascertaining the truth. For the sake of clarity and convenience I shall first take up the relevant passages from the rival accounts *seriatim*, discuss their origin, antiquity, and authenticity, criticise their contents, point out the probabilities and improbabilities of the rival stories, and then sum up the whole case and express my own opinion at the end.

STORY IN THE CHACH-NĀMA

THE story, as it appears in the *Chach-Nāma*, is as follows :—

“ *Orders from the Capital to Muḥammad ibn Qāsim.*

“ The next day, when the king of the heavenly host showed his face to the world from behind the veil of night, a dromedary rider, with

orders from the seat of government, arrived. Muḥammad son of 'Alī Abul-Hasan Hamadhānī says that when Rāi Dāhir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace, and Muḥammad ibn Qāsim had sent them to Baghdād under the care of his negro slaves.¹ The Khalifa of the time sent them into his harem to be taken care of for a few days till they were fit to be presented to him. After some time, the remembrance of them recurred to the noble mind of the Khalifa and he ordered them both to be brought before him at night. Walīd ibn 'Abd-ul-Malik told the interpreter to enquire from them which of them was the eldest, that he might retain her by him, and call the other sister at another time. The interpreter first asked their names. The eldest said, 'My name is Suryādeo,' and the youngest replied, 'My name is Parmaldeo.' He called the eldest to him, and the youngest he sent back to be taken care of. When he had made the former sit down, and she uncovered her face, the Khalifa of the time looked at her, and was enamoured of her surpassing beauty and charms. Her powerful glances robbed his heart of patience. He laid his hand upon Suryādeo and drew her towards him. But Suryādeo stood up, and said 'Long live the king! I am not worthy of the king's bed, because the just Commander 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim kept us three days near himself before he sent us to the royal residence. Perhaps it is a custom among you; but such ignominy should not be suffered by kings.' The Khalifa was overwhelmed with love, and the reins of patience had fallen from his hand. Through indignation he could not stop to scrutinise the matter. He asked for ink and paper, and commenced to write a letter with his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Muḥammad (ibn) Qāsim had arrived, he should suffer himself to be sewn up in a hide and sent to the capital.

"Muhammad ibn Qāsim reaches Udhāfar, and receives the Order from the Khalifa's Capital.

"When Muḥammad (ibn) Qāsim received the letter at Udhāfar,² he gave the order to his people and they sewed him up in a hide, put him in a chest, and sent him back. Muḥammad ibn Qāsim thus delivered his soul to God. The officers who were appointed to the different places remained at their stations, while he was taken in the chest to the Khalifa of the time. The private chamberlain reported to Walīd 'Abd-ul-

1. The preceding day 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim was exhorting his soldiers against Rāi Har Chandar of Kanauj at Udhāfar. (Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I, pp. 208-09).

2. Variants: اودھا پور 'اوردھاپور' اودھا پور (Kilich Beg's Trans. of the *Chach-Nāmā*, p. 192). Raverty identifies it with Udaipur, 14 miles south of Alwāna on the Ghaggar, and he is followed by Haig in the *Cambridge History of India*, iii, 7. Mir Ma'sūm converts it into Depalpur, but his authority on this point is negligible. The reading of the passage is uncertain and I have not been able to determine the exact situation of the place.

Malik, son of Marwān, that Muḥammad ibn Qāsim Thaqafī had been brought to the capital. The Khalīfa asked whether he was alive or dead. It was replied, 'May the Khalīfa's life, prosperity and honour be prolonged to eternity, when the royal mandates were received in the city of Udhāfar, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim immediately, according to the orders, had himself sewn up in a raw hide, and after two days delivered his soul to God and went to the eternal world. The authorities whom he had placed at different stations maintain the country in their possession, the Khuṭba continued to be read in the name of the Khalīfa, and they used their best endeavours to establish their supremacy.

The Khalīfa Opens the Chest.

"The Khalīfa then opened the chest and called the girls into his presence. He had a green bunch of myrtle in his hand, and pointing with it towards the face of the corpse, said, 'See, my daughters, how my commands, which are sent to my agents are observed and obeyed by all. When these my orders reached Kanauj,¹ he sacrificed his precious life at my command.'

"The Address of Jānkī, daughter of Dāhīr, to Khalīfa 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Marwān.

"Then the virtuous Jānkī² put off the veil from her face, placed her head on the ground, and said, 'May the king live long, may his prosperity and glory increase for many years; and may he be adorned with perfect wisdom. It is proper that a king should test with the touchstone of reason and weigh in his mind whatever he hears from friend or foe, and when it is found to be true and indubitable, then orders compatible with justice should be given. By so doing he will not fall under the wrath of God, nor be condemned by the tongue of man. Your orders have been obeyed, but your gracious mind is wanting in reason and judgment. Muḥammad ibn Qāsim respected our honour and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us, your slaves, with a licentious hand. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of royalty to a state of slavery. Therefore, to retaliate and revenge these injuries, we uttered a falsehood before the Khalīfa,

1. This is not to be confused with its more famous name-sake situated in Central India. (*E. & D.*, Vol. I, p. 207). [For a learned discussion on the subject cf. *Islamic Culture*, October, 1943, Sulaimān Nadwī's article.—*Ed. J.C.*]

2. "This is a different name from that which she gave herself, when first asked." (*E. & D.*, Vol. I, p. 210, f. n. 2).

and our object has been fulfilled. Through this fabrication and deceit have we taken our revenge. Had the Khalifa not passed such peremptory orders, had he not lost his reason through the violence of his passion, and had he considered it proper to investigate the matter, he would not have subjected himself to this repentance and reproach; and had Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, assisted by his wisdom, come to within one day's journey from this place, and then had himself put into a hide, he would have been liberated after inquiry, and would not have died.' The Khalifa was very sorry at this explanation, and from excess of regret he bit the back of his hand.

"Jānkī Again Addresses the Khalifa.

"Jānkī again opened her lips and looked at the Khalifa. She perceived that his anger was much excited, and she said, 'The king has committed a very grievous mistake, for he ought not, on account of two slave girls, to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins; and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits, and minarets. If Muḥammad ibn Qāsim had been guilty of any little neglect or impropriety, he ought not to have been destroyed on the mere word of a designing person.' The Khalifa ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. From that time to this day the flags of Islām have been more and more exalted everyday, and are still advancing."¹

ANTIQUITY OF THE *CHACH-NĀMA*

LET us first consider the antiquity of the work on which the above account is based. The *Chach-Nāma*, in which the romantic story first appears, is one of the earliest Arabic histories of Sind. It gives a fairly detailed account of the usurpation of the Brahman, Chach, after whose name the book is called, and the Arab conquest of Sind. In the introduction as well as in the epilogue to the work it is called *Fath-Nāma*, i.e., a book of conquest or a despatch announcing victory. In some books it is referred to as *Tārīkh-i-Hind-wa-Sind* and is freely quoted by later writers, as for example, by Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm in his *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*, by Nūr-ul-Ḥaqq in his *Dhubdat-ut-Tawārīkh*, by Nizāmud-Dīn Aḥmad in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and by Abul-Qāsim Firishṭa in his *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, commonly called *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*. In the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* it is mentioned as *Minhāj-ul-Masālik*. It is, as we have it, a translation, the Arabic original of which is lost with little hope of recovery.²

1. *E. & D.*, pp. 209-211.

2. I am indebted to Sir Henry Elliot for the information embodied in this paragraph. (*E. & D.*, Vol. I,

Its antiquity is evident from the following facts :—

(1) It was translated from the Arabic original by Muhammad 'Alī ibn Ḥamid ibn Abū-Bakr Kūfī in the reign of Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Qabāicha in the beginning of the seventh century after the Hījrat, and dedicated to Ṣadr-i-Jahān Dastūr-i-Ṣāhib Qirān 'Aīn-ul-Mulk Ḥusain ibn Abī-Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Ash'arī, the minister of Naṣīr-ud-Dīn Qabāicha.¹

(2) When in his search for material the translator named above reached Alor and Bhakkar, he saw Maulāna Qādī Ismā'il ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsa ibn Tā'ī ibn Ya'qūb ibn Tā'ī ibn Mūsa ibn Muḥammad ibn Shaibān ibn 'Uthmān Thaqafī and obtained from him a book in Arabic embodying an excellent account of the Arab conquest of Sind, which, according to its owner, had descended to him from his ancestors who had been participants in the events and advantages of the conquest.²

(3) Such important geographical places as Manṣūra, Maswāhī, Manjabābārī, Annārī or al-Baiza, etc., which were subsequently noticed by al-Balādhūrī, Ibn-Hauqal and others, do not find place anywhere in the *Chach-Nāmā*. This evidently shows that the original work was written before these places had come into existence. As Manṣūra was founded in the beginning of the Khilāfat of al-Manṣūr, who ascended the throne in 136 A.H. (753 A.C.), we can safely conclude that the work must have been composed before that time, otherwise the author of the *Chach-Nāmā* would not have left the place unnoticed.³

(4) The book (*Chach-Nāmā*) teems with references to Buddhists, Buddhist monks and Buddhist temples, and it becomes obvious to the reader that the bulk of the Sindian population of the time consisted of Buddhists. As Buddhism lost its hold on Indian soon after the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, it is reasonable to say that the book was written not long after that conquest was completed.

(5) In the *Chach-Nāmā* we come across Samānīs, monks and a royal white elephant, which are conspicuous by their absence in the accounts of the later invasions of Sind by Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn. This again points to the antiquity of the work.

(6) Finally, some portions of the book are based on oral testimony received at second, third, or even fourth hand from those who were participants in the transactions recorded. It is indeed unfortunate that Ṭabarī,⁴ who wrote in the third century after the Hījrat, tracing all his traditions to eye or ear witnesses, had no knowledge of the *Chach-Nāmā*, and this is perhaps the reason why his account of the Arab conquest of Sind is so meagre.

1. *E. & D.*, pp. 131. He was at first the Vizier of Naṣīr-uddin-Qabāicha and later served under Iltutmish as Vizier of Prince Rukn-ud-Dīn Firōz when the latter was appointed Governor of Badāiūn. (*Vide Ṭabqāt-i Nāsirī*, 172-73 and 181-82, and *E. & D.*, Vol. I, pp. 325 and 330).

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 132.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

4. His full name is Abū-Ja'far ibn Jarīr ibn Yazīd at-Ṭabarī.

AUTHENTICITY

MORE important from our point of view than the antiquity of the work is the authenticity of its contents. This is amply evident from the close resemblance between the ancestry of Ismā'il, the owner of the original Arabic, who himself participated in the events and advantages of the conquest and that of Mūsa ibn Ya'qūb ibn Tā'ī ibn Muḥammad ibn Shaibān ibn 'Uṭhmān, the first Qādī of Alor appointed by the conqueror, though in the latter case some important links are missing and were perhaps deliberately omitted to avoid repetition, as is often done. In either case the ultimate ancestor is mentioned as 'Uṭhmān Thaḡafī, i.e. of the tribe to which 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim himself belonged. Again, there is an equally close resemblance between the title of the ancestor, Mūsa, and that of the descendant, Ismā'il. Mūsa, the first Qādī of Alor, was called *Ṣadr-i-Imāmiya al-Ajall al-'Ālim Burhān-ul-Millat-wad-Dīn*. and the contemporary of the translator, viz., Ismā'il, was known as *Mawlānā Qādī al-Imām al-Ajall al-'Ālim al-Bārī Kamāl-ul-Millat-wad-Dīn*. It is indeed amazing that the translator does not take notice of this similarity of titles and the identity of ancestry brought out above. These, in my opinion, are enough to establish the authenticity of the work beyond doubt. Furthermore, there is very little modern interpolation in it. The anachronisms that crop up here and there ought to be attributed to the author rather than to the translator. Elphinstone's opinion that "it professes to be a translation," which implies a doubt about its genuineness, is evidently wrong. It is denounced by Elliot who says, "An air of truth pervades the whole and though it reads more like a romance than a history yet this is occasioned more by the intrinsic interest of the subject than by any fictions proceeding from the imagination of the author."¹ According to him, the only two stories which appear to be fictitious are the accusation of Jaisiya son of Dāhir by Darohar's sister named Jānkī,² and the retaliation of Rāja Dāhir's two virgin daughters.³ Another story which has been taken to be equally fictitious is that of Dāhir's marriage with his own sister.⁴

PROBABILITIES OF THE STORY

THE antiquity and the authenticity of the work proved, it remains to test the correctness of the story of 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim's dismissal and death as told in it. Though 'novel,' as Elliot calls it, there

1. *E. & D.*, pp. 134-35.

2. *Ibid.* p. 136.

3. The theme of this paper.

4. As it was prognosticated that the husband of Dāhir's sister would be the king of Hind and Sind Dāhir married his own sister. (*E. & D.*, Vol. I, p. 154; *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 82-83).

is nothing improbable in it were it not for some serious contradictions which it contains. The whim of the Khalifa, the motive of the virgin girls, and the mode of inflicting punishment are all within the range of probability, particularly when we consider the wiles practised by women for the purpose of wreaking vengeance, the unrestrained autocracy of the Umayyads, their uncontrolled ambition to rule, their unswerving strictness in exacting obedience, and their unfailing ingenuity in inventing novel modes of inflicting punishment. The objection that the sewing up of a human being in a cow-skin was a Tartar and not an Arab mode of punishment does not carry weight because, apart from the fact that we have an earlier instance of a similar punishment being inflicted in the annals of Arab history,¹ the Umayyads could and did actually hit upon worse and more appalling types of punishment.²

IMPROBABILITIES

YET notwithstanding the apparent probabilities of the story, referred to above, there are a number of inherent discrepancies, chronological errors, and contradictions which knock the bottom out of it. According to the *Chach-Nāma*, "Muḥammad son of 'Alī Abū-Ḥasan Hamadānī says that when Rāi Dāhir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace and Muḥammad (ibn) Qāsim had sent them to Baghdād under the care of his negro slaves."³ In the same account (*Chach-Nāma*) we read that Muḥammad ibn Qāsim exhorted his soldiers against Har Rāi Chandar at Udhāfar in these words :—"Today we have come to encounter this cursed infidel,"⁴ and a little further we read, "The next day . . . a dromedary rider with orders from the seat of Government arrived."⁵ This clearly shows that Muḥammad ibn Qāsim received the Khalifa's orders after the conquest of Multān, when he was contemplating the conquest of Kannauj. Now the author of the *Chach-Nāma* says, "The accursed Dāhir was slain at the fort of Rāwar at sunset on Thursday, the 10th of Ramaḍān, 93 A.H. (712 A.D.)"⁶ and we know for

1. The followers of the first Mu'āwīya enclosed the body of Muhammad ibn Abū-Bakr, the Governor of Egypt, in the carcass of an ass and burnt both to ashes even before the Arab conquest of Sind. (See *E. & D.*, Vol. I, p. 4439; Tabari (Persian), 592; Ibn-i-Khaldūn (Urdū), II, V, 392; and *Rauḍat-aṣ-Ṣafā*, II, 312.)

2. Almost exactly similar treatment was meted out to Musa, the Governor of Spain, by the same relentless Khalifa, Sulaimān. While Mūsa was lingering in misery and exile at Mecca the head of his son, who had been murdered at Cordova, was thrown down at his (father's) feet and the tyrant's messenger taunted him in the midst of his agony and despair. (Gibbon, Chap. LI; see also an account of the Tragedy of Kərbela in any original Arabic history).

3. See *supra*, p. 2.

4. *E. & D.*, Vol. I, p. 208.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

certain that Muḥammad ibn Qāsim received the fatal orders at Udhāfar in 96 A.H.¹ This undue delay in the infliction of punishment extending over a period of several years, during which many a letter was sent to and received from Hajjāj by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, is not accounted for. If as alleged by Muḥammad, son of Abul-Ḥasan Hamadānī, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim seized the daughters of Dāhīr after his death and sent them to the Khalifa, they must have reached the capital within two months at the most; and if, as alleged, the Khalifa called them to his bed-chamber after "some day" and learnt that Muḥammad ibn Qāsim had deflowered them both before sending them on to the capital and passed the death sentence then and there; the orders must have reached the unfortunate victim within six months and not several years after the death of Dāhīr and his daughters' departure from Rāwar,² for we are told that when Muḥammad ibn Qāsim conveyed the request of the people of Brahmanābād for the repair of the Budh Temple to Hajjāj he received a reply 'after some days' and not after some months or years. This is enough to rob the story of its time-honoured charm and romance. Besides this, there are a number of other points which militate against it: while dwelling upon the capture of Rāwar, the author of the *Chach-Nāma* says that Muḥammad ibn Qāsim captured a large number of prisoners and enormous booty, which he sent to the Khalifa through his uncle, Hajjāj, along with Dāhīr's head.³ The same authority informs us that a daughter of Dāhīr's sister was among the prisoners and that the Khalifa became enamoured of her when he saw her, but gave her away in marriage to 'Abdullāh

1. See *supra*. It may be pointed out here that the chronology of the *Chach-Nāma* is hopelessly lawless and inconsistent. The 10th of Ramaḍān 93 A.H. (the 20th of June, 712 A.D.) was Monday, the same date of the year 92 A.H. (1.7.711) was Wednesday, and the same date of the Rūḡyat year 92 (2.7.711) was Thursday. The week-day (Thursday) supplies the clue to the correct date - 10th of Ramaḍān, 92 A.H. Dāhīr is said to have been killed at the fort of Rāwar on Thursday, the 10th of Ramaḍān, 93 A.H. (*supra*). It then took 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim some time to take Rāwar, and the conquest of Dhalīla and Baghrūr (two fortresses) also took him two months each. But we are told (*E. & D.*, I, 177) that he laid siege to Brahmanābād in Rajab, 93 A.H. and that it fell some six months later on the last day of Dhīl-Ḥij, 93 A.H. All this is evidently incorrect and inextricably involved. The only criterion or method of ascertaining the correct chronology is perhaps the application of the week-day test. (See S.I.-M.H., 93). It is also said that the young hero left Brahmanābād on Thursday, the 3rd of Muḥarram, 94 A.H. (*supra*). Now the 3rd of Muḥarram, 94 A.H. (9.10.712) was Sunday and the 3rd of Muḥarram, 95 (Rūḡyat) corresponded to the 28th of September, 713 which was Thursday. Again if the week-day is correct, the correct year must be 95 A.H. 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad was recalled from Sind and put to death after the death of Walid in Jamādī I, 96 A.H., and the 3rd of Muḥarram, 95 A.H., fits in fairly well, for it would leave him about eighteen months for subsequent operations against Alor (or Ad-Daur or Ar-Rūz), Sikka and Multān. (S.I.-M.H., 96). This would evidently increase the interval by one year and thus make room for more communications between him and the Central authorities.

2. Rāwar was founded by Chach (*E. & D.*, I, 154) at some distance from Brahmanābād. The passage at page 154 (*Ibid.*) shows that it was in Middle Sind, of but references at pp. 167, 170, 171 and 174 (*Ibid.*) show that it was somewhere south of Brahmanābād and north of Nirūn (Haidrābād). See S.I.-M.H., 87.

3. *E. & D.*, Vol. I, pp. 172-73.

ibn 'Abbās who sought her hand.¹ Why Muḥammad ibn Qāsim sent Dāhir's daughters direct to the Khalīfa, if he really did so, and the rest of the prisoners to Ḥajjāj, is not explained. Again, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim was appointed Governor of Sind by Ḥajjāj and it was to Ḥajjāj that he was responsible for his acts. The correspondence that passed between the two testifies to this fact. Normally Muḥammad ibn Qāsim should have sent the prisoners, etc. to Ḥajjāj. In fact, if he had not done so, he would have incurred the wrath of his 'ferocious' uncle. The author, moreover, does not say anything about the two daughters of Dāhir in connection with the capture of Rāwar, but reproduces the romantic story on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Abul-Ḥasan at the end of his account. It is evident from this omission that he himself entertained serious doubts about the genuineness of the story, otherwise he would have put it in its proper place. Elsewhere in his account he says that after the conquest of Brahmanābād, Dāhir's wife and two maiden daughters were captured,² but he does not give their names, age, and other details. Supposing that this is an inadvertent omission, supposing also that the girls referred to here were the same who figure in the romantic story, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim would have, even then, received the orders much earlier than he actually did, for an interval of at least three years intervened between the capture of Brahmanābād in 93 A.H. and the receipt of the fatal orders in 96 A.H.³ According to the author of the *Chach-Nāma*, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim captured or purchased Rānī Lādī, wife of Rāja Dāhir, and contracted his Nikāh with her.⁴ He was then in the prime of life and would not have preferred her to the two virgin daughters of Dāhir, if they had really fallen into his hands, for the Khalīfa was entitled to nothing more than 1/5th of the spoils of war and he could easily marry one if not both of the girls. It is said that the girls were first kept by the Khalīfa in his harem for some days, and when one night they were taken into his presence, he fell in love with the elder sister when he saw her for the first time.⁵ It is a question whether the Khalīfa did not see them when they were first taken to him, and whether he did not see them thereafter for so many days during their stay in his harem. The daughters of a Rāja, if nothing else, must have attracted his immediate attention if the tale were true. Again, when they were taken to the bed-chamber of the Khalīfa, the latter employed the services of an interpreter.⁶ Evidently he did not know their language and they did not know his. How, it may then be asked, did he follow the elder sister when she addressed him three times in an insulting and taunting tone for a considerable length of time. It is equally difficult to imagine how the Khalīfa would enact the love scene depicted in the story in the

1. *E. & D.*, Vol. I, p. 173.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 181 and 192.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

6. *Ibid.*

presence of the interpreter, even if the latter were a woman. Moreover, when the chest was opened in the presence of the girls, the Khalifa exclaimed "See, my daughters."¹ What a strange remark! Who is the Jankī referred to in the penultimate paragraph? The reference is obviously to the elder girl, but nowhere else is she so called. On the other hand, we are told in the same account that Jānkī was the sister of Darohar Rāi of Kūraj,² when her love was not reciprocated by Jaisiya, son of Dāhir, unsuccessfully plotted against his life.³ In the heading of the same paragraph the name of the Khalifa is given as 'Abdul-Malik son of Marwān, who was dead, and not Walīd son of 'Abdul-Malik, the ruling Khalifa. The author says nothing about what happened during the interval between the issue of the Khalifa's orders against Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and the arrival of his dead body wrapped in a cow-skin. Even if the story were accepted as correct, it is difficult to say why Muḥammad ibn Qāsim did not try to save his life by disobeying the orders of the Khalifa. He was innocent and he knew it. Why did he not try to establish his innocence? He was the master of Sind and was extremely popular with the people of that place. He could, following the accepted usage of the time, have defied the central authority and set up an independent kingdom. All these are serious flaws calculated to shake the story to its foundations. Finally, it is not supported by any contemporary historian of Arabia or Persia or Sind. We cannot therefore but call it a fabrication.

STORY IN THE *TĀRIKH-I-MA'ŠŪMĪ*.

I NOW turn to the story as narrated in the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'šūmī*. The question of establishing the antiquity or authenticity of this book need not detain us, because its chapter on the Arab conquest of Sind is a professed abridgement of the *Chach-Nāma*.⁴ The story as told in it is as follows:—At that time a letter came from Khalīf Walīd, to this effect:—'After taking Alor, you sent to the capital, among the prisoners, two daughters of Rāja Dāhir, in charge of Muḥammad, the son of 'Alī Tuhmān Hamadānī, accompanied by Abyssinian servants. One night the Khalīf had the two girls brought into his harem, and he then gave them into the charge of the bed-chamber attendants, with orders to pay them every attention, and present them when they had recovered from the fatigues of their journey. Two months afterwards the Khalīf remembered these two Hindi slaves, and ordered them to be brought into his presence. An interpreter accordingly summoned them. When their veils were thrown back, the Khalīf, on seeing them, became distracted with admi-

1. See *supra*.

2. In some MSS. this is written as Kiraj. (*E. & D.*, I, 189). I have not been able to identify it.

3. *E. & D.*, Vol. I, pp. 197-201.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

ration for their great beauty. He asked them their names ; one said her name was Parmal-Devī, the other said her name was Sūraj-Devī. The Khalif ordered the attendants to leave one of them there. She then rose and said : ' I am not fit for the bed-chamber of the Khalif, because Muḥammad ibn Qāsim dishonoured us both before he sent us to the Khalif. When the interpreter explained this, the fire of anger and jealousy was kindled in the Khalif, and he gave orders that as a punishment for this want of respect, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim should be wrapped up in the raw hide of an ox, and be sent to the capital. To enforce this order, the Khalif wrote some words of menace in the margin of the letter in his own hand, 'Wherever Muḥammad ibn Qāsim may be, when this reaches him, he is to come to the capital, and let him not fail to obey this order.' Muḥammad ibn Qāsim was at Udhapūr¹ when the Khalif's chamberlain brought this mandate. When he had read it, he directed the officer to carry the order into effect. He accordingly wrapped Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in a raw hide. Three days afterwards the bird of life left his body and flew to heaven. The chamberlain put the body into a box, and carried it to the capital. When he arrived in Syria, he brought the box before the Khalif on a day of public audience. The Khalif enquired if Muḥammad ibn Qāsim were alive ? The chamberlain replied that he had been enclosed in a raw skin, and that he died three days afterwards. The Khalifa then directed the box to be taken into the female apartments, and ordered that it should be opened there in his presence. He then called for the daughters of Rāja Dāhir, and said, ' Come and see how supreme are my commands ; behold Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ! ' They both came forward to look at him and recognised him, and, raising their hands, they blessed and praised the Khalif. They then said, ' Kings of great justice should not proceed hastily in perilous matters, nor act precipitately upon the information of friends or enemies in the most important of all concerns.' When the Khalif enquired what was the meaning of their address, they replied : ' We raised this charge against Muḥammad ibn Qāsim out of enmity to him because he slew our father, and through him dominion and wealth have departed from our house ; we have come as prisoners into a foreign land ; the king in his anger did not weigh our words, nor distinguish between our truth and our falsehood, but issued his fatal order. The truth is, this man was to us as a father, or a brother ; his hands never touched the skirts of our purity ; our object was to revenge our father, and so we made this accusation. Our wishes have been fulfilled, but there has been a serious failure in the king's justice.' When the Khalif heard this, he was overwhelmed with remorse for a whole hour ; but the fire of anger then burst from the furnace of his bosom, and he gave orders for the two girls to be tied to the tails of horses, and, after being dragged round the city, to be thrown into the Tigris (Dijla). Muḥammad ibn Qāsim was buried at Damascus. Two years after his death the people of India rebelled and threw off

1. Vide *Ibid.*, p. 210, where it is written as Udhāfar.

their yoke, and only the country from Debalpur to the Salt Sea remained under the dominions of the Khalif."¹

CRITICISM OF THE PASSAGE

A perusal of the above passage side by side with the passage in the *Chach-Nāma* shows that the main theme of the story is the same. Both the accounts hold the Khalifa Walid ibn 'Abdul-Malik responsible for the dismissal and death of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim; both repeat the allegations of the girls; both accuse the Khalifa of his failure to find out the truth; both depict him as a man of low morals; both say that the girls resorted to that ruse in order to bring about the death of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and thus to avenge the ruin of their family; both agree in saying that the hero of Sind suffered himself to be sewn up in a cow-skin in blind obedience to the orders of the Khalifa and accuse him of a lack of common-sense; and both state that he received the fatal orders at Udhāfar. But the details are quite different and full of discrepancies. As has already been remarked, the story in the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* is based on that given in the *Chach-Nāma* and the author of the former work has tried to remove the defects of the latter. This accounts for the discrepancies and difference of details. In the *Chach-Nāma* it is mentioned that the girls were sent to the capital after the death of their father (Dāhir) and the capture of Alor, but Mīr Ma'sūm says that they were sent after the conquest of Alor. While the author of the older work informs us that the girls were sent to the Khalifa under the care of Abyssinian servants, the writer of the latter work gives the name (Muḥammad) of the officer in whose custody they were sent to the capital. While the former says that the Khalifa saw the girls 'a few days' after they had been sent to his harem, the latter says that he saw them 'two months' after that. Both the writers depict the Khalifa as devoid of Islamic morality and justice, but Mīr Ma'sūm is more careful and paints him in less lurid colours. According to the *Chach-Nāma* the Khalifa wrote the orders against Muḥammad ibn Qāsim with his own hand, but Mīr Ma'sūm says that 'he wrote some words of menace in the margin of the letter in his own hand.' As regards the punishment inflicted on the girls for their treachery, the author of the *Chach-Nāma* says that they were enclosed between walls and that of the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī* says that they were tied to the tails of horses and, after being dragged round the city, thrown into the Tigris. What is the source of Mīr Muḥammad Ma'sūm in these divergent details, we are not informed. Evidently, the story told in this book too cannot be relied upon. It is, in fact, more open to question than its parent source.

STORY TOLD IN THE *FUTŪḤ-UL-BULDĀN*

Let us now turn to the rival account which is given in the *Futūḥ-ul-*

1. E. & D., Vol. I, pp. 237-38.

Buldān. It reads as follows :—

“ Meanwhile, Walīd, son of ‘Abdul Malik, died and was succeeded by (his brother) Sulaimān who appointed Šālih, son of ‘Abdur-Rahmān, to collect the tribute of ‘Irāq. Yazīd, son of Abū-Kabshas-Saksakī, was made governor of Sind, and Muḥammad son of Qāsim, was sent back a prisoner with Mu‘āwiya son of Muhallab. The people of Hind wept for Muḥammad and preserved his likeness at Kiraj. He was imprisoned by Šālih at Wāsīt. Šālih put him to torture, together with other persons of the family of Abū-Uqail, until they expired : for Ḥajjāj (Muḥammad’s uncle) had put to death Ādam, Šālih’s brother, who professed the creed of the Khārijīs.”¹

ANTIQUITY OF *FUTŪḤ-UL-BULDĀN*

A FEW words must first be said about the antiquity as well as authenticity of the book *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān*, in which the above passage appears. It is admittedly one of the earliest Arabic histories that have come down to us. Its author, Aḥmad ibn Yahya ibn Jābir surnamed Abū-Ja‘far and Abul-Hasan and popularly known as Balādhurī on account of his addiction to Baladhar or Malacca been an intoxicating electuary, lived in the middle of the 9th century of the Christian era. He died in 279 A.H. (892-93 A.D), leaving behind a large as well as a small edition of the *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān*. The celebrated historian, Ṭabarī, omits much that our author has recorded. Evidently he was his predecessor. He seems to have been a close contemporary of the author of the *Chach-Nāma*, though there is no evidence to show that either knew the other. Balādhurī brings down the history of events to the end of the reign of al-Mu‘taṣim-Billāh (227-842). Wāqidī, who has drawn upon him, wrote a *Book of Conquests* and among them was a *Conquest of Sind*, which Dr. Sprenger says he has seen quoted by Nuwairi at folio 103 of the large copy of Leyden. Copies of his other *Futūḥ* or *Conquests* are very common, but “ *Conquest of Sind* ” or *Futūḥ-us-Sind* is extremely rare. Al-Ḥusain ibn Yazīd aṣ-Ṣirāfi is another author of Indian history quoted by Nuwairi at folio 795. We also find some other writers on Sindian invasions quoted as existing at the early period of the Arabian conquests.²

AUTHENTICITY

THE authenticity of the book (*Futūḥ-ul-Buldān*) is also equally undoubted. Balādhurī does not appear to have seen Sind personally, yet his account is based on the information received from other reliable authors

1. E. & O., 124.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-115.

whom he frequently quotes. He had 'verbal communications' with Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, who left behind the work *Al-Maghāzī-was-Siyar* or 'Wars and Marches' as a monument to his memory. This book contains an account of Muslim expeditions against Khurāsān and the Indus. Maṣṣūr ibn Ḥāṭim is another author of Sindian history with whom Balādhurī had personal intercourse. He also quotes Ibn-ul-Kalbī as an authority. He wrote and translated many books and was a good poet. He is frequently cited by Ibn-Hauqal, Al-Mas'ūdī, and other ancient geographers, but his historical work is not so frequently quoted. Qudāma, who wrote at Baghdad about the end of the 3rd century A.H., gives an extract from it,¹ and Ibn-ul-Athīr draws upon it under the years 89 and 95 A.H.

CRITICISM

The story as told in the *Futūh-ul-Buldān* is quite simple and is shorn of all the romantic element which dominates the rival account in the *Chach-Nāma* and the *Tārīkh-i-Ma'sūmī*. I have no adverse criticism to make against it. There is ample evidence to show that Ḥajjāj, the uncle of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, had espoused the cause of Walīd's son, 'Abdur-Rahmān, against his brother Sulaimān, and had executed and imprisoned a large number of persons and thus excited hostilities against himself everywhere. When, therefore, Sulaimān succeeded in winning the Khilāfat in 96 A.H. (715 A.D.) he wreaked vengeance on all those who had opposed his father's covenant, according to which he had to succeed his brother, Walīd, and on their relatives and friends. But for the fact that Ḥajjāj had died six months prior to Sulaimān's succession,² his fate too would have been sealed. His friends and relatives had to pay a heavy price for his policy of persecution. The new Khalīfa's hand fell heavily on them; and the enemies of Ḥajjāj, now set at liberty by the new Khalīfa, had their day. Muḥammad ibn Qāsim was recalled from Sind and brought back as a captive by Mu'āwiya; and his place was taken by a favourite of the ruling Khalīfa. Ṣāliḥ, the newly appointed Governor of Iraq, who bore bitter enmity to Ḥajjāj because the latter had executed the former's brother Ādam on a charge of heresy, shut him in a prison at Wāsiṭ and tortured him to death along with all the surviving members of his family to avenge the execution of Ādam.³

1. Qudāmah-ibn-Ja'far was a pupil of Balādhurī, and in his كتاب الخراج gives a chapter on conquests. The unique fragments of Qudāmah's كتاب الخراج, preserved at Istanbul fortunately contains this chapter. It is a *verbatim* copy of Balādhurī's account, though somewhat abridged. Hence it is no wonder if there is no difference whatever between Qudāma, and Balādhurī on this point.—Ed., I. C.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

3. Vide E. & D., Vol I, p. 124; and *Rauḍat-us-Ṣafā*, III, 106.

CONCLUSION

THE above account is confirmed by all the contemporary historians.¹ It is free from contradictions and conflicting statements and hence appeals to reason more than the rival account. The rise of Sulaimān synchronised with the sad end of Muḥammad ibn Qāsim² and hence it confirms my conviction about the correctness of the account given in the *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān*.

S. M. JAFFAR.

1. *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī* (Persian), IV, 697 ; and *Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā*, III, 105.

2. *Ibid.*, 696

THE DEVIL'S DELUSION

(TALBĪS IBLĪS OF ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ)

[A NOTE on the author and the importance of Ibn al-Jauzī's *Talbīs Iblīs* ("Devil's Delusion.") has already appeared in this Journal, in January 1935. Earlier instalments of this important work translated by the late Professor D.S. Margoliouth were published from 1935 to 1937, and further selections appeared during the period 1937 to 1938. At the persistent request of our readers, both in India and overseas, publication of the remaining portions of this highly interesting work has been undertaken. As the selections already published left out certain matters connected with chapters here and there and as some portions of the MS were missing we are obliged to add our own translation from the Arabic original to these instalments in order to make them intelligible to the reader. These instalments will be published in serial order, together with footnotes and references to pages of the original Arabic text. —EDITOR, *Islamic Culture*.]

*Account of the Way wherein the Devil deludes the Ṣūfīs in the Matter of their Clothing.*¹

ABŪ al-ʿĀliya said to him (ʿAbdul-Karīm Abū-Umayya): These are monks' garments; when Muslims pay each other visits, they deck themselves out.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim in a tradition going back to al-ʿĪṣā b. Ishāq that the latter said: I heard al-Fuḍail² say: You have adorned yourself with wool for them, but have not found them paying you any attention; you have adorned yourself with the Qur'ān for them, but have not found them paying you any attention; you have adorned yourself with one thing after another, merely in each case for worldly advancement.

We have been told by Ibn al-Ḥāsin in a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Abī'l-Ḥawārī that the latter said: Abū-Sulaimān said: One of you wears mantle costing three and a half dirhems, whilst the desire which he harbours in his heart is for five dirhems. Should he not be ashamed that his cupidity exceeds his costume? He would be safer if he were to conceal his asceticism from people's eyes with a couple of white garments. Ibn Abī'l-Ḥawārī said: Sulaimān b. Abī-Sulaimān, regarded as his father's equal, said to me: What is the meaning of their wearing wool? I said: Humility. He said: Only when one of them wears it, is he proud.

We have been informed by al-Mubārak b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī in a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Yūnus that the latter said: Ath-Thaurī seeing a Ṣūfī said to him: This attire of yours is an innovation.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Baqī in a tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād that the latter said: Abū-Dāʿūd said that Sufyān ath-Thaurī seeing a man decked in woollen cloth said: This attire of yours is an innovation.

1. An instalment comprising pp. 208, lines 15 to 219 of the Arabic original. A selection of this account comprising pp. 188-207. appeared in *Islamic Culture* April 1937.

2. Probably al-Fuḍail b. Iyād, a scholar of Khorasan, died 187 H.

We have been informed by Zāhir ibn-Ṭāhir in a tradition going back to Maḥmūd ibn al-Mundhir that the latter said that Ahmed ibn Shaddād said that al-Ḥasan ibn ar-Rabi'i heard 'Abdullāh ibn Mubārak saying to a man clothed in the well-known woollen ; 'I hate this, I hate this.' We have been informed by Abū-Bakr ibn Ḥabīb in a tradition going back to Ḥasan ibn 'Amr that the latter said : Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith said that 'Alī-al-Mu'aḥfa came to al-Mausīli while he wore a woollen *Jubba* and said to him : 'O, Abul-Ḥasan, what is this publicity' ? 'O, Abū-Mas'ūd,' said al-Mausīli, 'let us both go out and see which of us is the more celebrated.' Then al-Mu'aḥfa said that the publicity of the body is not like that of the dress.

We have been informed by Ismā'il ibn Bakr al-Muqri in a tradition going back to Ḥasan ibn 'Amr that the latter heard Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith say : Budail came to see Abū-Ayyūb Assakhtiani who had spread a cover of black silk over his bed which protected it from dust. So Budail asked him : 'What is this ?' Then Ayyūb said : 'This is better than the woollen garment which you have worn.'

We have been informed by Abū-Bakr b. Ḥabīb in a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Yaṣār that the latter said : I heard Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith disliking the question when he was asked about wearing of wool said : Wearing of silk and saffron-coloured robes are to my mind preferable to woollen clothing in the great cities.—*Ed., I.C.*

We have been informed by Yaḥya b. Thābit in a tradition going back to Yazīd as-Saqqa, companion of Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Anbārī, that the latter said : Seeing a lad clothed in sacking I asked him, what scholar wears this ? What scholar does this ? He said : Bishr b. al-Ḥārith saw me and made no objection. I went (said Yazīd) to Bishr and said to him : Abū-Naṣr, I saw so and so wearing a *jubbah* of sacking, of which I disapproved ; he said that he had been seen by Abū-Naṣr, who made no objection. Bishr said to me : He did not consult me, Abū-Khālīd. Had I said anything to him, he would have told me that various persons had done the like.

We have been informed by Ḥamd b. Maṣṣūr al-Hamadhānī in a tradition going back to Hishām b. Khālīd that the latter said : I heard Abū-Sulaimān ad-Dārānī say to a man wearing wool : You are parading the instrument of the ascetics ; with what has this wool endowed you ? The man was silent. Abū-Sulaimān then said : Let your exterior be of cotton and your inside of wool.

We have been informed by Yaḥya b. 'Alī al-Mudīr in a tradition going back to Ibn-Shirūyah that the latter said : Abū-Muḥammad, nephew of Ma'rūf al-Karkhī, went to visit Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Bashshār in a woollen *jubbah*. Abu'l-Ḥasan said to him : Abū-Muḥammad, have you clothed your body or your heart with the wool ? Clothe your heart with wool, and your body with white fabrics of Kūhistān, one over the other !

We have been informed by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak the Ḥāfiẓ in tradition going back to an-Naḍīr b. Shāmil that the latter said : I said

to a Sūfī : Will you sell me your woollen *jubbah* ? He replied : If the fisherman sells his net, with what will he catch fish ?

Abū-Ja'far b. Jarīr at-Ṭabarī said : He is in error who prefers an attire of hair and wool to one of cotton or linen, if he can obtain the latter honestly. So also is he who eats vegetables and lentils in preference to wheaten bread or abstains from meat for fear of sexual concupiscence.

I would observe that the men of old used to wear medium garments, neither luxurious nor mean. They would choose the best for the Friday or to meet their friends, but the clothes which were not their best were not shabby. Muslim in his *Saḥīḥ* produces a tradition according to which 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, seeing a robe of gaudy style offered for sale at the door of the mosque, suggested to the Prophet to purchase it for use on Fridays and for the reception of delegations. The Prophet replied that such a garment would be worn only by those who had no share in the future world. The Prophet did not disapprove of personal adornment with such a robe, but only of its being of silk.

We have recorded above (I would observe) how Abu'l-'Āliyah said that the Muslims used to deck themselves out when they paid each other visits.

We have been informed by Abū-Bakr b. 'Abd al-Bāqī in a tradition going back to Ibn-'Aun¹ after Muḥammad,² that the last-named said : The Refugees and Helpers used to wear fine clothes. Tamīm ad-Dārī paid a thousand dirhems for a robe. He used it only for prayer. Muḥammad b. Sa'd (one of the transmitters of the last tradition) adds a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Sīrīn to the effect that Tamīm ad-Dārī paid a thousand dirhems for a robe which he used to put on at night when he rose for prayer. Also one going back to Thābit that Tamīm ad-Dārī had a robe for which he had paid a thousand dirhems, which he used to wear on the night which it was hoped would prove to be the Night of Qadr. We have been informed (he added) by al-Faḍl b. Dukain after Ḥammām after Qatādah that Ibn-Sīrīn told the last-named that Tamīm ad-Dārī paid a thousand dirhems for a robe in which he used to lead prayer in company.

I would observe that Ibn-Mas'ūd wore most handsome clothes and used the best perfumes ; and that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī used to wear fine clothes. Kulthūm b. Jaushan³ says : Al-Ḥasan went out wearing a Yeminite *jubbah* and an overcoat of the same style, and was seen by Farqad, who said to him : Ustādh, a man like you ought not to be so attired. Al-Ḥasan replied : O son of Farqad's mother, do you not know that the majority of the population of Hell are wearers of wool ?

Mālik b. Anas used to wear fine garments of Aden ; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's garment used to cost about a dinār. They used to practise austerity up to a certain limit ; often they would wear ragged garments in their houses, but would deck themselves out when they went outside, only with nothing conspicuous either for magnificence or for shabbiness.

1. 'Abdallāh b. 'Aun al-Kharraz, died 232.

2. Possibly Muḥammad b. Bishr al-'Abdī, mentioned in the *Kitāb Baghdād*, X., 34, among Ibn-'Aun's Shaikhs.

3. One of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's reporters, *Tahdhīb*, VIII. 442.

We have been informed by Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥamdānī in a tradition going back to 'Īsā b. Ḥāzim that the latter said : The clothing of Ibrāhīm b. Adham was linen, cotton, or fur ; I never saw him wear woollen or other conspicuous clothes.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim in a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. Rayyān that the latter said : He¹ saw Dhun-Nūn shod in red footwear, and said to him : Take these off, my son, for they are conspicuous ; the Prophet did not wear this sort, but plain black ones.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir in a tradition going back to Yūnus that the latter said : Abū-Ja'far al-Manṣūr said that painful nakedness is better than disgraceful uniform.

You should know that the attire which brings its wearer into contempt combines a display of asceticism with a display of poverty. It is, as it were, an expression of complaint against God, and causes its wearer to be despised. All this is disapproved of and forbidden. We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir, in a tradition going back to Ibn-Ishāq after al-Aḥwas after his father, that the last of these said : I came to the Prophet in squalid guise, and he asked whether I had any money. I replied that I had. He asked what was its source. I replied : God has given me all sorts, camels, horses, slaves, sheep. He said : If God has given you wealth, let it be seen on you.

We have been informed by Ibn al-Ḥāsin in a tradition going back to Jābir that the latter said : The Prophet came on a visit to us at my residence. Seeing a man with untidy hair, he said : Could not this man find something to smoothe his head with ? Seeing another with dirty clothes, he said : Could not this man find something to wash his clothes with ?

We have been informed by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir in a tradition going back to Abū-'Ubaidah Ma'mar b. al-Muthanna that the last-named said : 'Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib went to visit ar-Rabī' b. Ziyād when he was ill, and the latter said to him : Prince of Believers. I have a complaint to make of my brother, 'Āṣim. What about him ? asked 'Alī. He said : He has discarded pleasures, and put on Bedouin attire, vexing his wife and family. 'Alī bade 'Āṣim be summoned. When he appeared, 'Alī beamed upon him and said : Do you suppose God has put fortune in your power and disapproves of your taking any of it ? You are not so important in God's eyes as all that. You would please Him better by handling His gifts in action than by handling them in words. 'Āṣim said : Prince of Believers, I notice that you yourself favour coarse apparel and barley bread. 'Alī heaved a sigh and said : Ah, 'Āṣim, God has enjoined on just sovereigns that they should accommodate themselves to the standard of the humble in order that a man's poverty may not prove too much for him to endure.²

1. Perhaps Ibrāhīm b. Adham.

2. The author here adds a gloss by the grammarian Ibn al-Anbārī on the word employed.

Now if any one say : The wearing of fine clothes is a gratification of the soul, against which we have been commanded to strive and a display for the sake of the people, whereas we have been told that all our doings should be for the sake of God, the reply is that not everything which the soul desires is reprehensible, nor is every sort of display before people to be discouraged. Such things are only to be forbidden when they are forbidden by the Code, or involve religious hypocrisy. For a man likes to look handsome, and this does gratify the soul, and is not reprehensible. For this reason he combs his hair, looks in the mirror, adjusts his turban, and wears his clothes with the coarse side within and the smooth side without. This is in no way either to be censured or disapproved.

We have been informed by al-Mubārak b. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣairafī, in a tradition going back to Makhūl, 'Ā'ishah said : There were a number of the Prophet's Companions waiting for him at the gate, and he went out to find them ; there was in the house a bucket containing water, and he looked into the water and adjusted his hair and beard. I said : O Prophet of God, what, dost thou do this ? He said : Yes ; when a man goes out to his friends let him prepare himself, for God is beautiful and loves beauty.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir in a tradition going back to Umm-Kulthūm that 'Ā'ishah said : As the Prophet was going out, he came upon a bucket of ours which contained water ; he looked at his reflection therein, arranged his beard and hair, and passed on. When he returned, I said : O Prophet of God, dost thou do this ? What, he asked, did I do ? I looked at my reflection in the water, and adjusted my beard and my hair. There is no harm in a Muslim preparing himself when he goes out to his friends.

I would observe : If it be asked: What then is the sense of what you record of Sari aṣ-Ṣāqati saying : If I perceived some one coming to see me and did this to my beard (he passed his hand over his beard, as though to adjust it on account of the visitor), I should fear that God would punish me for that with Hell, the reply is : We must interpret him to mean that the purpose was religious hypocrisy, being a display of humility or the like ; whereas if the purpose were improvement of his appearance so that there should be nothing about it which was displeasing, that would not be reprehensible. One who believes it to be so cannot understand hypocrisy or reprehensibility.

We have been informed by Sa'd al-Khair b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī in a tradition going back to Ibn-Mas'ūd that the Prophet said : No one shall enter Paradise in whose heart there is an atom of pride. Someone said : One of us likes his garment to be handsome and his shoe handsome. The Prophet said : God is beautiful and loves beauty. Pride is lawlessness and contempt of others. Muslim alone records this tradition.

There were indeed certain Ṣūfīs who wore fine clothes. We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir in a tradition going back to Abū-

'Abdullāh Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā that Abu'l-'Abbās b. 'Aṭā wore fine garments of linen such as Dabīqī, used a rosary of pearls, and favoured long robes.

This, I would observe, would be as ostentatious as patchwork ; the attire of good men should be intermediate. Consider how Satan plays with these people, using contrary extremes !

There have been Ṣūfīs who were in the habit of tearing any garment which they put on, often spoiling one of fine quality. We have been informed by Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz after Abū-Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit after al-Ḥasan b. Ghālib al-Muqrī¹ that the last-named said : I heard 'Īsa son of 'Alī the vizier say : One day Ibn-Mujāhid was with my father. Ash-Shiblī was announced, and my father bade him enter. Ibn-Mujāhid said : I will silence him straightway in your presence. Now it was ash-Shiblī's practice when he put on a garment to tear a hole in it. When he was seated, Ibn-Mujāhid asked him : Abū-Bakr, where is there in knowledge the spoiling of what can be used ? Ash-Shiblī replied : Where in knowledge ? (XXXVIII. 32) : *And he started stroking the legs and necks.* Ibn-Mujāhid was silent. My father said to him : You meant to silence him, and he has silenced you. Then he said to him : People are agreed that you are the teacher of Qur'ān reading of our time ; where is it in the Qur'ān that the beloved does not punish his beloved ? Ibn-Mujāhid was silent. My father said to ash-Shiblī : Do you tell us ? He quoted the text (V. 21) : *Said the Jews and the Christians : we are the children of God and His beloved. Say : then why doth He punish you for your sins ?* Ibn-Mujāhid said : It is as though I had never heard this text.

I would observe that I have my doubts about the veracity of this story, because one of the transmitters, al-Ḥasan b. Ghālib, was regarded as untrustworthy. We have been informed by al-Qazzāz that Abū-Bakr al-Khaṭīb said² : Al-Ḥasan b. Ghālib professed certain things in which his mendacity and fabrication were clear to us. If the above narrative be true, it indicates want of intelligence on the part of ash-Shiblī in citing this verse, and a similar want on the part of Ibn-Mujāhid in being unable to reply. For with regard to the text *He started stroking the legs and necks*, the working of mischief cannot be attributed to an infallible prophet, and the commentators differ about the meaning of the text. Some suppose it to mean that he put his hand on their legs and necks, saying : "Thou art consecrated to God" which would be doing good. Others suppose it to mean that he slaughtered them, and the slaughtering of horses and eating their flesh is lawful, so that he did nothing involving guilt. But spoiling a sound garment for no sound purpose is not permissible, whereas in Solomon's Code acts may have been permissible which are not so in ours.

1. Died 458.

2. The passage is in *Kitāb Baghdād*, VII, 400.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir the Ḥāfiẓ in a tradition going back to Abū-'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā that the latter said : It was the system of Abū-'Alī ar-Rudhbarī to tear his sleeves, and to spit his tunic. He would tear up a valuable garment, and use one half as under and the other half as outer clothing. One day when he entered the bath clad in a robe, whereas his companions had nothing to put next their skins, he tore his robe into as many pieces as there were people, bade them put them on, and ordered them when they left the bath to hand the rags to the bath-man. Abū-Sa'id al-Kazarūnī said to me : I was with him on that day, and the garment which he tore up had cost some thirty dinārs.

Similar extravagance is illustrated by a story told me by Zāhir b. Ṭāhir with a chain of authorities going back to 'Abdallāh b. Yūsuf. I heard, he said, Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Bushanji say : I possessed a partridge for which a hundred dirhams had been offered. One night two strangers came to me and I said to my mother : Have you anything for my guests ? She said : Nothing but bread. So I slaughtered the partridge and served it to them.

I would observe that he might have borrowed money, and then sold the bird to pay ; so he was extravagant.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī b. Aḥmad in a tradition going back to Abū-'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī that the latter said : I heard my grandfather say : Abu'l-Ḥusain ad-Darraj al-Baghdādī entered Rayy and wanted a wrapping for his foot. Some one gave him a Dabiqi towel, which he proceeded to tear in two, and use as a wrapping. Some one told him that he had better have sold the material, bought a wrapping with some of the proceeds, and spent the remainder. He said : I will not betray the system.

Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī was in Baghdād and went out to al-Muhawwal, where he stopped by a water-wheel belonging to a farmer. He flung his hood upon it, and the wheel revolving tore the hood to pieces. I said : Look at this folly, wastefulness, and ignorance for there is a genuine tradition that the Prophet forbade the waste of property. If a man were to cut up a good dinar and spend the pieces, in the opinion of the jurists he would be wasteful ; how much more so with this unlawful extravagance. Similar to this is their practice of tearing to pieces the garments which they throw off in ecstasy, as shall presently be described if God will. They claim indeed that this is a "state"; but there is no good about a state which violates the code. Are they their own bondmen, or have they been commanded to act according to their own opinions ? If they know that this procedure of theirs is a violation of the code, and yet perform it, that is contumacy ; if they do not know it, then their ignorance is crass.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim after Ḥamd b. Aḥmad that Abū-Nu'aim Aḥmad b. 'Abd-Rabbiḥi the Ḥāfiẓ said : I heard Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain say that he had heard 'Abdallāh ar-Rāzī

say : When Abū-'Uthmān's state changed at the time of his death, his son Abū-Bakr rent a tunic which he was wearing. Abū-'Uthmān opened his eyes and said : My son, this is open violation of the *Sunnah* and secret hypocrisy in the heart.

There are also Šūfis who go to extremities in the shortness of their garments, and this too is ostentation. We have been informed by al-Hāsin in a tradition going back to al-A'lā after his father that the last of these heard Abū-Sa'īd asked about an under-garment, when he said : I heard the Prophet say : A Muslim's undergarment should reach half-way down his legs ; there is no harm (or guilt) if it be extended between that and his ankles. Lower than that is destined to Hell.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāsir and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī in a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd al-Jauharī that this last said : 'Abd ar-Razzāq wrote to me on the authority of Ma'mar that the tunic of Ayyūb was somewhat lengthy, and he was asked about it ; he replied that ostentation at the time lay in shortening it. The following was narrated by Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hānī. I went one day, he said, to see Abū-'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, wearing a tunic which came below the knee but above the shin. What is this ? he asked, disapprovingly. Once for all, he said, this is improper.

There have also been Šūfis who put on their heads a rag in lieu of a turban. This again is ostentation, for it is unlike the attire of the people of the place, and whatever is ostentatious is to be disapproved. We have been informed by Yahya b. Thābit b. Bundar in a tradition going back to Bishr b. al-Hārith that one Friday Ibn al-Mubārak entered the mosque wearing a hood ; seeing that the people had no hoods, he took his off and put it in his pocket.

There have also been Šūfis who capriciously acquired many clothes, wearing different garments for the privy and for prayer. This procedure is recorded of a number of them, among them Abū-Yazīd. There is no harm in this, only it is not desirable, for fear lest it be made into a law. We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim in a tradition going back to the father of Ja'far that 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain said : My son, you might take a particular garment for the privy : I see that the flies settle on some thing and then upon one's garment. Presently I came to him and he said : The Prophet and his Companions had not more than a single garment, so he rejected the plan.

There were indeed among them persons who possessed only one garment out of contempt for worldly things, and this is right. Only it is better and more proper if possible to take a particular garment for Fridays and feast-days. We have been informed by 'Abd al-Awwal in a tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. Salām that the latter said : We were addressed by the Prophet on a Friday and he said : No fault is to be found with one of you who buys two garments for Friday besides his working clothes.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī in a tradition going back to Abū-Hurairah and others that the Prophet possessed cloaks of Yemen make and an undergarment woven in 'Uman. These he used to wear on Fridays and feast-days, after which they were folded away.

Account of the Way wherein the Devil deludes the Ṣūfis in Matters of Food and Drink.

I would observe that the devil went far to delude the original Ṣūfis, enjoining them to minimize their food, to have it as coarse as possible, and to abstain from cold water. When he got to the moderns he rested from his labour, being filled with amazement at the amount they eat and the luxury of their lives.

Specimens of the Conduct of the earlier Ṣūfis.

There were those among them who remained for days without eating till their strength ebbed away : others would each day take a little food, not enough to sustain the body. It has been related to us of Sahl b. 'Abdallāh that at the commencement of his career he used to buy a dirhem's worth of molasses, two dirhem's worth of butter, and one dirhem's worth of ground rice, mix them together and make three hundred and sixty pellets ; with one of these he would break his fast each night. Ābū-Ḥamid at-Tūsī narrates concerning him that he fed for a period on leaves of the lote-tree and for three years on ground straw, his food costing him three dirhems in three years.

We have been informed by Abū-Bakr b. Ḥabīb al-'Amirī in a tradition going back to Abū-'Abdallah al-Husri that the latter said : I heard Abū-Ja'far al-Ḥaddād say : One day I was seen by Abū-Turāb at a pool of water, when for sixteen days I had neither eaten food nor drunk water. He asked me why I was sitting there. I replied : I am between knowledge and certainty, waiting to see which will win, so that I shall be with that one.—He said : You will come to great things.

We have been informed by Abū-Bakr b. Ḥabīb in a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. al-Banna al-Baghdadi that the latter said : I accompanied Dhu'n-Nūn from Akhmīm to Alexandria, and when the time came for him to break his fast I brought out a crust of bread and some salt which I had with me, and bade him take it.—He said to me : Your salt is ground.—I said : It is.—He said : You will come to no good.—I looked at his wallet and found that it contained a little barley porridge, which he ate dry.

We have been informed by Ibn-Zafar in a tradition going back to Ibn Abi'l-Hawari that the latter said : I heard Abū-Sulaimān say : Cream with honey is an extravagance. Ibn-Jahdam (one of the transmitters of

the last tradition) adds : We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Baṣrī that he heard Abū-Saʿīd, the comrade of Sahl, say : Abū ʿAbdallāh az-Zubairī, Zakariyya as-Sajī, and Ibn Abi-Aufa learned that Sahl b. ʿAbdallāh was in the habit of saying : I am God's plea with his creatures.—They gathered at his abode, and az-Zubairī came forward and said : It has reached us that you have said that you are God's plea with his creatures ; in what way ? Are you a prophet or a saint ?—Sahl said : I have not taken the line you suppose ; I only said this because I take what is lawful. So come all of you that we may ascertain what is lawful.—They said to him : Then have you ascertained it ?—He said he had. They asked him how.—Sahl replied : I have divided my intellect, my knowledge, and my food into seven parts ; I leave them till six of these parts disappear and only one remains. When I am afraid that this remaining part will disappear, and my soul go with it, I am in fear that I may have helped to destroy it, and so furnish it with sufficient nourishment to restore the six parts.

We have been informed by Ibn-Ḥabīb in a tradition going back to Abū-ʿAbdallāh b. Muflīḥ that the latter said : I was informed by my father that Abū-ʿAbdallāh b. Zaid said to him : For forty years I have allowed myself no food except at such times as God would have permitted the flesh of an animal that had died a natural death.

We have been informed by Ibn-Naṣīr in a tradition going back to ʿĪsa b. Ādam, nephew of Abū-Yazīd, that a man came to Abū-Yazīd saying that he would like to sit in the same mosque with him.—Abū Yazīd told him that he would not be able to do so.—The man said : Please make this possible for me.—Abū Yazīd gave him permission, and he sat for a day without food and held out. The next day he said to Abū Yazīd : Master, we must have what we cannot do without.—My lad, replied Abū Yazīd, we cannot do without God.—He said : Master, we want food.—Abū Yazīd replied : My lad, food with us is obedience to God.—He said : Master, I want something to sustain my body in obedience to the Almighty. Abū-Yazīd replied : My lad, bodies are only sustained by God Almighty.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Naṣīr and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī in a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ that the latter said : I was told by a brother of mine who used to accompany Abū Turāb that Abū Turāb saw a Ṣūfī stretch out his hand to a piece of melon-rind, having fasted three days. Abū Turāb said to the man : You stretch out your hand to the melon-rind ! Sufism is of no good to you ; stick to the market.

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim in a tradition going back to Abū'l-Qāsim al-Qairawānī that the latter said : I heard one of our comrades say that Abū'l-Ḥasan an-Nasībī stayed for seven days in the sanctuary with seven of his comrades, who had eaten nothing.

One of his comrades went out to purify himself, and seeing a melon-rind took and ate it. A man who saw him followed him, brought a cake, and set it before the people. The Shaikh said : Which of you has perpetrated this crime!—The man said : I found a melon-rind and ate it.—The Shaikh said : Stay with your crime and with this cake. He went out of the sanctuary with his comrades, and said to the man when he followed : Did I not tell you to stay with your crime ?—The man said : I repent unto God Almighty of that which I have done.—The Shaikh said : After repentance there is nothing to be said.

We have been informed by 'Umar b. Zafar in a tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ash-Shunizi that the latter said : I heard Banan b. Muḥammad say : I was doing "neighbourhood"¹ in Mecca, and saw there Ibrāhīm al-Khawwās. Several days passed during which nothing came to me. There was in Mecca a barber who loved the poor, and it was his practice that when a poor man came to him for cupping, he would buy some meat for the man, cook it, and serve it up to him. I went to this barber and told him I wanted cupping. He sent some one to buy meat, and ordered it to be cooked. I sat down in front of him. Then my soul began to say : I wonder whether the turn of fortune will come with the conclusion of the cupping.—Presently I woke up and said : Soul, thou hast only come to be cupped in order to feed ; I vow to God that I shall taste none of his food.—When the barber had finished, I started to go. The man said : Good gracious, do not you know the terms ?—I said : There is a difficulty.—He was silent, and I went to the Holy Mosque, but nothing was appointed for me to eat. Next day I stayed there till the end of the day, and had no better luck. When I stood up for the afternoon prayer I fell down in a fainting fit, and people gathered round me, supposing that I was deranged. Ibrāhīm stood up and dispersed the crowd, and sat down by me to talk to me. He said : You will eat something.—I said : Night is near at hand.—He said : You have done well, you beginners ; persist in this and you will prosper.—Then he rose, and when we had performed the second evening prayer he brought me a dish containing lentils and two loaves, with a pitcher of water, and set them before me. He bade me eat, so I ate the lentils and the two loaves, when he asked me whether I had appetite for anything more. When I said I had, he went off and brought another dish of lentils and a couple of loaves, which I ate. I told him I had had enough, lay down, and stayed there the whole night sleeping till morning, neither praying nor making the circuit.

We have been told by Abu'l-Muzaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm in a tradition going back to Abū-'Alī ar-Rudhbar that the latter said : If a Ṣūfī at the end of five days says he is hungry, bid him stick to the market and earn money.

¹ Residence in Mecca.

We have been told by 'Abd al-Mun'im in a tradition going back to Ibn-Bakuyah that the latter said : I heard Abū-Aḥmad the Less say : I was ordered by Abū-'Abdallāh b. Khafif to bring him every night ten raisin pips to break his fast with ; one night out of pity for him I brought fifteen pips. He looked at me and said : Who ordered you to do this ?—He ate ten and left the rest.

We have been informed by Abū-Bakr b. Ḥabīb in a tradition going back to Ibn-Bakuyah that the latter said : I heard (Abū) 'Abdallāh b. Khafif say : When I commenced I went on for forty months breaking my fast each night with a handful of beans. One day I went to be cupped and what came from my vein was like gravy. I fainted. The cupper was amazed and said : I never saw a body with no blood in it but this.

I would observe that there were men among them who would not eat meat; one of them went so far as to say that if a man ate a drachm's weight of meat it hardened his heart for forty mornings. There were some who abstained from all delicacies, alleging a Tradition told us by 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Wāhid ad-Dīnāwari and going back to 'Ā'ishah, who said : The Prophet said : Deny yourselves dainties, for it is only through them that Satan has power to enter your veins. Some of them abstained from limped water others from cold water, drinking only what was warm. Some put their water in a barrel which they buried in the ground so that it got warm. Some tortured themselves by abstaining from water for a period. We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Naṣir in a tradition going back to 'Isā b. Mūsā al-Bistāmī that the latter said : I heard my father say that he had heard his uncle, servant of Abū-Yazīd, say that he had heard Abū Yazīd say : For forty years I have eaten nothing of the sort which human beings eat. The mildest treatment that my soul received from me was that once when it refused something which I had demanded of it I determined to drink no water for a year, and drank none.—Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī narrates that Abū Yazīd said : I called my soul to God, and it was restive, so I adjured it to let me drink no water and taste no sleep for a year and it carried this out.

Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī established certain gradations for these people in the matter of foods,¹ saying : I hold that the neophyte should not exceed two loaves in a day and a night. He adds that certain people practised steady reduction of their meals. Some of them would weigh their food with the lower part of a palm-branch, which dries up a little each day, and reduce their food in proportion. Others, he says, practise reduction by first having a meal each day, then one in two days, then one in three. Hunger, he observes, reduces the blood in the heart and whitens it, and in its whiteness is its light ; it melts the fat of the heart, and in its liquefaction is the softening of the heart and in its softening is the key to spiritual experience.

1. See *Qūt al-Qulūb*, II, 167. The opinion quoted was that of Sahl al-Tustari.

Abū-'Abdallah Muḥammad b. 'Alī at-Tirmidhi composed for them a work which he entitled *Discipline of Souls*, in which he says : One who starts on this career should fast two successive months, by way of turning to God, after which he may break his fast, but should only eat a little and in small pieces. He should abstain from condiments, fruit, and pleasures, sitting with friends, and looking at books. All these things delight the soul, which should be denied its pleasure in order that it may be filled with sorrow.

Some of the later Sufis have introduced the "Quarantine," i.e., the practice of remaining forty days without eating food, only drinking olive oil and eating quantities of delicious fruits.

This is a brief account of their procedure in the matter of food and what has been mentioned will indicate what has been omitted.

(Late) D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Convocation of the Nizamia College :

NIZAMIA College of Hyderabad occupies a position similar to that of Dewband in British India. It imparts education on the lines of the famous Egyptian University of al-Azher. Till recently the subjects of studies taught in this college were the courses which are known by Nizamia curriculum. It is only recently that modern subjects like History, Geography, Urdu, Persian, etc., are introduced in the curriculum. On the occasion of the annual convocation, which was presided over by the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the College, Maulana Mufti 'Abdul Qadir Badāyūni, welcomed the distinguished guests. The convocation was marked by the fact that its presidential address was read by the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member, and the convocation address was delivered by the Hon'ble Nawab 'Ālam Yar Jung Bahadur. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur in his presidential address drew attention of the students to the need of character-building and emphasized the fact that knowledge without character was useless. Speaking about the inevitable results of the Western influence on Eastern culture, Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur advised the students that they should adopt the best and highly advantageous elements of the Western culture and should not be led away by blind following. Delivering convocation address, the Hon'ble Nawab 'Ālam Yar Jung Bahadur, Member for Judicial Department pointed out the importance of Islamic studies and expressed his appreciation for the happy blending of the old and new subjects of studies introduced recently in the curriculum of the Nizamia College.

Hyderabad Academy.

This learned body has as usual organised its annual week of scientific

studies. Besides the lectures on the scientific subjects, the following papers dealing with Muslim cultural interest were read. 1. Some Realities of Human Life by Prof. M. A. R. Khan, 2. The Beginning and Development of Persian Poetry by Dr. Qari Kalimullah, Department of Persian, Osmania University.

Osmania Magazine.

The 9th volume of the Journal of the Osmania University, recently issued by the Boards of Research (Faculties of Theology and Art) contains the following articles on Muslim cultural interest in the Urdu section of the Journal :—

1. *The Theory of Emanation* (تزللات سے) by Dr. Mir Valiuddin, Department of Philosophy. In this article the theory of the origin of things as explained by the mystics of Islam is discussed. The theories of the two schools, known as Wujūdiyyah and Shuhūdiyyah, are criticised in the light of the Qur'ān and an attempt is made to establish relation between the Creator and the created.

2. The codification of Muslim Law (تدوین فقہ) by Syyyid Manāẓir Aḥsan, Gilani, Department of Theology. In this article the following problems are discussed :—

(a) It is wrong to suppose that religious learning has nothing to do with the intellect since the intellect is the basis of both the types of knowledge, whether it is received from a direct function of human intellect or from the prophetic revelation. From the viewpoint of authenticity, that part of knowledge which is obtained through prophetic revelation is more reliable than the knowledge gained through the senses which is susceptible to doubts, misunderstanding, etc.

(b) The difference of opinion and the controversial conclusion drawn by the Muslim Jurists about the Qur'ānic verses and the Prophet's sayings are only different kinds of religious exactions which lead to facilitate freedom of action in the religious life of the Muslim.

(c) The Muslim legal schools are never to be compared with the schisms and heresies noticed in other religions, especially with those sanguinary accounts which Christian Europe witnessed.

In the English section of this journal, the article on *Mohammad I, Organiser of the Bahmani Kingdom* by Prof. Haroon Khan Sherwani of the Department of History, Osmania University, is worth noticing. In this piece of research all available sources regarding the history and culture of Bahmani Kingdom are used and the administrative, political and social conditions of those days are brought to light in detail.

The Oriental Publication Bureau, (دائرة المعارف) Osmania University.

It is to the credit of the Oriental Publication Bureau that in spite of difficulties created by war the following rare and valuable books have been secured and are being corrected and collated now :—

1. *Rasā'il* of 'Allāma Ibn Rushd (d. 595. A.H.)

This collection contains the following epistles of Ibn-Rushd :—1. *Risāla as-Sama at-Ṭabī'i*, 2. *Risālatas-Samā' wal-'Ālam*, 3. *Risālāt al-Kawn wal Fasād*, 4. *Risālāt al-Athar-al-'Alawiya* 5. *Risālat Mā Ba'd at-Ṭab'ia*, 6. *Risālat an-Nafs*. In these epistles some important problems of philosophy and logic have been discussed. They present a critical study of the theories of Abū-Naṣr-al-Fārābī, Imām Ghazzālī and other Greek philosophers. This MS. of *Dāirat al-Ma'ārif* written in 554 A.H. is being collated with another MS. of the Asafia Library which is supposed to have been written earlier.

2. *Kitāb al-Jarḥ waṭ-Ta'dil* by Imām Ibn Abī Hātim.

This work deals with the biographies of the Traditionists. Two volumes of this work have been already published and three more parts of this book are under collation. This MS. was procured from the famous library of Istanbul.

3. *Al-Munamaq fi Akhbār-i-Quraish* by Imām Maḥammad b. Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī (d. 255 A.H.)

This work throws light on the social and cultural characteristics of the pre-Islamic Arab tribes. This book has been copied from a MS. of Sayyid Nasir Husain's Library and is being collated and corrected.

4. *Kitāb-al-Marsūm al-Khaṭ* by Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328 A.H.).

This is a valuable pamphlet on the method of writing the Qur'ān. It has been transcribed by Maulwi Syaid Hāshim Nadwi Ṣāhib from a MS. written in the 8th century Hijri. The original MS. of this work is preserved in the Rampur State Library.

5. *Kitāb-al-Mauṣul wal-Maqtu'* by Ibn al-Anbārī.

This pamphlet also deals with the method of writing the Qur'ān. It is also a copy of the MS. written in the 8th century Hijri.

The Translation and Compilation Bureau, Osmania University.

The readers of the *Islamic Culture* will be gratified to learn that the newly appointed curator in charge of this useful institution of the Osmania University, Dr. M. Nizāmuddīn, Professor of Persian, has kindly agreed to supply periodical reports or reviews on fresh publications of this Bureau for the readers who are interested in the growth of Urdu literature. Among the lists published both in Urdu and English languages by Dr. M. Nizāmuddīn, we find that the following books on Muslim

history and culture have been translated and made available for the Urdu speaking public at large :—

FIRST EDITIONS.

1. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Kabīr* Vol. I-VII. by Muḥammad Ibn-Sa'd.
2. *History of the Deccan* (Modern Period) compiled by Dr. Yūsuf Ḥusain Khān.
3. *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie : Die Islamische und die Jüdische Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Von Ignaz Goldziher, translated by Dr. Waḥīd-uddīn.

BOOKS UNDER PUBLICATION.

1. *Dictionary of Pedagogy*.
2. *Dictionary of Medical Terms*.

BOOKS READY FOR PUBLICATION.

1. *Ṭārīkh-i-Ṭabarī*, Vol. I, Pt. V.
2. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Kābīr*, Vol. VIII-XII.
3. *History of Central India* by Malcolm. Vol. I-II.
4. *Al Milal-wan Naḥal*, Vol. I-III, by Ibn Ḥazm.

Qur'ānic Studies.

Among the ever-expanding literature on the Qur'ān, a new addition has been made by a Sanskrit translation of the Holy Book.

Mr. H. Gunde Rao, the translator, is a District Judge in the Gudwal State (Nizam's Dominions). One of the alumni of the Dār-ul-'Ulūm and a scholar of both Sanskrit and Arabic, he combines in himself many rare qualities. His translation is in verse and the work has not considerably advanced. We take the opportunity of publishing the first chapter of the Qur'ān as a specimen, probably the first of its kind, and hope the early completion of the noble task :—

[See opposite page.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

वन्द्यस्य व्याहरन्नाम प्रारम्भे परमात्मनः ।

¹ अपारकरुणापारावारस्य करुणावतः ॥

(१) परमात्मा स्तोतुमर्हः²

(1) الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

³ जगतां पालको हि यः ।

(२) अपारकरुणापारावारश्च⁴

(2) الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

करुणान्वितः ॥

(३) पुनरुत्थानदिवसाधीश्वरः⁵

(3) مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ

फलदायकः ।

(४) भजामहे त्वां, साहाय्यं त्वां च⁶

(4) إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ

यान्नामहे वयम् ॥

(५) सुपन्थानं प्रदिश नः⁷

(5) اهْدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ

(६) येन यातास्तव प्रियाः ।⁸

(6) صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ أَنْعَمْتَ

عَلَيْهِمْ

(७) त्व न क्रुध्यसि येभ्यश्च⁹

(7) غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ

ये सन्मार्गान्न चास्वलन् ॥

وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ

(1) उभावपि जगन्नियन्तुनिरतिशयदयाशालित्वबोधको । तथाप्याद्यः सर्वातिशायिकरुणापूर्णत्वबोधकः ।

(2) सर्वमपि स्तोत्रजातं परमेश्वरस्यैव योग्यम् । स एव स्तुत्यः, नान्यः कश्चित् ।

(3) बहुवचनेन देवनरतिर्यगादिनानालोकात्मिका विचित्रा अचिन्त्या च सृष्टिः द्योत्यते ।

In view of the fact that such Urdu translations of the Qur'ān as are not accompanied by its Arabic text are likely to misrepresent the meaning of the Qur'ān and to mislead the Muslim public thereby, the Hyderabad Government has rightly nipped the danger in bud by censoring such Urdu translations of the scripture as are not accompanied by its Arabic text. It is a step in the right direction and deserves similar vigilance on the Qur'ānic literature by other parts of the Muslim world.

M. A. M.

DECCAN

Muhammad ibn Tughluq :

DR. M. 'Abdulla Chaghtai has published an English translation from Arabic in the *Poona Orientalist* (Vol. IX, nos. 1-2, 1944), of a short account of Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughluq Shāh (A.H. 725-52/A.D. 1324-51), found in the *ad-Durār-u'l Kāminah fi A'yān'l-Miāt'l-th-Thāmina* by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥajar al 'Asqalānī, (d. 852 A.H./1448 A.D.). (Hyderabad-Dn., 1349 A.H. III. 460-61). Al'Asqalānī's account, though brief, throws at least in some respects new light on the period and personality of the emperor. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai has concluded his translation thus:—Comparing this account of Muḥammad Tughluq by al-'Asqalānī with those in other Arabic works, we find that it makes addition to our knowledge in certain respects, specially as to the extent of his empire and his relations with Maqdsho and Sarandib, where his name was recited in the *Khuṭba*. He had learnt by heart the *Hidāya* by Shaikhu'l-Islam Burhānu'd Dīn b. Abī-Bakr al-Marghinānī, in addition to other literary works. He was much interested in the study of medicine for which he acquired a MS. of Ibn-Sinā's *Shifā*, which was calligraphed by Yāqūt. *He used to send presents abroad to other Muslim Sultāns. Fortunately it is from

(4) अव्याजकृपाकटाक्षः भक्तानां स्वस्मिन्नेवानुरक्तानां जातिकुलवयोधर्मादीनविगणय्यैव परिपालकः ।

(5) प्रलयसमयस्त्वपूर्वः अतिभयंकरश्च, तन्नियन्ता न कोप्यन्तरा परमात्मानम् । तस्मिन् सर्वानपि परेतानुत्थाप्य तेषां सुकृतदुष्कृतानुरूपनिर्णयानुसारं फलं ददातीति निर्णयदिवसाधीश्वरः परमात्मैव नान्यः ।

(6) परमात्मनोऽन्यस्य सेवाऽनेन निषिध्यते । नित्ययुक्तनानामीश्वरोपासकानां सेवायास्तु न निषेधः । तद्द्वारेणैव भगवदनुग्रहस्य लाभः ।

(7) भगवदनुग्रहप्रापणोपायः ।

(8) एकान्तभक्ताः परमेश्वरस्य ; भगवदनुग्रहैकपात्रभूताः ।

(9) सन्मार्गवैमुख्यं तावद् द्विविधम् :— अज्ञाननिबन्धनं, ज्ञाननिबन्धनं चेति । तत्राद्यम् :—सन्मार्ग-विषयकज्ञानत्वावच्छिन्नप्रतियोगिताकात्यन्ताभावाधिकरणत्वम्, यथा 'यहूदी' प्रभृतीनाम् । तेन सन्मार्गविषयक-ज्ञानप्रागभावसमानाधिकरणश्रद्धाशालिनि कस्मिंश्चित्तदन्यस्मिन्प्रातिव्याप्तिः । द्वितीयं च :—स्वसमान-कालीनस्वाधिकरणकसन्मार्गज्ञानविशिष्टासन्मार्गविषयकप्रवृत्तिमत्त्वम्, यथा 'नसारा' प्रभृतीनाम् ।

'Asqalānī that we learn that he had become impotent on account of a surgical operation ; and finally 'Asqalān throws a good deal of light upon the patronage he afforded to men of letters and science.

Tribute to Shibli :

Under the auspices of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Bombay, a large number of the learned men attended a meeting to pay tribute to the late Maulānā Shibli, in which many prominent speakers took part. Dr. Zakir Husain Khan, Shaikh of the Jami'a Millia Islamia, Delhi, said : Shibli belonged to that class of progressive Muslims who guided the Muslims during the period of crisis following the Mutiny and impressed upon them the necessity of acquainting themselves with Western learning and culture in addition to their own. Dr. K. M. Ashraf spoke on *Cultural Advancement of the Muslims in the Period of Shibli*. Maulānā Shihāb Malerkotlawi, referring to the several publications of Shibli, said : " *Al-Fārūq*, one of his publications was a masterpiece in Urdu literature." Many others also participated in the discussion and paid very high tribute to Shibli. At the end Dr. M. Bazlu'r-Rahman, Principal, Isma'il Yusuf College, Jogeshwari, who presided over the meeting, added his own personal remarks. Prof. N. A. Nadvi, secretary of the Anjuman, made this meeting a great success.

Bahmani History :

It is very encouraging that the students of history in western India are taking interest in the study of the Deccan history on authentic lines. Recently some post-graduate students of Mediæval Indian history discussed various aspects of the Bahmani history in the form of a symposium at Poona. In the course of discussion, they very profusely quoted from the contributions of Prof. H. K. Sherwani, Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan, which have so far appeared in various journals. They created a great interest and assisted the students in supporting their arguments with authority. Prof. Sherwani's last contribution appeared in the last issue of the *Islamic Culture*, (Oct. 1944, pp. 364-77), on *Cultural Influences under Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī*, which of course, added a further interest particularly in the domain of architecture of the Deccan in the Muslim period. The lecturer concerned remarked at the end, basing on his own personal observation. It seems that Prof. Sherwani is going to publish a complete history of the Bahmani dynasty. The grand congregational mosque of Gulbarga is a superb specimen of early Muslim architecture. There is an idea current among the masses that this mosque was a converted Hindu temple, but the idea is baseless because it is built wholly of original materials with pure Muslim architectural features. It

derives not only from the early Delhi mosques but also from Central Asia ; for this mosque bears a most important inscription showing that its architect was Rafī, the son of Shams, the son of Maṣṣūr of Qazwīn who built it in A.H. 769/A.D. 1376 (*Islamic Culture*, V, 2, p. 17). It was the result of the idea of Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī who transferred his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar Muḥammadabad. His own mausoleum at Bidar is a chief centre of attraction for visitors to Bidar, which he had built in his own lifetime as is evident from an inscription in the interior of the dome over the southern door :—

” روضة شريفة السلطان افضل السلاطين خليفه الله في العالمين الواصل ثابته الله القوى الغازي شهاب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه ولي البهمنى قدس الله ارواحه وضرىحه ونور مكانه افوض اليه امر العمارة في سنة خمس وعشرين وثمانمائة سنة ٨٢٥ هـ ”

Another inscription is over the eastern door :—

فعاث في دينه حمدا ورجع الى الله سعيدا في ليلة المارك (?) الا ثمان تاسع العشرين من شهر الملك العلام سنة تسع وثلاثين وثمانمائة من هجرة النبي عليه السلام اللهم اجعل شفاعته شاققة علوا كبيرا على الخلق فاقمه دائما بحق النبي وعترته الاحسان

The substance of both these inscriptions is this : The Mausoleum of the Sultān al-Ghāzī Shihābū'd-Dīn Ahmad Shāh Walī Bahmanī who ordered its construction in the year A.H. 825. He died after ruling for about fourteen years in A.H. 839. The exquisite decoration of this dome is purely of Saracenic character full of Arabesque motifs. Its prototypes can easily be seen in Egypt, Central Asia and Spain. The artist of this decoration, whom we may presumably take as the architect of this very mausoleum, has inscribed his name in this dome as Shukrulla of Qazwīn :—

عمل نقاش العبد شكر الله قزويني

At the end the learned lecturer quoted the following short biographical notice from *Ad-Dov'l-Lāmi*⁴ of Sakhāwī (Vol. I, p. 210) :—

احمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن حسن شاه بن بهمن شاه شهاب الدين ابو المغازي و بخط العيني ابو المعالي والاول اثبت صاحب كلبرجه و ماوالا هامن بلاد الهند دام في المملكة نحو اربع عشرة سنة وكان اجهل ملوك الهند دينا وخيرا وعزما وحزما انشاء بمكاري ابداعا لاملع الصدقات وبر وافضل الخ

In short, in the light of these inscriptions relating to the names of artists from Central Asia and other sundry particulars, we can reconstruct many things relating to the Muslim history of the Deccan.

Bombay Provincial Muslim Education Conference (19th Session) :

This important conference held at Poona on 24th and 25th September 1944, which was attended by a large number of people from all parts of the Bombay Province, owes its conspicuous success to its enthusiastic secretary, Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffar. Mr. A. Q. Khan, Advocate, welcomed the conference as the president of the Reception Committee. He discussed

at length the situation of Muslim education in the province. He drew particular attention towards the need of many new Muslim high schools both for girls and boys in many districts as the Muslim students had many handicaps in their way to get themselves educated in the Marathi or other non-Muslim institutions. The conference was inaugurated by Nawab Sir Ahmad Said Khan of Chhatari, President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, Hyderabad-Deccan. Some extracts from his inaugural address, which are very important and useful from our point of view, are given here :— " I cannot refrain from paying at the outset a tribute to this historic centre in which we meet today. Poona has played a very prominent part in the history of India, has seen many vicissitudes, been the pivot of Maratha life and traditions for over two centuries and has, even after the disappearance of the regime of the Peshwa, been the centre of much political, social and intellectual activity." " The Marathas freely borrowed of Mughal institutions and even expressions and terminology which find place in the Marathi language of to-day, while Aurangzeb, the victim of so much of the same communal interpretation, bestowed Jagirs and grants on Hindu shrines and temples, since honoured by other Muslim rulers of the south, and Muslim kings prided themselves on having Hindu ministers. This tradition of tolerance finds expression even to-day in the extensive grants of land and money to Hindu temples by the Nizams, in the fact of many mosques and Muslim shrines in Hyderabad having Hindu custodians and in the orders passed by the present Nizam which have resulted in stopping cow-slaughter in the State during Bakr-'Id out of respect for the religious susceptibilities of his Hindu subjects." " Every community in India has its own distinct tradition, its spiritual or cultural language and certain subjects inextricably linked with its history or tradition. For the Muslim Arabic and Persian are the spiritual and cultural languages while subjects like Islamic history, together with Indian history, form the essential background of his knowledge of the past. Facilities should exist, therefore throughout the secondary and higher stages of education, to enable a Muslim student to choose any of these if he wishes, and this is all the more necessary in the Universities. At the same time, without attempting in any way to pronounce on your local needs of which you and your local experts must be the best judge, I must caution you against two things, namely, the stress usually laid on Urdu as if it was the language of any one community, and the reluctance to learn the regional language. Neither the history nor the present situation of the Urdu language can set it apart as the language of the Muslim community; whether you call it Urdu or Hindustani, its very origin is based upon the will of the two communities to understand each other—." The conference was presided over by Khan Bahadur 'Abdul-Qādir Muḥammad Husāin, Dewan Šāhib of Junagadh. His presidential address was also full of many useful advices, and he required from the conference that practical steps should be taken in the cause of Muslim education. This conference was very fortunate to possess a good

many learned scholars and good speakers, who spoke on various aspects of Muslim education and Islamic culture. Among them were :— Mir Sultan Alam Khan, Nawab of Bela (Surat), Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jang Bahadur, Education Minister of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Mr. I. H. Taunton, I.C.S., Sir Rustam P. Masani, Mr. S. N. Moos, D.P.I., Bombay, Mr. Fazal I. Rehmatullah, Prof. S. Hadi Hasan Aligarh, Prof. Sajjad Mirza, Dr. Q. Abdul Hamid and many others. This conference passed many useful resolutions.

Baroda State Museum Bulletin :

The Baroda State authorities deserve congratulations for starting a new journal under the caption which we regard as first attempt of its nature by an Indian State. The issue of the first volume contains a very interesting article by Dr. Goetz, curator of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery, on *A Unique Early Deccani Miniature*. Dr. Goetz has described various aspects of the Deccan history relating to the art of painting in the Deccan, but this contribution lacks the specific description of the miniature reproduced therein from the collection of the Baroda State Museum which was very necessary. When we carefully look into the miniature we find a facade of a building in a symmetrical form, which is no doubt very common in the Deccan. Its top portion has three domes with two small minarets on both the ends resembling pinnacles. They have been drawn in a crude form. Under the roof there is a portico with double storied apartments both on the right and left. The right side apartment on the ground floor contains a lady standing and holding something in her hand. On the top space of the miniature there is a Sanskrit inscription which can be translated thus :—

“ This lady is deemed to be from Malawa country, —the lady with large hips, beautiful lotus-like face, of golden colour and circular cheeks, holding a garland and entering into the hall of appointment in the evening. (She is) of sweet smile, putting on a yellow garment bedecked with blue blouse and holding a lotus with a flying bee.”

Besides this Sanskrit version there is also written in Persian characters, مالوی راگینی-مارواراگینی, which means Malawi Ragini—Marwa Ragini ; some one has very sympathetically described the lady drawn in this miniature which originally forms the part of a set of *Musical Symbols*. It is a fact that similar posture of lady as drawn in this miniature is also found in the miniatures of the *Nujumu'l-'Ulūm* and *Ta'rif-i-Husain Nizām Shāh* (*A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, pl. xi). The miniature is full of pure Persian influence.

Jains at the Court of Akbar :

Mr. R. Krishnamurti criticises Mr. Roychoudhri's book the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* and complains that he has dismissed the relationship of Akbar with

the Jain community. (Journal of Indian History, Vol xxiii, pt. 2, August 1944). Akbar's contact with the learned among the Jains does not begin in 1582, as Mr. Roychoudhari states, but much earlier. The first Jain to influence Akbar and gain his intelligent encouragement was Padmasundra who wrote *Akbarshahisringaradharpana* under Akbar's patronage. He was the pupil of Padmameru and belonged to Nagpuria Tapagaccha. Hiravijaya Suri (in the *Ain Harji* Suri) was another Jain scholar who according to the wishes of Akbar was sent to Fathpur Sikri in 1582 by Shihābu'd Dīn Ahmad Khān, Governor of Gujarat. He had a discussion with Abu'l-Faḍl at the court. He left his substitute Santichandra at Akbar's court on his departure in 1587. Roychoudhari confused Santichandra with Siddichandra who were two distinct persons. Santichandra left Bhanuchandra at the court. He and his pupil Siddichandra remained to influence Akbar for the rest of his life. Bhanuchandra got abolished the tax which had then been levied on Jain pilgrims to Satrunjaya. The hill was granted to Hiravijaya Suri as the head of the Jains; he received the *Firmān* in 1592 with a request to send his pupil Vaijayasena Suri. He was conferred the title of Savai Hiravijaya Suri. In 1591 Akbar invited an eminent Jain teacher Jinachandra Suri at Lahore who had received the title of Yugapradhan.

Sind Historical Society Journal, (Vol. vii, pts. 1-2, July 1944).

Mr. Sobhraj Nirmaldas read a paper entitled the *Alor, the ancient Capital of Sindh*. Alor was one of the most important cities of the Hindu Kingdom of Sindh situated on the Sindhu (Indus). It is variously written by some geographers as Alur, Alurz, Alrud, Adaur and Aldur, but the name that has persisted to this day is Alor or Aror. Among the relics of Alor are the well-known tombs of Sayyid Shakar Gunj Shāh and his Khalifa Qutbu'd-Dīn Shāh, and besides these there are two ruined domes known as Sohāgin (woman loved by her husband) and Duhāgin (widow or unlucky woman). The distance of Alor from Rohri is about five miles and the road passes over a bridge. In the old histories like *Chach Nāma* the mention of this Alor cannot be traced. Mr. Muḥammad Ḥanif Ṣiddīqī read a paper on '*Abdul-Ghafūr Shāh, a Sindhi Adventurer, at the Court of Muḥammad Shāh*'. Abdul Ghafūr was a native of Thatta. Though he posed himself to be a Sayyid, it is believed that he belonged to the honourable guild of weavers. Thatta cloth and Lungis were in great demand at all times all over Asia. In 1717 he shifted to Delhi where he entered the service of Nawāb Qudsiya Begum. He played a prominent part in the intrigues that led to the assassination of the younger of the two Sayyid brothers, Husain 'Alī Khān. He then rose to such a great position at Muḥammad Shāh's court that he became the master of the mint. At last a complaint of embezzlement of public money was lodged which became the cause of the downfall of this Sindhi adventurer at the Mughal court.

M. A. C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Six-monthly Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, which has the distinction of enjoying the patronage of His Excellency the Governor of the Province, has, in its much belated issue of July 1943, published several articles on the different aspects of the Muslim rule in India. Sayyed Nūrul-Ḥasan, Lecturer in European History, Lucknow University, discusses in an article with the *Maḥḍar* of Akbar's reign, the signatories of which made him (Akbar) the supreme arbiter in religious and spiritual affairs also. The writer tries to make his readers believe that in view of the reputed opinions on the theory and practice of Sunni laws, the *Maḥḍar* was valid and Akbar's title to Caliphate may not be considered inconsistent with the accepted legal practice of the Sunni Muslims. He has endeavoured to establish these facts by initiating discussions on the Hanafi and the Shāfi'i laws and method of election of a caliph. The discussion is apparently tinged with references to Māwardī, Qāḍī Baiḍāwī, Ghazzālī and Khaṭīb Tabrizī, but the author of the article seems to be biased with a preconceived opinion in making his premeditated hypothesis tenable, so he has at once established the groundwork of his argument with the help of the views of some non-Muslim Indian and European scholars who, in spite of their high learning and erudition, cannot be entirely relied upon for adjudging efficiently the genuineness or otherwise of the religion and polity of the Muslim period. A Muslim writer, while endeavouring to study some subtle and delicate politico-religious subject-matter must think twice before he lets his pen flow in the luxury of authorship, for, however well-intentioned he may be, his facile generalisations and haphazard interpretations are likely to be misinterpreted and utilised for other purposes. The *Maḥḍar* of Akbar's reign has been unanimously and contemptuously denounced by the orthodox section of the Muslim theologians. Even in Akbar's reign this document caused unrest and commotion amongst the savants and lawyers of the age. The Ulema of Jaunpore, under the leadership of Qāḍī-l-Qudāt Mullā Muḥammad, issued a Fatwa insisting on the duty of taking the field and rebelling against the Emperor. Consequently, many theologians drew their swords and fought some desperate battles. Qāḍī Ya'qūb of Bengal led a similar attitude against the Emperor, who was obliged to send him along with others to the 'closet of annihilation.' (Badā'oni, p. 276-7). At about the same time Shāh Ṭayyab, a famous saint of Benares, took a bold step of pulling down the Imām who read out the name of Akbar in the Friday Khuṭba in the central mosque of Benares, and warned him not to mention the name of an infidel in the Sermon (*Ganj Rashīdī*, p. 32). Shaikh Jamāluddīn of Delhi, when asked to support the *Maḥḍar*, preferred to leave his home and migrate to Mecca. Shaikh 'Abdul-Ḥaq, the reputed Muḥaddith of the age, has made sarcastic and bitter remarks against 'Abdun-Nabi, the Ṣadruṣ-Ṣadūr of Akbar's reign, and Mullā 'Abdullāh Sultānpuri who were amongst the signatories of the *Maḥḍar*. (*Akhbār'ul*

Akhyār, pp. 210, 211) Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindi, better known as Mujaddid Alf-Thāni, Reformer of the Millennium, devoted his life in purging off the evil and disintegrating effects which Akbar's incongruity of spiritual supremacy produced on the Muslim religion, society and polity of the period. He made trenchant criticisms on those theologians who made their conscience subservient to the wishes of the emperor, and thus did incalculable harm to Islam. Making special reference to the Maḥḍar and its progeny Dīn-Ilāhī, he writes in one of his letters

هر فردے که درین زمان در ترویج ملت و دین ظاهر گشته از شومی علماء سوء است که فی الحقیقت شرار مردم و لصوص دین اند اولئك حزب الشیطان الا ان حزب الشیطان هم الخاسرون

(Every kind of mischief which was produced at the time in connection with religion and faith was due to the mischiefs of the wordly Ulema who are, really speaking, the mischief-mongers amongst the people and plunderers of the faith. *They are the devil's party ; now surely the devil's party are the losers*).

Even amongst the modern Ulema of India, Maulānā Abul-Kalām Āzād ridicules the Maḥḍar as a monument of heterodoxy and heresy, and calls its signatories progenitors of mischiefs and slaves of the world (*Tadhkira*, p. 21). Maulāna Manāzīr Aḥsan, Head of the Theology Department of the Osmania University Hyderabad-Deccan, in the course of making a very learned Study of Dīn Ilāhī in the *Al-Furqān*, Vol. 5, No. 8-10, Bareilly, calls this Maḥḍar a ludicrous and obnoxious innovation of Akbar's reign. Other religious luminaries of Deoband have also, in their contributions to the same issue of the above magazine, characterised the Maḥḍar as direct contraventions to the principles of Islam. In the face of these unequivocal denouncement by the Ulemas, any collaborative effort to show that the Maḥḍar was consistent with the Islamic law and practice could either be scornfully treated as misguided enterprise or dismissed as a trashy rodomontade.

The political significance of this Maḥḍar has also been unduly exaggerated. Different writers propound different views, *viz.* Akbar was influenced by the Western European conception of Papacy, and the decree invested him with the attribute of infallibility ; that Maḥḍar was intended to fix the position of Akbar in the Muslim world by eliminating the religious or political control of Persia, but without committing him to the allegiance of the Ottoman caliph ; this document is an enunciation of the religious policy of the Mughals *vis-a-vis* those of the Safvids, Uzbegs or the Ottomans ; it released the Mughal empire from the shackles of sectarianism ; this document placed the sovereign above the machinations of the Ulema, who could easily be influenced by rich and powerful nobles, hence it indirectly deprived the nobles of their last possible chance of fighting the growing concentration of power in the hands of the sovereign ; this document helped Akbar to exercise his own judgment, and his criterion in making decisions was to be 'the good of the inhabitant of the world, and whose policy was to make all his subjects

feel that it was their empire, etc., etc. These casuistic interpretations of the Maḥḍar require a thorough scrutiny and it will be making a great contribution to the study of Muslim rule in India if a Muslim scholar, well-versed and well-acquainted with the religion and history of the Muslims of India, tries to present in English the real background of this Maḥḍar which is now being galvanised for unorthodox purposes.

The abovementioned historical journal has another contribution under the caption, *The Monuments of Aurangzeb's Reign* by Dr. S.K. Banerjee, Reader, Lucknow University, who, instead of making a close and critical study of the subject-matter, has made a display of his idiosyncracies which has robbed off the literary value of the article. His readers are introduced to his dissertation with the preliminary remark that "Aurangzeb's long reign of fifty years was devoid of architectural interest, and though his monuments are in hundreds, those that are elegant may be counted on one's finger." Then follows the reason for the inelegance of the style thus : Aurangzeb was an advocate of the Muslim faith, hence all less spiritual matters including the construction of costly and exquisite buildings were considered by him to be superfluous and not worth his notice ; no scope of originality was left by Shāh Jahān for his successor who, in despair, turned to the plainest style, a style even plainer than Fīrōz Tughluq's in the empire ; there were the rebellions of the Afghans, the Jats, the Bundelas and the Rathors, and in the South the Marathas formed a perpetual sore which drained off its vitality, so all the available resources were concentrated to the conduct of the wars and in crushing the rebellious subjects and nothing could be set apart for architectural projects. The latter remark is followed by the assertion :—"Even the tomb of the great emperor, who, in his lifetime had done all to spread Islam, was not placed in a spacious courtyard of its own, but placed in a corner of the courtyard of the tomb of the Saint Zainuddin." The ambiguousness of these self-contradictory statements may better be determined by our readers, so we avoid any comments here. During the course of the description of Aurangzeb's monuments, the writer refers to the inscription on Zēb-un-Nisa's stele of the tomb and points out several transgressions in the carvings of the letters. From the trend of his writings it appears that he read the inscriptions himself after visiting the tomb which was in the Garden of Thirty Thousand Trees outside the Kabuli Gate of Delhi, but is reported to have been pulled down in making the Rajputana Railway line. The writer however gives the following inscription on the stele :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
كل من عليها فان ' هذا مرقد البنت الكبرى للعبد المذنب العاصي وهو المذنب الموقر برحمته الرحمن الكريم الحافظه
زيب النساء المرجوم من عباد الله الصالحين ان يدعوا لها بالغفران والرضوان تاريخ فوتها قوله سبحانه ادخل
جنتك !

Other articles in the above journal are a note on 'Alā'uddīn's Expedition to Warangal 1303-3 A.D. and *Two Farmans of Aurangzeb*. The former

deals with the route of the expedition, which took him to Warangal, the capital of Kakatiya Rajas, by the then unexplored and longer eastern route through Bengal and Orissa. This selection of a longer route had a two-fold purpose: it was to set aright the affairs in Bengal, and was also to accomplish the conquest of Warangal. 'Alā'uddīn kept to himself the rumours of the risings and insurrections in Bengal; so the native historian Barani did not know why the army went to Warangal through Bengal.

The two Farmāns of Aurangzeb, dated the 17th and 12th year of the reign confer the post of the Faujdar of Sarkar of Khairabad to Mujāhid Khān, and the post of Faujdari, Diwāni and Amini of Parganah Shahabad alias Qannauj and other Maḥāls included in the roll of the Khālṣa Sharifa on Sayyed Manawar respectively. The instructions given to the latter by Aurangzeb in the Farmān are as follow:

"He ought to carry out his duties and trust with truthfulness, righteousness, honesty and responsibility. He should, in the administration of his charge, exert himself in issuing strict warnings to the miscreants to bring them to the right path, and in providing peace and security to the peasantry and for the safety of the goods, as also on assessing the revenue correctly as well as realising and depositing the same in the government treasury at the proper time, and, further, he should make full effort to encourage and enhance cultivation. Moreover, he should see to it that no one from amongst the 'Āmil extracted from the peasantry more than fifty per cent. of the crops, as was fixed by the illuminating scripture (Shari'at) and expounded in the Ḥanafī Code, so that the peasantry might not suffer any loss and harm, and that no loop-hole would be given to the influential Zamindars (assignee) to oppress the cultivators. He should further keep himself fully informed of the activities of the Karoris and Fatahdars so that the latter might restrain their hands from tyranny and oppression. He should also proclaim that none of the appointed 'Āmils should covet or expect to receive from the peasantry by force or terrorising any such cesses or perquisites as the allowances of the Tahsildars or Pattadars or the expenses of coming and going of these officials, all of which have been remitted by the kindness of His Majesty the Emperor. Should any 'Āmil be guilty of misappropriating, he should investigate the case so carefully and accurately that in case of reinvestigation nothing contrary to the previous enquiry should be revealed nor should it appear that in carrying out the enquiry he had made any private or personal gains which was improper in the performance of public duties. He should also take securities from the Chowdries and Qānūngos that they would state the true and real facts in the event of the 'Āmils having unduly extracted and expended any of the abovementioned cesses. And if these people try to delay or evade giving correct information, then he should, after duly informing the imperial government, discharge them and expel them from their homes."

A publication of the Calcutta University, namely *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, published in 1940, by Mr. Makhan Lal Roy Choudhury is subject of strong comments and criticisms by some scholars and newspapers of Calcutta. Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, appreciated it by writing its foreword, in which he paid compliments to Mr. Makhan Lal Roy Choudhury for 'his profound study of the original sources' and 'a masterly exposition of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* of Akbar.' Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee of the Lucknow University, also eulogised Mr. M. L. R. Choudhury's scientific and specialised researches 'by publishing a review of the book in the *U. P. Historical Journal*, July 1943, and complimented the author of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* for his 'originality of representing a new point of view' of Akbar's religion, and asked the students of the Mughal history to profit by it. Mr. M. L. R. Choudhury has tried to show in his book that Akbar's *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* "was absolutely Islamic in conception and ideology and it was a Sufi order with its own formula in which all the principles enunciated are to be found in the *Qur'ān*"; and he has laid the following ten commandments of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* :—

- (1) Liberality and beneficence,
- (2) Forgiveness of the evil doer and substitution of anger with mildness,
- (3) Abstinence from worldly desires,
- (4) Freedom from bonds of worldly existence and violence as well as accumulating by good deeds for the future, real and perpetual world,
- (5) Wisdom and devotion in the frequent meditations on consequences of actions,
- (6) Strength of prudence in the desire of marvellous action,
- (7) Soft voice, gentle words and pleasing speeches for everybody,
- (8) Good treatment with brethren so that the latter's will might have precedence over their own,
- (9) A 'perfect alienation from creatures and a perfect attachment to the Supreme Being, and
- (10) Dedication of soul for the union with and love of God the Benefactor.

Mr. Choudhury claims to have unearthed these ten canons of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* from *Dabistān-al-Madhāhib*. But a fellow of Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, U.P., in an article to the *Star of India* (Calcutta), brushes aside this claim as false and spurious. While making trenchant criticisms on the various aspects of Mr. Choudhury's so-called 'profound study of original sources,' he asserts that the above ten principles and qualities had been delineated in Akbar's *ʿIbādat Khāna* by a learned philosopher who wanted to bring home to his audience that salvation in the way of acknowledging God lay in following the dictates of wisdom which must be regarded and thought as an inspired prophet, and the follower of this prophet. Wisdom, could inculcate in him the ten qualities, which

had been mentioned above. Mr. Choudhury has misconstrued the trend of the discussion in Akbar's Ibādat Khāna and has wrongly ascribed the ten qualities adumbrated by the philosopher to be the doctrines of Dīn-i-Ilāhī. And once this is known, the whole fabric of Mr. Choudhury's researches of his book Dīn-i-Ilāhī prove to be only a texture of distorted facts and perverted truths. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha's appreciation and Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee's admiration do not seem to be deserved and justified.

The *Morning News*, a Calcutta Muslim daily, under the able editorship of Mr. Abdur-Rahmān Siddiqi, has brought out its 'Id' Number. It has many notable articles of special interest ; some of which are :

(1) *Jāwīd Nāma in Iqbal's own Word* by Niyāz Muḥammad Khān, I.C.S. This is an outline of *Jāwīd Nāma* which Dr. Iqbal dictated to Niyāz Ahmad Khan, while the former went to London in 1931 as a delegate to the Round Table Conference. Mr. Niyāz Ahmad Khān writes that when Dr. Iqbal was finishing the outlines, he broke down and was his normal self after a lapse of fifteen minutes,

(2) 'Personality' in which Professor Dr. Zakir Hussain Khan discusses the subject in the light of Iqbal's ideas which are enshrined in his immortal poetry. The learned writer tells his readers that Iqbal is an extensively misunderstood and misinterpreted thinker and poet. Men read their own inner mind into his great poetry. Some mean, unworthy ones bask in the sunshine of his glory, while others nibble with their tiny, ineffective teeth at his majestic greatness. Iqbal's message of a harmonious development of personality and a dedicated life, therefore, require to be thoroughly studied in order that new creative personalities may be called upon to contribute to the shaping of things to come.

(3) Under the caption *Muḥammad Shāh 'Alī Qājār*, Mr. 'Abdur Rahmān Siddiqi, the editor of the *Morning News*, describes very vividly his interview with the ex-king of Persia, who was in 1917 living a life of an exile on the shores of Bosphorus. During the course of his long, frank and friendly talks the banished king of Persia said :— "The future writers of the history of Iran would do him justice and declare him as the man who, in spite of difficulties and dangers on every side and of every variety, saved the country from being effaced for all time to come.

(4) In an article *Muslim Influence on Western Music*, Mr. Victor Paranjoti says that the West borrowed the idea of music governed by rhythm from the Arabs ; the lute, the rebec and the guitar also passed from Arabia into the west ; the western Major scale was standardised as a direct result of the introduction of the Arab fretted keyboard ; it is to the Arabs that the Western music owes its ornamental graces as the Western decorative arts owe their arabesques to the same source ; the debt of European musicians to the Islamic influences is proved also in some of the compositions of Rubinstein, Sain Seans and Rimsky-Korsakov.

(5) In the article *Islam in China*, Qāḍī 'Abdul-Ghaffār gives a few interesting extracts from the translation of *Mohametanism en Chine* by P. Dabry Thiersant (Paris 1878). Thiersant was at one time French Consul-General, and Charge d'Affairs in China. His book deals exclusively with the advent and history of Islam in China, although some of his accounts appear to be mere fabrications in the light of original sources of Islamic history.

(6) Mr. Mowdūd-ur-Rāhmān, Barrister-at-law, has in his article *Urdu Poets of Bengal* endeavoured to demonstrate that "Bengal has not been a whit behind other parts of India in serving the cause of Urdu." He has given a brief account of a large number of distinguished Muslim and Hindu poets of Bengal, whose names may be valuable to the scholars interested in the history of the development of Urdu poetry in Bengal.

(7) *The Politics of the Indian Wāhhābis* by Dr. Maḥmūd Husain Khān, Ph.D., discusses briefly the history of Wāhhābī movement in India in the light of the views of the school of Shāh Walī'ullāh, particularly Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz. It deals chiefly with the achievement of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd, who "was to Shāh Walī'ullāh and Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz what Lenin was to Karl Marx."

The *Star of India*, Calcutta, reproduces from *Daily News*, Ceylon, a thought-provoking article by 'Abdullāh St. John Philby who has tried at the present moment to assess the position and prospect of Islam in the new era which will follow this war. According to the learned writer, the most insidious enemy of Islam, after the war, will be the old Mammon of Unrighteousness clad in the gorgeous robes of modern man-made civilization and equipped with the paraphernalia of its mechanised triumphs, whose principal effects have been the numbering of the religious sense in mankind. The benefits of modern civilization will, without doubt, be thrust upon the followers of Islam living in different countries, by the more vigorous method of organised industrialism which will prove detrimental to their own simpler virtues based on mainly agricultural or pastoral outlook, and above all on religion.

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University has added one more book, namely *Some Eminent Behar Contemporaries* to the list of his various works. The book begins with a lively pen-portrait of Khudā Bakhsh Khān, the founder of the Patna Oriental Public Library. Dr. Sinha calls late Khudā Bakhsh "an Indian Bodley," "a sound scholar" "the greatest Indian bibliophile," "one of the greatest authorities on Islamic bibliography," "a founder of the greatest library in India of Islamic learning" and "a truly great man of whom not only Behar but India may be well proud." Dr. Sinha describes very animatingly the magnificent collection of Khudā Bakhsh's library which is the glory of the city of Patna. It possesses five thousand select manuscripts. Dr. Sinha has quoted Mr. V. C. Scott O Connor, who in the course of describing this library in his exceedingly well-written work called

An Eastern Library, says "It embalms, at their best, for those who care to know about them the ideals of the old Muslim world. In truth there is nothing in the world to surpass the exquisite calligraphy, the enamelled gold, the priceless miniatures, the colours of lapis lazuli, and vermilion, of indigo and scarlet, green, purple, cinnabar and saffron of these illuminated pages."

The other Muslim publicists of Bihar who have received the glowing tributes of Dr. Sinha are Mazhar-ul-Haq, Sir 'Alī Imām, Sayyid Ḥasan Imām, Salāh-uddīn Khudā Bakhsh, all of whom have now passed into the bliss of eternal world. He praises Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq for his broad-mindedness, patriotism, sensitive soul, and emotional temperament. He extols Sir 'Alī Imām for his versatility, broad mental outlook, large experience of public affairs, endurance, hard work, careful study and tact from which younger generation might well take useful lessons. He eulogises Sayyid Ḥasan Imām for his being an outstanding personality, a thorough nationalist, a brilliant lawyer and a public spirited citizen, imbued with the noble and laudable ambition of consecrating his services to the cause of the country, and identifying himself with all movements connected with its progress and advancements. Dr. Sinha has manifested great love and regard for "erudition and culture," "vivacious and interesting personality" of Salāhuddīn Khudā Bakhsh, the eldest son of Khudā Bakhsh, the Indian Bodley. Salāhuddīn Khudā Bakhsh is presumably well-known to the readers of *Islamic Culture* for his many valuable contributions to its previous issues. His English translations of the works of Von Kremer, Wüstenfeld, Becker, Weil, Brunow, Wellhausen, Adam Mez and Joseph Hell will ever keep him alive as a distinguished scholar of great merit. Dr. Sinha has therefore, most rightly said of him that "he was undoubtedly one of the ablest and most erudite Muslim scholars and writers of modern India," and "his life was one of sustained devotion to the great ideals of advancement of learning which he had imbibed at Oxford, and which he made his own by his assiduous studies in Islamic literature." "His fame was not confined to India alone," adds Dr. Sinha further, "but had crossed the seas, and he was acknowledged even in western Europe, as a pre-eminently liberal expositor of Islamic literature and Muslim history."

A mass of literature is regularly coming out on Iqbal who, according to Amīr Shakaib Arselān of Syria, is the greatest thinker produced by the Muslim world during the last thousand years. Dr. 'Ishrat Ḥasan of the Muslim University, Aligarh, has just brought out a brochure on the *Metaphysics of Iqbal* in which he has attempted to present the metaphysical part of Iqbal's philosophy as he himself expounded it. Dr. S. Z. Ḥasan, Chairman of the Philosophy Department, under whom the author worked, describes this treatise as "a genuine contribution to the understanding of Iqbal," and strongly recommends to "those who would go deep down to the bottom" of Iqbal's fundamental conception of Intuition, self, world and God.

Dr. S. Mu'inul-Haq of the History Department of the Muslim University, Aligarh, in the course of a lecture in Islamic College, Lucknow, has tapped on a new note on the Deccan policy of Sultān Muḥammad ibn Tughluq. He asserts that the so-called transference of the capital from Delhi to Daulatabad was not merely a political move of a timid Sultān to escape the horrors of Mongol invasion or a punitive measure against the residents of Delhi. The scheme was in fact the foundation-stone of a magnanimous project of the Sultān by means of which he wanted to shed the light of Islamic civilization over the provinces of Deccan. Throughout the stormy years of the 13th century Muslim scholars, saints, artists and statesmen had been busy in raising the structure of a new civilization in Northern India. Muḥammad ibn Tughluq was anxious to make a beginning in the same direction in the South. But among those whom he wanted to employ as his chief workers, there were few who could appreciate his policy. If this assertion is found to be really a genuine one, it will provide fresh avenues for historical researches which will also help to redeem the tarnished fame of the most grossly misrepresented Sultān of Delhi.

A monograph named *Āftāb*, has been published from the Āftāb-Majlis, Muslim University, Aligarh. The treatise consists of about a dozen articles which deal with the development and trend of the Urdu literature in the twentieth century. The standard of these articles, written mostly by the students of the Muslim university, is worth imitation. The *Fānī* Number of the *Aligarh Magazine* will also serve a useful purpose in understanding the great political talent and merit of Shaukat 'Alī Khān Fānī of Badāyūn, who died in 1941. Some of the contributions in this number are : *Fānī's Place and Value in Urdu Poetry*, by A. Aḥmad Surcor, *Late Fānī Badāyūnī* by Maikash Akbarābādī, *An Analysis of Fānī's poetry* by Maulana Sīmāb Akbarābādī, *Fānī in my Views* by Jigar Morādābādī, *Fānī Badāyūnī* by Raghupati Sahai Firāq Gorakhpuri, *Fānī from the Viewpoint of a Muslim* by Zafar Ahmad Siddiqi, *Fānī's Poetry in the Light of New and Old Criticism* by A. Laith Siddiqi, and *Fānī and Mysticism* by Dīa Aḥmad Badauni. They will prove very delectable for those who are interested in the details of Fānī's life as well as in emotion, melody, rhythm, imagery and seriousness of his poetry. The Majlis-e-Muṣannafin of Aligarh, which is a newly-started literary centre of the members of the staff of the Muslim university, has, to its credit many publications and pamphlets of great interest and value. The Majlis invites scholars of the University as well as outsiders to contribute papers which are being read and discussed in the periodical meetings, and then printed as brochures and booklets. Some of the papers read at the meetings and published by it are : *Urdu Journalism in the Nineteenth Century*, *Some Urdu Manuscripts in Lytton Library (Aligarh)* and *Mir Hasan and His Unpublished Verses* by Prof. A. Laith Siddiqi, Lecturer in Urdu, Muslim University ; *Trend of the Modern Persian Poetry. Is the Present Taṣawwuf Purely Islamic ?* by Dīa Aḥmad Badauni, Lecturer in Persian, Muslim University. *The Poet Akbar and Sir Syaid* by A. Ahmad Suroor,

Lecturer in Urdu, Muslim University; *A Philosophical Criticism on Economics* by M. Sharif, Reader in Philosophy, Muslim University, *Turkish Journalism before the Present Republic* by M. Ozair, Lecturer in Urdu, Muslim University; *The first Emperorship of the World in Ancient Egypt and the Second Emperorship of the World in Babylonia* by Sayyid Tufail Ahmad, Vice-President, All-India Muslim Educational Conference, Aligarh; *Nawāb Donde Khān Rohilla*, and *Primary Education of the Muslims in the United Provinces* by Sayyid Altāf 'Alī Brelvi, Aligarh. *The Urdu Poet and Hindi Poetry* by Zāhīr-uddīn 'Alavī, Lecturer in Muslim University. The Majlis has also a quarterly Journal, the latest issue of which consists of two articles, viz., *A Critical Study of Bahādur Shāh Zafar's Poetry* by Hasan 'Abdullāh, M.A., LL.B. (Alig.) and *When did Ghālib begin his Correspondence in Urdu* by A. Wadood, Bar.-at-law, Patna.

Dr. Maḥdī Husain of the Agra University has recently taken upon himself the task of bringing about a better spirit of fellow-feeling and citizenship amongst the inhabitants of India by giving a "correct picture of "the Hindu Muslim Unity" in the past. His articles *A History Survey of Hindu-Muslim Relations* and *Sanctity of Agra* have been published with this laudable mission. In both the articles the tolerance of Muslim rulers, mutual regard by the Hindus and the Muslims for their respective religions, reciprocal veneration for their saints and intermarriages between the two nationalities have been delineated with great earnestness. But the peculiarity of the writers of this school of thought require an explanation here. History must always be treated as an unattached science and not an adroit way of selecting and perverting facts to serve a purpose. In the same way, the principles of religion cannot be metamorphosed only to achieve a certain end, however lofty and noble it may be. Dogmatic opinions, surmises and hasty conclusions always tend to impair the historical character of research.

* * *

The Rampur State Library deserves appreciation and felicitations for contributing an extraordinarily excellent edition of *Dīwān-i-Ghālib*. It is very beautifully printed in modern types on a highly elegant quality of papers. The publication of this edition reminds us of the story of Sir Sayyid Ross Mī'sūd who along with one of his English friends, once went to the market in Delhi to purchase for the latter the *Dīwān* of the greatest lyric poet of Urdu literature. He felt much ashamed of his mother-tongue when he had to buy for his friend and a foreign admirer of Ghālib a *Dīwān* transcribed insignificantly on clumsy pages. But now the present edition, which has been brought out under the patronage of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur, will ever be a matter of pleasure and pride to the lovers of Urdu language. The distinction of this *Dīwān* lies also in the fact that it is a selection of Persian and Urdu verses which was made in 1866 by Ghālib himself for the late-lamented father of the present ruler of Rampur. It has been edited by Maulānā Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshi who,

in writing its foreword, has given the same elegance of his taste and erudition as he had exhibited in compiling the *Makātib-i-Ghālīb*.

* * *

The Shibli Academy, Azamgarh, has just received from Cairo a book in English, entitled *The Religion of Islam* by Ahmad A. Golwash, Ph.D., D. Litt. The book had been published by *Al-Azhar Magazine* and printed at Er-Raghāib. The purpose of this book, in the author's own words, is to give to the English readers a concise and fair history of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad, and to present an accurate account of the religion of Islam. It also refutes many allegations levelled by prejudiced critics of Islam.

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

New Publications.

Mr. F. K. Khān Durrāni, who has already written a number of valuable books on the religion of Islam, has recently published through the Qaumi Kutubkhāna, Lahore, a collection of 16 essays under the title of *The Message of Islam*. Some of these essays have appeared in print before, while others have been specially written for this volume. Considering the interest and importance of the subjects treated, the author has been well advised to preserve the essays in book-form. The work is not a haphazard collection of miscellaneous writings, but a thread of unity runs through them all as the chief aim of the author has been to offer and discuss thoughtful and concrete suggestions for building up an honourable place for Muslims in this country. Islam in India is engaged in a fierce struggle for its very existence and the author is, therefore, concerned with the ways and means of strengthening the spiritual character of the Muslims which he considers to be the only proper foundation for a sound and healthy life. Mr. Durrāni justly believes that a heavy responsibility lies on the shoulders of the Muslim youth who are charged by their religion with the duty of carrying in a purer form the spirit of Islam to the farthest ends of the earth and thus help in creating a better and happier world.

Among the recent publications of Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf special mention should be given to the second edition of *Some Moral and Religious Teachings of al-Ghazzālī* by Syaid Nawab 'Alī. This work contains English translations of a number of selected passages from *Iḥyā' ul-'Ulūm* and *Minḥāj-ul-'Ābidīn*, which represent the doctrines of the great divine and deal with such subjects as the unity of God, the nature of man, pride and vanity, freedom and responsibility, friendship and sincerity, the nature of love, etc. Professor Widgery contributes an interesting In-

roduction which is followed by a useful and comprehensive bibliography of al-Ghazzālī. We are glad to note that the translations are accurate and worth reading.

Although Christian writers have generally tended to disparage the character and achievements of the Prophet, there has been no lack of fair-minded persons among them who have shown a sympathetic understanding of Islam and of its founder. Among them is included Mr. John Davenport, an English gentleman, who published in 1869 a brief and simple introduction to the study of Islam, which was welcomed in many quarters as a trustworthy guide to the knowledge of one of the major religions of the world. Shaikh Muḥammad Amīn, an advocate of Lahore, has now prepared an abridgement of this work for the less leisurely man and has published it through Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf. The book is divided into two parts. The first portion depicts the life-story of the Prophet in a simple manner, while the second part summarises the teachings of the Qur'ān. There is also an interesting appendix, containing an assortment of the opinions of some eminent writers from several countries about the characteristic doctrines of Islam and their influence on the life of humanity.

The frontal attacks on the Pakistan movement having failed, its opponents have of late been resorting to flanking manœuvres to destroy it. They have been making specious proposals which have apparently the appearance of meeting the demand for Pakistan, but are in reality calculated to torpedo it. It is surprising to find that some advocates of the Pakistan scheme themselves have been deceived by such proposals. Mr. Jamil-ud-Dīn of the Aligarh University has, therefore, felt constrained to set out irrevocably the case for Pakistan in a booklet, *Through Pakistan to Freedom*, which has been published by Sh. Muḥammad Ashraf. The author deals with the genesis of the movement, its growth and implications ; and has tried to meet the arguments against it. He has touched on these and several other points in the hope that his exposition may help to remove misunderstandings about the scheme and may provide food for thought to those who are prepared to consider the problem dispassionately and arrive at a satisfactory solution of it.

SH. I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

MUHAMMAD AND TEACHINGS OF QUR'ĀN, by *Muhammad Amin*; 8vo.; pp. 111; Rs. 1-8-0; published by *Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore*.

THIS is in fact an abridged edition of the *Apology for Muhammad and the Koran* by Davenport, which has long been out of print, for the original was published exactly three quarters of a century before the present one. The Government of Hyderabad had planned a reprint of the original and considerable amount had been sanctioned for the purpose. Our late lamented editor Mr. Pickthall had written valuable notes too, but it is not known why the idea was dropped.

Mr. Muhammad Amin Barrister-at-Law is a convert to Islam and is of Indian origin. He has first of all condensed the three chapters of the original, viz., the life of the Prophet, the review on the Qur'an and select pieces of the Holy Book of Islam; selections have been made in a way so that only digressions have been omitted and nothing important has been left. Further, he has obtained as a foreword a learned "appreciation" of the book. At the end he has an appendix containing opinions of great and famous non-Muslims with regard to the person of the Prophet and his teachings.

The work is very useful for those who want to know something about Islam from an unbiassed point of view. Although Islamic studies have made giant strides since 1869, Davenport's work has not lost much of its value and the present

abridged form is more easily available to the present busy world.

SOME MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS OF AL-GHAZZĀLI, by *Prof. Syed Nawab 'Ali*; 8vo.; pp. 147; Rs. 2; published by *Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore*.

THIS is the second enlarged edition of a work whose author requires no introduction as an authority on Islamic studies in India. In the present edition we find a life sketch of al-Ghazzālī as well as an Introduction by Mr. Alban G. Widgey, Professor of Comparative Study of Religion in the Baroda College, and a classified list of the works of al-Ghazzālī after which the chapters on the nature of man, human freedom and responsibility, etc., follow. This is based on *Ihyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn* and *Minhāj al-'Abidīn*. As far as the list of the works of Ghazzālī is concerned, a more up-to-date list could have been prepared had the author consulted Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* and its Supplement.

Ghazzālī had accomplished the great task of introducing science and philosophy, current in his days, to the use of cultured Muslims. A similar task faces us at the present juncture when so many contradictory theories of different eminent savants puzzle even the most erudite among us. The chapters dealt with in the book are the eternal questions and the thousand years that separate us from Ghazzālī do not in the least render the

illuminating guidance of the Tusian savant obscure or out of date.

An index at the end has enhanced the usefulness and interest of the publication.

M. H.

THE MUJADDID'S CONCEPTION OF TAWHID (Revised Edition) by Dr. Burhān Ahmād Fārūqī; Md. Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

THERE is no denying the fact that Muslim Śūfis have exercised tremendous influence on Islamic, thought and life. In their life they incorporated those things which stood above the bickerings and turmoils of time. But it is not only by the beauty and sublimity of their character that they inspired men around them but also the ideas they imparted to their disciples, elevated them into a new life of thought and action. The truth is that Islam has become a historical force not by metaphysical speculations but by its call to a life given exclusively to the service of God. But in fact it is mainly by the sheer force of historical principles that great and subtle speculations grew round the simple teachings of Islam. The mystics themselves, fanatic irrationalists as they have been, freely used rational arguments for the interpretation of their experiences which they believed to give insight into the hidden meanings of the Holy Qur'ān. Thus, on the basis of these experiences there grew a doctrine which the mystics held to be the essence of Islamic teaching, i.e., the doctrine of Waḥdat-ul-Wajūd, or the doctrine of the identity of Being. Now for the naive consciousness, the many is the real and the One or God does not annul its reality. But the mystics boldly deny the multiplicity as by this denial of the many can they unequivocally affirm the unity (Tawḥīd) on which Islam lays so much stress. This unity was revealed to them in immediate experience.

There is no doubt that this pantheistic interpretation was repellent to the Muslim Divines who saw in it the very negation of Islamic teaching. But no resistance of the Muslim clergy could challenge its sway among the Śūfis. Ibn-i-'Arabi of Seville, the great Shaikh who championed

it with such dialectical subtlety, and the poets of Iran sang of it in such raptures and ecstasy that none dared to controvert it among the mystics themselves. It was left to Mujaddid, the great saint of Sirhind, to question its validity on the basis of his mystical experiences. Mujaddid himself had gone through the experiences of oneness and had found it to be not the last word but only a passing phase of mystic life. He achieved a higher stage where the world was revealed to him as a "Zill" or shade. Nor was this more than a momentary phase. He rose to the highest stage of all, the stage of servitude where he experienced God as a Beyond of all beyonds. Thus Mujaddid naturally came to the conclusion that Ibn-i-'Arabi and his followers had transformed without any warrant what was something subjective into objective reality. But when mystics of eminence, speaking on the ground of their own experiences, hold firmly that their teaching alone is in consonance with the Quranic teaching, we can only come to the conclusion that mystic experiences do not lead us beyond ourselves; they are only psychologically interesting as revealing different types of mystic consciousness. Only the revelations of the Prophet can lay claim to universal validity.

Dr. Burhān Ahmād sharply distinguishes religious consciousness from speculative consciousness and thinks it is due to the confusion of speculative and religious demands that pantheistic mysticism has grown. But he does not deal with religious consciousness as such; he touches only one of its many forms and determinations. The moments of transcendence and immanence are both inherent in religious consciousness, the experience of God as a Beyond of all beyonds or the experience of Him as our soul and life is equally consistent with the religious élan

. But whatever may be the merit of Waḥdat-i-Wajūd, we can ask if this work has any central idea in harmony with the pivotal teaching of Islam. Dr. Fārūqī, who firmly holds that it is not, does nothing more than follow Western scholars who think that the whole mystical movement in Islam is foreign to the

genius of Islam and try to find its source in the Indian and neo-Platonic thought. But we wonder how such foreign growth could flourish on an alien soil to such an extent that it could win over some of the finest minds in Islam. And what, after all, is the difference between the rival doctrines? Shāh Walī'ullāh of Delhi and later mystics took it to be of no great account. If Ibn-i-'Arabi is to be reproved for robbing the world of its reality, the world we now get instead is hardly more real. It is created out of nothing, it is "appearance without genuine reality" and "it has a very unsubstantial kind of reality."

Dr. Fārūqī's labours, however, have not been in vain. He has given a succinct and clear account of one of the most important aspects of Islamic mysticism and has introduced us to a great movement and an eminent figure

S. V.

مسلمانوں کا ماضی، حال و مستقبل

(i.e., *THE PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE OF THE MUSLIMS*), by Miyān Bashīr; pp. 125; Rs. 1-4; Almanar Academy, Lahore.

IN this Urdu booklet the Editor of the Urdu monthly *Humāyūn* (Lahore) has succinctly explained what he understands by Islam, Islamic culture and civilisation, and the causes that lead to the rise and fall of a nation. He then turns to India and traces the growth of nationalism here and of the Pakistan-reaction as a protest against narrower conceptions of ethnic, linguistic or chromatic nationalities. In the end he states what ought to be the ultimate aim of the Muslims in general and of Indian Muslims in particular.

The brochure is interesting to read and evinces wide study and deep thinking. From the technical point of view, however, if the author had not neglected to give full references to important statements,—such as the fact that in the construction of the Notre Dame of Paris Muslim architects were consulted,

—it would have enhanced the literary value of the book.

We trust the mistakes and misspellings, such as the following, would be removed from future reprints of the work:—

—Erroneous—	—Correct—
فیض for	فاس
ازہرہ	ازہر
سدى	سے دی یو (Sedillot)
سلونو	سلرنو
عاربہ	} all without the final
خالصہ	
جمعہ	
مراحتہ	
luk	lute, etc.

اسلام کی تشکیل جدید
be a bad translation of "Reconstruction of Muslim Thought," there being no question of the reconstruction of *Islam*.

OUR DECLINE AND ITS CAUSES, by Amir Shakib Arsalān; pp. 145; Rs. 2-4; Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, publishers, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

THE Arabic work *لماذا تآخر المسلمون* of Shakib Arsalān has now appeared into English through its Malayalam translation. The famous Syrian author has replied to the questions: "What are the causes which led to the decline and fall of the Muslims in general in spite of the Quranic assurance that honour belonged to God, to His Apostle and to the Believers?" and "What are the causes of the great advancements made by some of the nations of Europe, America and Japan?"

According to our Syrian thinker, it is the qualities of sacrifice, action, philanthropy, Jihād, Ijtihad, sense of honour and soldierly life,—qualities enjoined by the Qur'ān and now neglected by the present day Muslims,—which are responsible for all these differences.

The book abounds in examples and instances to illustrate the points in question and is a very interesting reading, although not particularly meant for India.

M. H.

NOTICE

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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Ed., I. C.

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. A PEEP INTO THE FIRST ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA UNDER THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET	
—MOHD. ISHAQ, Esq.	109
II. CHANDAR BHĀN BRAHMAN (<i>A Hindu Writer of Persian Prose and Verse</i>)	
—DR. IQBAL HUSAIN.	115
III. SYED AḤMAD SHAHĪD	
—ASLAM SIDDIQI, Esq.	123
IV. KITĀB-I-NAURAS	
—R. G. GAYANI, Esq.	140
V. THE CONCEPTION OF MAN IN ISLAM	
—K. A. HAMID, Esq.	153
VI. THE SO-CALLED CONFERENCE OF CHHAPRAH, JUNE 1766	
—DR. ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA	167
VII. DEVIL'S DELUSION	
—(Late) PROF. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	171
VIII. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	189
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
FOREIGN	
IX. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	219

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A PEEP INTO THE FIRST ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA UNDER THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET

[THE author has brought into relief certain difficulties involved in the question of ascertaining the exact date of the first Arab expedition against India. That the officer commanding is reported by different historians to be filling different posts, requires further elucidation. He may have combined several posts. Moreover, the co-ordination of the forces of different provincial cantonments could not have been dispensed with under a highly centralised administration like that of the Caliph 'Umar.

We publish the article in the hope that it will provoke specialists in the field to take part in the discussion and elucidation of the point].

ED., I. C.

THE first and earliest expedition of the Arabs to India was directed against Thāna, a seaport near Bombay. 'Uthmān b. Abi'l-'Āṣ ath-Thaqafī,¹ a Companion of the Prophet, who was governor of al-Bāhrain and 'Umān during the Caliphate of 'Umar, sent this expedition under the command of his brother al-Ḥakam b. Abi'l-'Āṣ ath-Thaqafī, who also was a Companion of the Prophet.² The landing of the forces on the coast of Gujarat heralded the advent of the Ṣaḥāba in South India.³ Similar expeditions were also sent against Barwaṣ or Broach and to the gulf of ad-Daybul, i.e. Debal. The latter was headed by al-Mughira⁴ b. Abi'l-'Āṣ ath-Thaqafī, another brother of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī.⁵

1. 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī accompanied the deputation from Tā'if that waited upon the Prophet in Ramaḍān, 9 December, 630, and embraced Islām. Although young, his fervour in the cause of Islām was applauded by Abū-Bakr. The Prophet appointed him 'Āmil of Tā'if. During the troublous days of Abū-Bakr, 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī played a conspicuous part and prevented this tribe, the Thaqif, from apostasy. He held the Governorship of various provinces with success and died in 51/671 or 55/674 at al-Baṣra, where he had settled and where the celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) learned Ḥadīth from him (Tabari, *Tārikh ar-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk* ed. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879-88, Vol. I, pp. 1688 sq; Ibn-Hajar, *Iṣāba* Biblio. Indica, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 1098 sq; Tabrizī, *al-Ikmāl fi Asmā' ar-Rijāl*, lithographed with *Mishkāt*, al-Maṣābiḥ ed., Delhi, p. 606). Of the twenty-nine Ahādīth transmitted by 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī, three have been recorded in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (Ṣaḥīḥ ad-Dīn, *Khulāṣa Tahḍīb al-Kamāl*, ed. Egypt, p. 120) and the rest, in the *Sunan* works (*Iṣāba*, loc. cit).

2. *Iṣāba*, I, pp. 703, 708; Dhahabī, *Tajrid Asmā' aṣ-Ṣaḥāba* (Hyderabad, 1315 A.H.), I, 144.

3. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī, *Nuzhūt al-Khawāṭir* (MS. in possession of Dr. 'Abd al-'Alī, M.B., B.S. of Lucknow) Vol. I, الطبعة الأولى في من قصد الهند في القرن الأول; *Yād-i-Ayyām* or *Tārikh-i-Gujarāt*, ed. Lucknow, pp. 4-5.

4. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 416, has misread al-Mughira as Mughaira.

5. Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, ed. De Goeje (Leiden, 1866), pp. 431-2 = pp. 209-10 of the English tr. by F. C. Murgotten (New York, 1924).

THE DATE OF THE EXPEDITIONS

AL-BALĀDHURĪ, who records the earliest Arab expeditions to India, does not mention their dates in so many words;¹ but what appears from the context of the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* is that the Indian expeditions were undertaken at the instance of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī immediately after his assumption of the governorship of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān in 14/636,² or 15/637³ as given by Abū Mikhnaḥ⁴ and al-Madā'inī.⁵ As the date of the Indian expeditions is contingent upon that of the appointment of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, it remains for us to ascertain the correct date of the appointment.⁶ That the above two versions of al-Balādhurī are incorrect can be seen from the statement of Ibn Sa'd that until the foundation of al-Baṣra in 16 or 17 A.H.⁷ 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī was not transferred from Ṭā'if, where he had been appointed 'Āmil by the Prophet in 9/630. But when the necessity of finding a capable governor for the new city of al-Baṣra arose, the name of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī was suggested to the Caliph 'Umar, who however refused to pass orders for the transfer of a governor who had been appointed by the Prophet himself. Nevertheless, the Caliph had to yield to the popular demand. Accordingly, 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī was sent to al-Baṣra after he had been replaced at Ṭā'if by his brother al-Ḥakam b. Abī'l-'Āṣ ath-Thaqafī.⁸ That the account of Abū-Mikhnaḥ⁹ relating to the appointment of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī is erroneous is also evident from the fact that 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who is said to have been replaced by 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, did not die in 14 A.H. or in the beginning of the year 15 A.H. as is asserted by Abū-Mikhnaḥ. For according to aṭ-Ṭabarī 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī was 'Āmil over al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma in 16/637,¹⁰

1. The popular date, viz. 15 A.H. (637 A.D.), which has been generally quoted in connection with the early Arab invasion of India is, in fact, the date when 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī, who sent the naval expeditions to India, is said to have been appointed governor of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān (Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*).

2. Balādhurī, pp. 81-2. Vol. I, p. 125 of the Eng. tr. of the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* by P. K. Hitti (New York 1916).

3. Balādhurī, p. 431 = Murgottien, p. 209.

4. I. ut. b. Yahya, better known as Abū-Mikhnaḥ, was a historian (أخباري). His death occurred before 170/786 (Dhahabī, *Mizān*, ed. Egypt, 1325 A.H., Vol. II, 360; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān*, ed. Hyderabad, Vol. IV., 492).

5. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Alī Saif, commonly called al-Madā'inī, was a pupil of Abū-Mikhnaḥ. He died in 224/838 or 225/839 at the age of 93 years (*Mizān*, II, 236; *Lisān*, IV, 492).

6. Allāma Sayyid Sulaimān Nadawī entertains doubt as to the appointment of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī in 15 A.H. Vide his *'Arabūn li-Jahū-rām* (A'zamgarh, 1935) p. 59, note; *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, Vol. XV, No. 4, October, 1941 art. *Arab Navigation*, p. 448, note.

7. Cf. *Sam'ān*, *Kitāb al-Anṣab*, fol. 84b; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, 673; Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1914), p. 241.

8. Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, ed. Edward Sachau (Leiden, 1915), Vol. VII, part I, pp. 36 sq. As for the account of al-Madā'inī (Balādhurī, 61), it seems probable that he derived it from his teacher Abū-Mikhnaḥ and so there is practically no difference of opinion between the two.

10. Ṭabarī, I, 2481.

led a naval expedition against Fārs (modern Arabistan in Persia) in 17/638¹ and died in 21/641.² Nor does it appear probable that 'Utba b. Ghazwān should have been superseded by 'Alā' as governor of al-Baṣra in 14 or 15 A.H. when the former was just accomplishing the preliminary tasks for the foundation of a military barracks there.³ Aṭ-Ṭabarī, presumably on the authority of al-Balādhurī, places Uthmān during 14-15 A.H. in al-Baḥrain⁴ while, curiously enough, 'Umān, which served as the base for the Indian expeditions, was during this period in charge of another governor, namely Hudhaifa b. Miḥṣan.⁵ Again, aṭ-Ṭabarī maintains that 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī was the governor of Ṭā'if in the year 16 A.H.⁶ a statement that corroborates Ibn-Sa'd.⁷ Moreover, with the exception of al-Balādhurī, no other chronicler puts the provinces of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān under one 'Āmil till 23/643. After 'Uthmān's appointment in al-Baṣra in 17 A.H. al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma also came under his control⁸ but 'Umān still continued to be governed by Hudhaifa b. Miḥṣan.⁹ So the despatch of a naval expedition to India under 'Uthmān was out of the question before 17 A.H.¹⁰

According to aṭ-Ṭabarī, 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī assumed charge of al-Baḥrain and the outlying provinces, namely 'Umān and al-Yamāma, in 23/643¹¹—a date which can be gleaned from al-Balādhurī also by chronologically arranging the tenures of the offices of the governors of al-Baḥrain up to the year 23 A.H. In 20/640 Qudāma b. Ma'zūn al-Jumahī 'Āmil over al-Baḥrain, was dismissed on the charge of drinking, and Abū-Huraira ad-Dawsī was appointed in his place.¹² That Abū-Huraira held the post for a considerable length of time is known from his establishment of a stable for breeding horses, which yielded him a sum of 12,000 dirhams. The accumulation of this money was viewed by Caliph 'Umar as amounting to misappropriation of the public revenue (Bait al-Māl) on the part of Abū-Huraira, who was consequently discharged.¹³ " 'Umar, thereupon," says al-Balādhurī, "assigned 'Uthmān b. Abī'l-'Āṣ ath-Thaqafī as governor (of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān), who still held the office

1. Ṭabarī, 2545 sq.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, *Tārikh al-Kāmil* (Egypt, 1301 A.H.), Vol. III, 10. cf. Dhahabī, *Tajrid*, I, 409. According to a version of al-Balādhurī (p. 81 = Hitti, 124), 'Alā' died in 20/640.

3. Balādhurī, p. 346 = Murgotten, p. 60; *Ency. of Islam*, loc. cit.

4. Ṭabarī, I, 2388-9, 2426.

5. *Ibid.*, 2389, 2426.

6. *Ibid.*, 2481.

7. Vide above.

8. Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit; Ṭabarī, 2570.

9. Ṭabarī, 2570.

10. *Ibid.*, 2737.

11. *Ibid.*, 2737.

12. Ibn al-Athīr, II, 379; Balādhurī, pp. 82, sq. = Hitti, pp. 125 sq.

13. Balādhurī, loc. cit.

at the death of 'Umar.'¹ In the circumstances, there is no contradiction or disagreement between at-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī regarding the appointment of 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī in 23 A.H. It may therefore be accepted that the Indian expeditions were undertaken in 23/643, immediately after 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī had assumed charge of al-Bahrain and 'Umān. This date is further confirmed by the *Chach-Nāma*, our authority second only to al-Balādhurī so far as the recording of the early Arab expeditions to India is concerned, inasmuch as it places the date of the naval attack against Debal shortly before the assassination of 'Umar,² i.e. in 23 A.H.

THE RESULT OF THE EXPEDITIONS

THE Arab expedition against Thāna was a success and not a failure. For had it been a failure, it would have resulted in a disaster for the Arabs. Who knows that they might not have been killed to a man? But as it is, nothing of the kind took place. As a matter of fact, they returned home (evidently with flying colours) with not a single soul lost, as is clear from the speech of the Caliph to 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī, who was responsible for the expedition. The Arabs did not proceed further, not because their arms were not victorious, but because they were not allowed to do so by the Caliph 'Umar himself. The reason for the Caliph's action is not far to seek. An empire-builder and statesman unparalleled in world-history, Caliph 'Umar did not wish to play ducks and drakes with human lives.³ Once an expedition had been despatched, his sole concern was to send supplies for the strengthening of the forces of Islām; he instructed his generals to keep him informed of what took place so that he might issue necessary directions. Thus every inch of ground that his soldiers gained was the outcome more of the strict adherence, on the part of the generals, to the superb plan and method of the Caliph than of their individual skill and knowledge of strategy.⁴ Never did he venture upon an engagement which he could not reinforce with men and munitions regularly. This, perhaps, is the reason why, with all his military genius, the Caliph 'Umar fought shy of naval expeditions.⁵ The historical data given below will further clarify the point.

1. Balādhurī. That 'Uthmān was appointed governor of both al-Bahrain and 'Umān is known from the fact that while he was engaged in warfare in Fārs, his substitute over the provinces was his brother al-Mughira or Hafs. Further, we have it in clear terms in the *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Vol. I, 509): "Then he ('Umar) appointed 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī governor of al-Bahrain and 'Umān, who still held the office at the death of 'Umar."

2. *Chach-Nāma*, pp. 57-8. (Eng. tr. by Mirza Kalich Beg Fredun Beg, Karāchi, 1900). It places the event in 11/632, which is evidently wrong, as 'Umar succeeded to the Caliphate in 13/634. He was assassinated on Tuesday, the 27th Dhu'l-Hijja, 23/October, 644 (Ibn al-Athīr, II, 26).

3. Muir, *Caliphate* (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 205.

4. Hakim Ahmad Husain, *Tarjama Tārikh-i-Ibn-Khaldūn* (Allahabad, 1901, Vol. IV, Bk. II, p. 155).

5. Cf. Elliot, *loc. cit.*

The Arabs were not as experienced in naval fighting as their counterparts, the Romans and the Persians.¹ As a result, the naval expedition sent against Fārs proved unsuccessful. This was undertaken without the Caliph's sanction in 17/639 by 'Alā b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the adventurous governor of al-Bahrain.² The Muslim army sustained a heavy loss in this expedition, which would have ended in a still greater disaster but for the timely arrival of reinforcements from al-Basra.³ This sad incident made a bad impression on 'Umar with regard to naval expeditions as a whole. And when Mu'āwiya, the governor of Syria and Egypt, sought the permission of the Caliph to undertake a naval action against the Romans, he wrote, "You are well aware of the punishment inflicted, on this score, on 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī."⁴ The Arabs had not yet had time to acquire efficiency in this mode of fighting, on account of their pre-occupations elsewhere.

Taking it for granted that the Caliph's approval for a naval expedition could not be had, 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī ventured upon the Indian expedition at his own risk. But even the successful termination of the expedition to Thāna could not satisfy the Caliph, who administered a sharp rebuke to 'Uthmān. "O brother of Thaqif," wrote the Caliph, "thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allāh, I swear that if they had been smitten, I would have exacted from thy tribe the equivalent."⁵

As regards two other expeditions, the one against Debal ended, according to the *Chach-Nāma*, in discomfiture for the Arabs, their general, al-Mughīra being killed in the encounter. This statement is not true, as Yāqūt⁶ has it that al-Mughīra, the leader of the expedition, was alive as late as 29/650, if not later. For in that year he was allotted a plot of land by his brother 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī at Shatt-'Uthmān, on the bank of the Euphrates in al-Basra, where his house was built and was known as Mughīratān.⁷ Thus the version of al-Balādhurī that al-Mughīra was

1. Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī, *'Arabūn Ki Jahāzrānī*, pp. 52-3—*Islamic Culture*, Vol. XV, Art. *Arab Navigation*, p. 445.

2. Tabarī, Vol. I, p. 2545 sq.; Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. II, pp. 264-5.

3. *Ibid.* I, pp. 2548-2549.

4. *Ibid.* I, p. 2822 quoted in *'Arabūn Ki Jahāzrānī*, p. 53; also *Islamic Culture*, loc. cit. al-'Alā' was punished with dismissal from his office in Bahrain = (Tabarī, Vol. I, p. 2548).

5. Balādhurī, p. 432—Murgotten, p. 209.

6. Cf. *Mu'jam al-Buldān* ed. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866) Vol. III, 290-1 and V, 6475.

7. 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī had four brothers: (i) al-Ḥakam, (ii) al-Mughīra, (iii) Hafs and (iv) Umayya. During the Caliphate of 'Uthmān, they came over to al-Basra and settled down. A fairly big area of land in the neighbourhood of al-Ubullah on the bank of the Euphrates was granted to 'Uthmān ath-Thaqafī and was known after his name as Shatt 'Uthmān, or the coast of 'Uthmān. 'Uthmān gave each of his brothers a portion of this land to build quarters thereon. Each site bore a particular name after its owner. Thus the quarters of al-Mughīra was called Mughīratān. Similarly, the quarters of the other brothers were known after their names as Ḥakamān, Hafsān and Umayyatān (Balādhurī, 351-2, 362 = Murgotten 69, 86; *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, I, 645). The document authorising the grant of land on behalf of the Caliph 'Uthmān, which was written on the 22nd of Jumādā II, 29 February, 650, reads as follows:

victorious at Debal¹ stands.²

MOHAMMAD ISHAQ.

(Continued from p. 113)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم . هذا كتاب عبد الله عثمان أمير المؤمنين لعثمان بن أبي العاصي أنى أعطيتك الشط لمن ذهب الى الابلّة من البصرة و المقابلة قرية الابلّة و القرية التي كان الاشعري عمل فيها و أعطيتك ما كان الاشعري عمل من ذلك و أعطيتك براح ذلك الشط اجمة و سبعة فيما بين الحرارة الى دير جابيل الى القبرين الذين على الشط المقابلين للابلّة و أعطيتك ما عملت من ذلك انت و بنوك ان واحدا تعطيه شيئا من ذلك من اخوتك فاعتمله عن عطيتك و امرت عبد الله بن عامر ان لا يمنعكم شيئا اخذتموه نرون انكم تستطيعون عمله من ذلك فا كان فيه بعد ما عملتم و اخترتم من فضل لا ترونكم ما عملتموه فليس لكم ان تتحولوا دونه لمن اراد أمير المؤمنين ان يعمل فيه حجة له و أعطيتك ذلك عوضا عن ارضك التي اخذت منك بالمدينة التي اشتراها لك أمير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب و ما كان فيها سميت فضل عن تلك الارضين فانها عطية أعطيتك اياها اذ عزلتكم عن العمل و قد كتبت الى عبد الله بن عامر ان يعينك في عملك و يحسن لك العون فاعمل باسم الله وعونه وامسك ، شهد المغيرة بن الاخنس والحارث بن الحكم بن ابي العاصي وفلان بن ابي فاطمة وكتب تاريخه لثمان بقين من جمادى الآخرة سنة ٢٩٩ . معجم البلدان ج (٣) ص ٢٩١-٢٩٢

1. Balādhuri, loc. cit.

2. As the Arabic original of the *Chach Nāma*, together with the name of its author, has been lost beyond any hope of recovery, the value of the book as an authority becomes highly doubtful, and consequently the authority of al-Balādhuri in contrast with that of the *Chach Nāma* becomes at once indisputable and unassailable. In the light of the above, the depreciatory remarks of Dr. R. C. Majumdar (vide *Journal of Indian History*, Madras, Vol. X, part I, art. *The Arab Invasion of India*, reprinted, Madras, 1931, pp. 28-9), and for the matter of that of the historian Elliot (vide *History of India*, I, 415-6), regarding the powers of the Arabs and their Caliph, do not bear any scrutiny, since they are based on the *Chach Nāma*.

CHANDAR BHĀN BRAHMAN

(A Hindu Writer of Persian Prose and Verse)

THE share of the Hindus in the expansion of Persian literature is great. It is a subject too vast to be dealt with in a single paper but it is indeed a very interesting subject for study. Many people are inclined to remark that the Hindus displayed their interest in Persian for political reasons, but the whole truth does not lie in this remark. The Hindus, who have always displayed a high taste in literature, developed a real admiration for Persian, and quite a large number of them adopted this language as their medium of expression. The enlightened patronage of the Mughal rulers stimulated the growth of Persian literature in India in its own way. The Persian language became Indianized and the Hindu poets and writers enriched the Persian vocabulary by introducing Hindi words and idioms. The Persian diction was affected by Hindu ways of thought and expression. Amongst the Hindus who have made very valuable and definite contributions to Persian literature Chandar Bhān occupies a prominent position, and in this paper I propose to deal with him.

Chandar Bhān, who gave himself the poetic title of Brahman, was a native of Lahore. His house was situated in Niyula,¹ which seems to have been that quarter of the city of Lahore which is now known as Naulakha. This district of Lahore once formed part of the ancient City. In the third Chaman of his work entitled *Chahār Chaman*, Chandar Bhān Brahman gives some details of his own life. He says: "I am a Brahman boy of the Punjab. My ancestors earned their livelihood by various occupations, but my father Dharam Das was a scribe and distinguished himself among the officers of the king. Towards the end of his life my father retired into pious seclusion. I had three brothers. One of my brothers, Udai Bhān, on account of his merits and talents entered the services of 'Āqil Khān. The king (Shāh Jahān) used to favour the Khān with his visits and it was through 'Āqil Khān that I was introduced to the king. I am a pupil of Mullā 'Abdu'l Ḥakīm of Sialkot."² Kishan Chand Ikhlās in his *Hamisha Bahār*,³ writes that at the beginning of his career Brah-

1. Qānūngō's *Dārā Shikoh*, p. 334 (n).

2. *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, fol. 262b.

3. *Hamisha Bahār*, fol. 16a.

man was in the service of Amīr 'Abdu'l-Karīm of Lahore and afterwards became the companion of Afdal Khān. After this Brahman passed into the imperial service of Shāh Jahān, with the duty of attending on the emperor's journeys and recording the daily occurrences. Brahman was very proud of his post and remarks with gratitude that the king had given him a small elephant on which he rode as he talked with the king on the way.¹ Rieu² describes his post as that of Waqā'i'-i-Nawīs-i-Huzūr. He was sent by Shāh Jahān to Udaipur in order to settle the affairs of the Rānā.³ According to Shēr Khān Lodi Brahman acted as Munshi to Dārā Shikoh, who had great trust in him. On the 9th April, 1656 A.D. Chandar Bhān Brahman was honoured by Shāh Jahān with the title of Rai.⁴ Brahman accompanied Dārā Shikoh on his Qandahār campaign as the superintendent of household stores and workshops. The prince ordered Chandar Bhān to select a site from which he might witness the deeds of valour of his troops on the day of assault. Chandar Bhān chose a house on the slope of a hill known as Chehel-Dokhtarān, and the prince visited the place.⁵

Relying on the statement of Shēr Khān Lodi, the author of *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*⁶ and many other writers state that after the murder of Dārā Shikoh, Brahman went to the holy city of Benares and passed the rest of his life there. Rieu⁷ supports their statement. This statement, however, is not correct. After the death of his patron Dārā Shikoh, Brahman entered the service of Aurangzeb and passed several years of his life in the service of this emperor. We do not know why Brahman decided to serve the man who had brought about the death of his patron in so sad a manner. On the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, Brahman wrote him a letter⁸ in the most submissive terms, praying for the prosperity of his reign, and incorporated therein a Rubā'ī specially composed for the occasion. The Rubā'ī runs as follows:—

شاه عالم مطیع فرمان تو باد لبریز ادای شکر احسان تو باد
چون ذات تو خلق را نکهت بان باشد هر جا باشی خدا نکهت بان تو باد

“O king! may the world be under your command; may it utter from its tongue its thanks for your kindness. Since you are the protector of man, wherever you may be, may God protect you!” Brahman could not afford to court the displeasure of Aurangzeb and he willingly accept-

1. *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, fol. 262b.

2. *Catalogue*, p. 397.

3. *Qānūngo's Dārā Shikoh*, p. 170.

4. *Ibid.*, 202 (n).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 77 (n).

6. *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, fol. 308.

7. *Catalogue*, p. 398.

8. *Brahman's Letters*, p. 11.

ed a post under him. In a letter¹ to Aurangzeb Brahman begins with the following verse :—

شدیم پیر بمصیان و چشم آن دارم که جرم ما بجوانان بار ساجشد

"I am an old man laden with sins, but I hope that my faults may be excused for the sake of devout young men." This verse is very significant. The poet was afraid of some punishment at the hands of Aurangzeb, for he had been a close associate of Dārā Shikoh. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne Brahman was an old man, and not in a fit state of health to take an active part in the duties of the State. He therefore retired to Lahore and engaged himself in the pious duty of looking after the mausoleum of Jahāngir.² He wrote a letter to Aurangzeb informing him that he was discharging his duties with great honesty and devotion. In the sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign Brahman wrote a letter³ to the emperor and conveyed to him the details of the Majlis-i-Maulūd which was performed at the mausoleum on the 17th day of Ziqā'd, in memory of Jahāngir. Brahman administered the property attached to the mausoleum wisely and well. Rieu⁴ states that Brahman died in A.H. 1073/A.D. 1662. This statement also is not true. On the testimony of Brahman's letter cited above we find that Brahman was alive till at least six years after the accession of Aurangzeb to the throne, which period corresponds to A.H. 1075/A.D. 1664.

Brahman possessed a very noble and trustworthy character and it was for this reason that he enjoyed the confidence of Shāh Jahān, Dārā Shikoh, and many nobles of the court. In order to know him it is necessary to go through his writings carefully. r was deeply influenced by Islamic culture but in all his writings he shows his Hindu proclivities. In one of his verses he says :—

مرا دلیست بکفر آشنا ده چندین بار بکعبه بردم و بازش برهم آوردم

"I possess the heart of an infidel. Many a time I took it to the Ka'ba but always brought it back a Brahman." It is related⁵ that when he recited this verse in the court, Shāh Jahān became greatly displeased, but Brahman's patron Afḍal Khān humourously quoted the well-known verse of Sa'dī :—

خرعسی اگر به مکه رود چون بیاید هنوز خر باشد

"If the donkey of Jesus goes to Mecca, on its return it remains a donkey."

1. *Brahman's Letters*, p. 11.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

4. *Catalogue*, p. 398.

5. *Kalimāt-u-sh-Shu'arā*, p. 18.

The king smiled at the pleasantry.

Brahman being a devout Hindu had a special affection for his sacred thread. He says :

مرا برشته زنار آلفتی خاص است که یاد گار من از برهنم همی دارم

"I have a special love for my sacred thread, for this is the only sign which I possess of the Brahmanic faith." Thus the remark of the author of the '*Amal-i-Šālih*' "that although outwardly he is a Hindu yet he professes the faith of Islam"¹ does not seem to be justified. Yet in spite of his love for his own religion he was deeply impressed by the practical philosophy of the Muslim people. He was much inclined towards the Sūfī faith. His letters show also that he had much love and affection for his son, brothers and father. In his letters he remembers his father and his patron 'Āqil Khān with great respect. In one of his letters² he describes his own faith thus :—

این برهنم وفا کیش به آشنا و بیگانه و دوست و دشمن طرح مدارا انداخته ، عالم کثرت را به چشم وحدت مشاهده نموده و غیری را در میان ندیده و غیر از حق ندانسته .

"This Brahman, sincere of faith, established peace with the known and the unknown, friends and foes, saw the world of multiplicity with the eyes of unity, never found a stranger, and never acquainted himself with anything but Truth." It was a high ideal and Brahman had the satisfaction of living up to it.

Brahman is the first eminent Hindu writer of both Persian prose and poetry whose works have come down to us. Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush,³ paying compliments to his genius, writes thus :—

طبع درست داشت ، شعر بطور قدما شسته و صاف می گفت و سلیقه انشای برادری نیز داشت :

"He was a talented person, composed verses very clear and pure like the classical poets, and was well versed in writing letters in an elegant style."

Munīr, the famous Persian prose-writer of Lahore, in a special letter to Brahman paid him the highest tribute in the following terms, which cannot with justice be translated into English :—

حرفی از مدح اوصاف آن چشم و چراغ آفرینش ، سر لوح کتاب دانش و بینش ، اشرف دودمان حشمت و اقبال ، مطلع دیباجه دولت و جلال ، خط جبین فصاحت ، نقش نگین بلاغت ، سبحان العصر ، حسان الزمان ، ملک الشعرا چندی بهان نتوان رقم زد اما منیر ساده لوح را خبال

1. هر چند بصورت هندو است لیکن دم در اسلام زند .

2. *Brahman's Letters*, p. 73.

3. *Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā*, p. 18.

آن است که باوجود پریشانی حواس و شوریدی دماغ و آشفتهگی اوضاع و نارسائی طبیعت و کوتاهی فطرت داستان بی پایان ثنائی آن حلقهٔ ارباب معنی را در حیز عبارت به تحریر آرد.

The above letter is not to be found in the lithographed edition of Munīr's *Letters*, but it is extensively quoted by Lachmī Narayan Shafiq in his *Gul-i-Ra'na*.¹ Munīr has not been so lavish in his praises of any other writer. The author of the *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*² writes that once Brahman got several copies of his *Dīwān* transcribed in the most elegant hand with every page artistically decorated. Each copy was given an excellent binding. These superb copies of his *Dīwān*, Brahman sent to some Iranian poets with a request that they might favour him with their selections of his verses. The Persian poets kept the beautiful bindings and decorated portions of the pages, and sent back the texts of the *Dīwān* to Brahman with the typical Persian remark: Your present thrown at your face! I do not know what is the source of this statement made by the author of *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*. It seems to me quite incorrect, for Brahman in one of his letters³ writes as follows:—

رقایم و نوشتهجات این نیازمند درایران و توران شهرت یافته

“The works and writings of this humble man have attained to fame in Iran and Turan.” Šā'ib, one of the greatest Persian poets, incorporated Brahman's verses in his personal anthology of verses. This was the greatest compliment that a poet like Šā'ib could pay to Brahman.

Brahman in his *Letters*⁴ enumerates seven of his works, viz. (1) *Dīwān* consisting of Ghazals and Mathnawi, (2) *Guldastā*, (3) *Chahār Chaman* (4) *Tuḥfat-ul-Anwār* (5) *Kārnāma*, (6) *Tuḥfat-ul-Fuṣaḥā*, and (7) *Majma'-ul-Fuqarā*. In the Bankipore collection there are two copies of *Suwāl wa Jawāb-i-La'l Dās wa Dārā Shikoh*. This book, arranged and edited by Chiranji La'l, was lithographed at Delhi in 1885. It contains the conversations between Bābā La'l Dās and Prince Dārā Shikoh on the doctrines of Hindu Faqirs, in the form of questions and answers. The dialogue was originally written in Hindi but was subsequently translated into Persian by Brahman. Although the dialogue relates to religious themes yet Brahman has come out very successful in his translation.

Brahman's fame rests on three works, viz. (1) *Chahār Chaman*, (2) *Letters*, and (3) his *Dīwān*. Lachmī Narayan Shafiq mentions that during his time Brahman's *Chahār Chaman* and his *Letters* were included in the higher course of Persian studies.⁵ Some details regarding Brah-

1. *Gul-i-Ra'na*, fol. 262b.

2. *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, fol. 308.

3. *Brahman's Letters*, p. 12.

4. *Ibid.* p. 2.

5. *Gul-i-Ra'na*, fol. 262b.

man's work may be found interesting.

I. *Chahār Chaman*: This was written shortly after A.H. 1057. It is divided into four *Chamans*. The first contains descriptions of various festivals at the Court, with pieces of poetry recited by the author on those occasions. The second describes the splendours of the court, the daily occupations of Shāh Jahān, his new capital Shāh-Jahānābad, and the principal cities and suburbs of the empire. The third contains the author's life and some of his letters. The fourth deals with moral and religious subjects.

II. *Letters of Brahman*: This is a collection of letters which Brahman wrote on many occasions to kings, princes, nobles of the court, contemporary poets and scholars, and some of his relatives. There are amongst many other letters addressed to Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, to Afḍal Khān, Sa'dullāh Khān, Ja'far Khān, Zafar Khān and Dānishmand Khān (all Mughal nobles and statesmen); to Rājā Raghunāth, Rājā Gopāl Dās and Rai Brindrāban (all Hindu noblemen), Shaikh Mirak, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf, Mullā Jān Muḥammad Qudsi, Mullā Munir of Lahore, and Mir 'Abdu'l Karīm (all poets and savants); and to his father and brothers. The *Letters of Brahman* were lithographed at Lucknow in 1885. In this collection of *Letters* the most interesting are those which Brahman wrote to his son Tej Bhān. They are full of words of wisdom and reveal the personality of the man. A loving father cannot use words better than these to address his son. In one of his letters¹ to Tej Bhān he addresses him in the following manner:—

”فرزند دلپند، چراغ خانه زندگانی، شمع بزم شادمانی، نور دیده رسیده، آرام خاطر غم نشیده، قوت ایام پیری، عصای هنگام دستگیری، کل گلزار امید، مایه عشرت جاوید، درمان خاطر رنجور، مرهم زخم ناسور، سرمایه تجارت روزگار، حاصل گردش لیل و نهار،:

Brahman advises² his son to acquire knowledge and put it into practice:—

”علم بی عمل شاخ بی بر بود، علم قلیل با عمل بهتر از علم کثیر بی عمل.“

“Knowledge without practice is like a branch without fruit. Little knowledge with practice is better than much knowledge without practice.” Cautioning his young son, Brahman writes:³—

”آغاز ایام شباب باعث شورش مزاج و آشفتنکی طبع است، خوشا سعادت مندی که این موسم را به تحمل و حوصله و شکیبائی و بردباری و کم گوئی و کم آزاری بسر برد“

1. *Brahman's Letters*, p. 64.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 65.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

"The beginning of youth is the cause of the disturbance of mind and the uneasiness of temper. Blessed is that youth who passes his time with patience, resolution, endurance, forbearance, quietness and inoffensiveness." A little further on he warns his son thus:—

“ دلپسندی هر چند لازمهٔ انسانیت است و دانا و نادان را ازین گریزی نیست اما هر که
سبکسار تر آسوده تر ..

"Although love is essential for man and neither the wise nor the fool can avoid it, yet he who is more unconcerned is more happy."

In another letter¹ to his son Tej Bhān, Brahman asks him to listen to the words of great men and to read *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣiri*, *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*; and the works of Sa'di.

The *Letters* of Brahman are unique in their simplicity and beauty of words. His style is praiseworthy and free from the technicalities of other "Munshis." The force and appropriateness of his words, the structure of his sentences, and his elegance always attract the notice of his readers. The author of *Tadhkira-i-Husaini* praises Brahman for his letters written "in a very simple style." The difficult style of Abu'l-Faḍl was before him. It did not appeal to him and he wrote in a style of his own. Although his letters are addressed to princes, kings, and noblemen yet the terms in which these dignitaries are addressed are very simple. The address to Emperor Aurangzeb takes the following form:—

“ بادشاه دریم ، رحیم ، عادل ، بهربان سلامت ..

Only when a letter is addressed to Mullā Munīr of Lahore, who was well known for the ornate and pedantic style of his letters, does Brahman adopt a grand style. He begins as follows:—

“ لمعات مهر منیر سپهر سخنوری و رشحات ابر مطیر فلک سخن گستری ، همواره بر کشور
سخن تابان و در گلشن معنی گوهر افشان ..

Nowhere in his letters except in the one quoted above has Brahman adopted the style which is to be found in the letters of Abu'l-Faḍl and Mullā Munīr. He stands as a noble contrast to both of them.

III. *Dīwān* : The *Dīwān* consists of Ghazals and Rubā'īs. In poetry Brahman is famous as a writer of Ghazal and I will deal here with some characteristic features of his Ghazals. Most of his Ghazals are composed in a simple style but in some we find rhetorical artifices and novel comparisons and similes. Some of his Ghazals are full of mystical pantheistic thoughts and show considerable grace and fluency of language.

2. *Brahman's Letters*, p. 67.

The following is prominent among his graceful Ghazals:—

سُخن گر نشود ساق به سینا می توان گفتن	بهار آمد سُخن از جام و صبا می توان گفتن
ز نادان هرچه پیش آید به دانا می توان گفتن	شکایت ها ز عقل ذوقن پیش جنون دارم
بغواصی سُخن از قعر دریا می توان گفتن	تو بر ساحل کجا از شورش دریا خبر داری
اگر در دل نمی گنجد بصحرا می توان گفتن	بهر دل تنگ نتوان گفت غمهای محبت را
حدیث عشق جانسوز است، با ما می توان گفتن	برهمن هوش باید گوش هرگز بر نمی تابد

The following is another admirable Ghazal of Brahman, remarkable for its fluent phraseology and well-weighed thoughts.

از همه بیگانه تر این آشنا خواهد گذشت	عمر اگر اینست چون باد صبا خواهد گذشت
هر که با درد آشنا شد از دوا خواهد گذشت	بوی درد آشنائی زنده می دارد مرا
هر یکی چون دانه زیر آسیا خواهد گذشت	هیچ کس از گردش گردون نمی آید برون
صحبت مینا و خارا تا کجا خواهد گذشت	راه سخت و شیشه عمر گرمی نازک است
خار صحرائی محبت چون زپا خواهد گذشت	بر سر آزادگان مانند گل خواهد گذشت
راه بسیارست صبح از پیش ما خواهد گذشت	ای برهمن در چمن پیشی از سحر باید رسید

Even when Brahman handles a difficult rhyme, the result is successful :

دل من سوخت ، آیا دردلت باشد اثر یا نه	ز حال من که چونم بی رخت ، داری خبر یا نه
که نبیان در صدف از قطره می بندد گهر یا نه	اگر چشم ترم گوهر نشان گردد عجب نبود
که خواهد شد شبی این قصه من مختصر یا نه	بیاد زلف او با خویشتن افسانه می گویم
بهم آغشته لخت دل و خون جگر یا نه	دل صاحب دلان پرورده خون جگر باشد
نهال ناامیدی نیز می بخشد ثمر یا نه	برهمن گر نه کام دل بدست آمد نغافل تن

The following Ghazal, which is composed in a difficult style shows Brahman's ability to introduce novel comparisons and similes:—

وزنیم تبسم پر بلبل به شکر گیر	مستانه به باغ آرو چمن در گل تر گیر
چون موج ز غریبی تن جوهر تر گیر	ای قطره که دریای فنا در نظر تست
در آینه بوی گل از یار خبر گیر	هشدار که بیدار دلان چشم براه اند
برخیز برهمن ره اقلیم دگر گیر	در کشور ایمان مشین بیهوده دلتنگ

In Brahman we find a happy blending of Muslim and Hindu thoughts, and he deserves to be remembered for his many-sided genius.

IQBAL HUSAIN.

SYED AHMAD SHAHĪD

SYED AHMAD the Martyr's was a dominating personality in the first third of the last century in India. His name is connected with religious and social reforms as well as with the attempt at the political re-establishment of Indian Muslims. It happened accidentally that he was a rival of the English East India Company in the N.-W. portion of our sub-continent, and proved an inveterate enemy of those who opposed him from among the non-Muslims. Moreover, he was the creator as well as the embodiment of a popular mass movement for the politico-socio-religious revival of Indian Muslims. So not unnaturally, his name has been loaded with abuses and columnies, and acts of omission as well as commission have been perpetrated against his name by his opponents, especially those not far separated from him in time, and particularly the European historians. Their success in their efforts to bring his name into disrepute may be judged from the opinion of an Indian Muslim of the last decades of the last century. Thus, over fifty years ago, S. M. Latif summed up the life of Syed Ahmad Shahīd in the words :

"He was taken by surprise together with his Wazīr, Muḥammad Ismā'īl, at a place called Bālākōt in May 1831, and both were slain by the Sikhs. The heads of Syed and his Wazīr were sent by Prince Sher Singh to the Mahārāja. Thus ended the career of Syed Ahmad, the impostor, who, in the garb of religion, had endeavoured to promote his own private ends and those of his followers. His existence was as dangerous to the Mussalman community as it was to the non-Mussalman public."¹

At this our distance of over a century, however, we are in a better position to judge the life and work of this great personality, without fear or favour. In recent years there has been a distinct change of attitude towards the "impostor" on the part of Indian scholars and there has been some attempt to study what remains of the original sources on the subject. Already we can see something of the towering personality of the Syed who, set in proper historical perspective, shines out like a bright star in a sky, overcast with dark clouds.

Syed Ahmad was born at Rae Bareilly on the 24th Oct., 1786 (the 1st

1. *History of the Punjab*, p. 443.

Moḥarrām, 1201 A.H.).¹ His father, Muḥammad 'Irfān, belonged to a prominent family, renowned for its holiness and religious learning. His great-great-grandfather, Syed 'Ālam Ullāh, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzeb, was a celebrated saint of his age. He also had the distinction of initiating others into the spiritual path of the mystics. He was the first member of the family who settled at Rae Bareli. Unlike other saints, he took part in politics. Three of his sons participated in Jihād, and two of his grandsons fell martyrs in the battlefield. Syed Aḥmad's grandfather, Syed Muḥammad Nūr, took up service under Prince Muḥammad A'zam, son of Aurangzeb. In the whole durbar, he was the only person exempted from the observance of court etiquette. From such ancestors, Syed Aḥmad inherited both the mystical and the martial traits of his character.

At the age of four years, four months, and four days, Syed Aḥmad was sent to school, but despite this meticulous observance of a popular custom, he proved the despair of his teachers. Even the strenuous efforts of his father and his teachers failed to create any interest in him for his studies. He stayed in the school for three years, but beyond simple writing and reading he learnt nothing. At last, his father gave him up as a hopeless case and allowed him to pursue his own ways. This freedom brightened up the Syed who was developing a shy quiet temperament in the benumbing atmosphere of the school. He now devoted himself entirely to his physical development. Wrestling, swimming and Kabadi became his favourite pastimes. Even as a boy, he often divided his playmates into two groups. He set himself at the head of one group and fought against the other. Imaginary forts were captured, sham banners were taken, and armies were routed. On each such occasion, the atmosphere resounded with loud shouts of *Allāh-o-Akbar*. As years passed, he grew more and more serious. To work for widows and other needy persons became one of his hobbies. He also became eager to worship and devoted much of his time to offering prayers. His hereditary qualities helped him to cover the preliminary stages of the mystic path easily and speedily. But all this did not deter him from intensely hard exercises.

At the age of seventeen, he lost his father and so all domestic duties devolved upon him. His maternal uncle helped the bereaved family for a time, but at last he had to go out in search of some means to earn his living. In 1806, he left for Lucknow in the company of some friends. Despite his efforts, he could not find any job suited to his tastes. He received an offer of enlistment in the Oudh cavalry, but he did not accept it and let one of his friends avail himself of the chance.²

1. *Sawāneḥ-i-Aḥmadi* by Ja'far Thanestri.

2. On page 108 of the *European Adventurers of Northern India* (1785-1849), edited by H.L.O. Garrett, it is stated that "Syed Aḥmad Ghāzi, a famous fanatic, had from a trooper in the Company's cavalry become a power in the Frontier." This is incorrect. No contemporary or later biographer of the Syed has mentioned this phase of his life. Moreover, service under Christians was incompatible with his character.

After about three months' stay at Lucknow, he left for Delhi all alone, without informing his friends. Here he visited Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz who, on hearing about the Syed's family, showed keen interest in him.

Being an old man, Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz entrusted the instruction of the Syed to his younger brother, Shāh 'Abdul-Qādir (d. 1814). With this teacher the Syed lodged at the Akbarabādi mosque. He learnt Arabic grammar and familiarised himself with religious literature. But his spiritual progress was immense. Describing this period of his life, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan writes, "As he was a born dervish, he devoted himself to the service of especially those people who visited Shāh 'Abdul-Qādir in order to learn esoteric sciences. He had, even at that time, developed his faculties so much that his power of concentration was stronger than that of even orthodox recluse mystics. Shāh 'Abdul Qādir often remarked about him : ' There are indications of perfection in this personage. He seems to be capable of attaining the highest stages of the mystical path.' He then resolved to swear allegiance to Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz. When the Syed presented himself to Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz for this purpose, the latter remarked, ' Though God has not willed to place the Syed under the obligation of following any leader in this path, yet in order to satisfy the public I formally accept his allegiance.'"¹

In 1808, the Syed abruptly terminated his studies and came back to Rae Bareli. Here he spent most of his time in religious exercises and deep meditation but a struggle was going on in his mind. The urgent desire to reform Muslims and to do something to bolster up the decadent Muslim political power, which Shāh 'Abdul-'Azīz also keenly felt, engrossed his thoughts. During his two years' stay in his village, he resolved to strike and leave results to the care of the Almighty.

Before considering the steps that the Syed took to reform the Muslims, one must take a view of contemporary social conditions. The classical paragraphs of Lothrop Stoddard are truer about the early nineteenth than the eighteenth century, at least in the case of India and Iran. He writes :

" By the eighteenth century, the Muslim world had sunk to the lowest depth of its decrepitude. Nowhere were there any signs of healthy vigour ; everywhere were stagnation and decay. Manners and morals were alike execrable. The last vestiges of Saracenic culture had vanished in a barbarous luxury of the few and an equally barbarous degradation of the multitude. Learning was virtually dead, the universities which survived had fallen into dreary decay and were languishing in poverty and neglect. Government had become despotic tempered by anarchy and assassination. Here and there a major despot like the Sultan of Turkey or the Indian ' Great Moghal ' maintained some semblances of State authority, albeit provincial Pashas were for

1. *Āthār-ūṣ-Ṣanādīd*. Pt. IV. p. 26.

ever striving to erect independent governments, based, like their masters, on tyranny and extortion. The Pashas, in turn, strove ceaselessly against unruly local chiefs and swarms of brigands who infested the countryside. Beneath this sinister hierarchy groaned the people, robbed, bullied and ground into the dust. Peasant and townsman had alike lost all incentive to labour or initiative, and both agriculture and trade had fallen to the lowest level compatible with bare survival.

"As for religion, it was as decadent as everything else. The austere monotheism of Muḥammad had become overlaid with a rank growth of superstition and puerile mysticism. The mosques stood unfrequented and ruinous, deserted by the ignorant multitude, which, decked out in amulets, charms and rosaries, listened to squalid fakirs or ecstatic dervishes and went on pilgrimages to the tombs of 'holy men,' worshipped as saints and 'intercessors' with that Allah who had become too remote a being for the direct devotion of these benighted souls. As for the moral precepts of the Koran, they were ignored and defied. Wine-drinking and opium-eating were well-nigh universal, prostitution was rampant, and the most degrading vices flaunted naked and unashamed. Even the holy cities, Mecca and Medina, were sink-holes of iniquity, while the 'Hajj' or pilgrimage ordained by the Prophet, had become a scandal through its abuses. In fine, life had apparently gone out of Islam, leaving nothing but a dry husk of soulless ritual and degrading superstition behind. Could Mohammad have returned to earth, he would unquestionably have anathematized his followers as apostates and idolaters."¹

This rather lengthy quotation gives a general idea of the world of Islam, including India. But for the study of the social conditions of Indian Muslims in particular we have to turn to another book, namely Herklots' *Islam in India*. It was originally named *Qānūn-i-Islām* and was written by Ja'far Sharif in the Dakhani language. The author aimed at giving "a full account of all the necessary rites, customs and usages observed by Musalmans." It was completed in 1827 A.D. (1243 A.H.). Dr. Herklots' English translation was published in 1832. The original manuscript is lost. The Oxford University Press has published this translation with additions made by William Crooke. The book gives in detail the customs and rites observed by the Muslims from birth to death. Sixty pages are also devoted to Muslim customs in regard to magic. Festivals held in honour of Pir Bandē Nawāz, Gesū Darāz, Qādirwālī Sāhib, Zinda Shāh Madār and Pir Dastgīr are described at length. The book reads like an exposition of the social system of a very degenerated nation. The mere description of the book gives an idea of the degradation of the Muslims. But there are passages which portray Muslim society vividly and accurately. "The result of the continuous amalgamation of the

1. *The World of Islam*, pp. 20-21.

foreign and indigenous elements in the Musalman population is shown in the Indian customs which differ in many important respects from the orthodox system. Local magical practices have been largely engrafted on the system prescribed in the Koran. . . . Thus in Northern India tribes like the Rajputs and Jats or other castes which have accepted Islam have both a Hindu and a Muslim branch, and members of the latter often supplement the orthodox ritual of Islam by Hindu marriage or death rites, follow Hindu rules of succession to real and personal property, and particularly in times of trouble reverence the local village deities. Even within the North-Western Frontier and in Baluchistan, where Hindu influence is practically absent, Islam has in a large measure failed to supersede the primitive animism. Barahuis, Baloch, and Afghans are equally ignorant of everything connected with their religion beyond the most elementary doctrines. The tribesman knows that there is a Koran but is ignorant of its contents. His practice is, to say the least, un-Islamic. Though he repeats everyday that there is one God only who is worthy of worship, he almost invariably prefers to worship some saint or tomb. The saints or Pirs, in fact, are invested with all the attributes of God. It is the saint who can avert calamity, cure disease, procure children for the childless, bless the efforts of the hunter, or even improve the circumstances of the dead."¹

POLITICAL SITUATION

If the socio-religious conditions of the last century of Indian Islam were far from satisfactory, its political situation was much less so.

After the glorious rule of the early Mughals, internecine feuds as well as non-Muslim aspirations to power were slowly but surely emerging from unexpected quarters. The Farangis had come as traders but they were not only becoming independent lords in considerable portions of the country but were even indulging in local politics and making their influence felt with all their military might. The guards of their factories had turned into garrisons of their colonies, and with every incident they were trying to increase the strength of their militia and have it maintained at the expense of the local chieftains.

These Europeans, especially the Portuguese, were perpetrating ignominious cruelties on poor Muslims, looting their pilgrims, plundering their traders and wresting from them all they could.

On the other hand, Marathas, Rajputs, Jats and Sikhs were becoming daily more troublesome. The first had captured even the seat of the Empire, and the last had carved out a State in the Punjab with all the evil that is usually associated with a change of rulers.

1. Herklots' *Islam in India*, p. 8.

In the Punjab, the condition of the Muslims was particularly bad. The Sikhs seemed determined to wreak vengeance for what they had suffered at the hands of the Mughal emperors. The calling of Azān was forbidden and many mosques were taken possession of. "The Badshāhi mosque was used as a magazine and a place for keeping military stores by Maharaja Ranjit Singh."¹ "Ranjit Singh changed the name of Mōti Masjid to Mōti Mandir and used it as the State treasury."² This was the attitude of the Maharaja who was burdened with the onerous duties of ruling the Punjab. The excesses of the unruly Akālis were abominable. Shāh Ismā'il noted in his tour of the Punjab that the Sikhs used mosques as latrines. Often, he had to wake up Sikhs sleeping in mosques before he could offer his prayers." The Sonehri Mosque was taken possession of by the Akālis in the time of the Sikhs. They plastered the floor with cow dung and placed the Granth in it."³ This is one among many other such examples. The conditions at Amritsar were still worse. "There is not a single mosque and the public practice of the Mohammadan religion is forbidden. The religion of Nanak admits of no rivals in Amritsar,"⁴ writes Moorecroft. He further adds, "When victory reopened to the Sikhs the gates of Amritsar, they carried out bloody reprisals and washed the steps of the sacred pool with the blood of Musalmans."⁵ About Ludhiana, Moorecroft remarks, "The Sikhs into whose hands the city so often fell in the last century did not spare any mosques and one sees nothing but ruins all around."⁶ This was not the only way of offering insult to Muslims. The Sikh Sardars compelled Muslim ladies to become their wives. Maharaja Ranjit Singh had two Muslim wives and Fateh Singh of Kapūrthala one.

It was natural for every thinking member of the ruling race of the country to ponder over the question how to remedy the prevalent evil. Syed Ahmad Shahīd came to the conclusion that there were no prospects and no hope of reviving the decadent Mughal rule. The conditions in Oudh, Bengal and Deccan also did not satisfy him, although strong Muslim dynasties were ruling independently in these parts of the country. Everybody was bent upon material things and none cared about keeping up the principles of Islam.

RELIGIOUS ASPECT

In matters purely religious there was much that did not satisfy impartial observers. The overwhelming majority of Indian Muslims followed

1. *History of Lahore*, by S. M. Latif, p. 115.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

4. *The Panjab, a Hundred Years Ago*, edited by H. L. O. Garrett, p. 27.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the Hanafi school of law. And this following in later days had become a blind following. The Hadith was taught in all religious schools, yet many a genuine Tradition of the Prophet taught in these schools was not acted upon simply because Abū-Ḥanifa had opined otherwise. No other explanation was given. Impartial inquirers were dissatisfied with this state of affairs, and felt a need to so reshape Hanafism as to bring it into consonance with the express provisions of the Ḥadīth. Every new movement lays exaggerated emphasis on petty matters, and this "Ḥadithism" degenerated later into disputes about insignificant questions like the Raf' Yadain and Āmen bil-Jahr. Thus the whole spirit was lost, and the Ahl-Ḥadīth fell into disrepute.

THE WORK OF THE SYED

THE above-mentioned political, social and religious questions were agitating the mind of Syed Ahmad Shahīd. He had travelled far and wide in the country and had even made the pilgrimage to Mecca, which was extremely difficult in those days. In Mecca he came into contact with the brain-trust of the rest of the Islamic world, and taught and learnt much before he returned home.

When he came back to India, he was more than ever resolved not to sit idly watching the liquidation of the Islamic power in this sub-continent.

He had other qualifications in his favour. Belonging to a family of mystics, he soon became an accomplished spiritual teacher, and everyday the masses paid him increasing homage until he had a very considerable following into which he had instilled his progressive fervour.

Again, he was a good speaker, and along with his two friends, Shāh Ismā'īl and 'Abdul-Ḥayy, he toured in big cities as well as small hamlets and delivered fiery speeches which rendered his name known by even children. This active contact with the masses, coupled with his pious personal life, daily increased his prestige and influence.

Further, he was of strong physique. His athletic interest in his early life, combined with the military training gained during his association with Amīr Khān of Tonk for six years, proved of much utility later.

Amīr Khān (1768-1834) was the son of Ḥayāt Khān, a God-fearing farmer. His father's house did not satisfy his love of adventure. As soon as he grew up a little, he left it without informing his parents. He tried his luck at Lucknow, Meerut, Delhi and other places but could not find any job. He thought this ill-luck to be due to his father's displeasure and so he went back to Sambhal. At the age of twenty, he received his father's blessing and threw himself on this world. He tried to enlist in various armies, including the British, but was disappointed each time. He then started an independent life of adventure. He lived in an age when no paramount power existed in India and every man who had courage and

brains tried to carve out his own fortunes. He too tried his luck. His method was to offer his services to Rajas in trouble and to take a certain sum of money as recompense. In the course of such free-lancing, he espoused the cause of Jaswant Rao Holkar, who had lost his kingdom and was at that time a mere fugitive. Jaswant Rao at last succeeded in regaining his lost territory. As a mark of gratitude to Amīr Khān, he conferred upon him the title of Nawab in 1800 and gave him the territory of Tonk to rule. By the year 1810, in which the Syed joined him, he had become an important satellite of the Holkar family and had fought against the British several times. In 1808, he fought against the combined forces of the British, the Peshwa and the Nizam of the Deccan. Such a man cannot indeed be described as a dacoit. Moreover, H. T. Prinsep records that his adherents regarded him as "the champion of the faith and the hero of his age and nation."¹

During the next six years, the Syed led the life of a soldier and thus gained an extensive and variegated experience in warfare. He took part in Amīr Khān's operations in the Shekhavati country, which were undertaken in order to collect revenue. Amīr Khān then started on an expedition to Bikaner and succeeded in making some money. About the year 1813, Shāh Shujā', the Amīr of Kābul, requested him to come to his help in fighting against Maḥmud Shāh. He received a similar invitation from Sistan but he went to neither place. In 1815, he again took action against the Shekhavati chiefs, who readily submitted to his overlordship and paid him three lakhs of rupees as indemnity. He later besieged Jaipur and succeeded in obtaining some lakhs of rupees. He also attacked Jodhpur and then besieged the Rajpura fort. This siege cost him very dear. He could not force the occupants of the fort into submission despite his strenuous efforts, extending over nine months. Then all of a sudden, he found himself encircled by two British armies—one under General Ochterlomy and the other under General Donkin. The British succeeded in buying over Faiz Ullah Khan, the commander of the Nawab's cavalry. He betrayed the Nawab and openly joined the British in fighting against his former master. Faiz Ullah Khan's example was followed by others also. Straighted thus, Nawab Amīr Khān entered into negotiations with the British and signed a pact with them on the 15th December 1817.

The Syed did not wait till the signing of the pact, and left the Nawab as soon as the latter opened negotiations with the British. But, in the meantime, he had become a veteran soldier, well-versed in the arts of war. Nawab Amīr Khān had invariably to face armies, far superior to his own in number, and his victories mainly depended on the skilful use of cannon. The Syed thus gained practical experience in the use of cannon and also learnt how to face odds, no matter how heavy. This parting of company did not embitter their relations, and the Syed, till the end of his life, was in correspondence with the Nawab.

1. *Memoirs of Amīr Khan*, p. VII.

But with the passing of this generation, we find the men of letters reduced to a set of buffoons. Men like Ja'far, Chirkeen and others wrote about all that was obscene and nasty.

Such were the Social condition and the people whom Syed Ahmad, Shāh Ismā'il and 'Abdul-Ḥayy sought to reform. They used both the platform and the press for this purpose. Small parties of preachers were organised which conveyed the live message of Islam to a dead people. Hunter's vivid portrayal of such a Maulvi in *the Indian Mussalmans* is very typical, and fervour like his animated the whole class. They were, of course, opposed, but that only put them on their mettle.

Numerous books in prose and poetry were written embodying the Syed's views. Most of them are mere names for us now, while others are extremely rare. The Syed himself gave a lead in this matter. His only book, *Ṣirāt-i-Muṣṭaqīm*, is a record of what he spoke on various occasions about different subjects. Its first and fourth chapters were penned by Shāh Ismā'il and the second and third by 'Abdul-Ḥayy. While the general spirit of the book is the same, the degree of emphasis varies with each writer.

In the first chapter, distinction is made between the path of Sainthood and the path of Prophethood and then faith and divine love are discussed at length. The second chapter is highly important for our present purpose. It deals with Bid'at (innovation in religion) and also with the question of how to improve moral character. The second part of the chapter is a sketchy summary of a part of *Akhlāq-i-Jalālī*, but in the first portion, the author mentions all the evil customs which he later tried to eradicate.

It will be interesting to note the views of the Syed in regard to Jihād. He writes : " Jihād is a thing the multifarious and numerous advantages of which humanity at large enjoys in a number of ways. It is just like rain, which does good to plantation, animals and mankind. The benefits of this thing are of two types : the general benefits which are derived by the faithful Muslims, arrogant Kāfirs, evil-doers, hypocrites and even by Jinns, animals and the world of plantation ; the special benefits, some of which are enjoyed by one class and the others by other classes. As regards the general benefits, it has been established by general experience that the public is graced by heavenly blessings such as timely rains, abundance of vegetable growth, advantageous professions and business, munificence of the rich, disappearance of calamities, abundance of wealth, and the appearance of celebrities because of the justness of the officials, honesty of the business men, generosity of the rich and sincerity of the general public. Similarly when the right religion and religious rulers come into power and their sway extends to various territories of the world, when the power of the armies of the righteous Millat is felt, and the Shari'at law is introduced in all villages and towns, the public is benefited a hundred times more. From the viewpoint of heavenly blessings, India should be

compared with Turkey and Tūrān. Nay, even the present India of 1233 A.H. (1817 A.D.), when most of it has reduced to Dār-ul-Ḥarb, should be compared with the India of two or three hundred years ago on the basis of heavenly blessings, presence of eminent saint and grand scholars. As regards special benefits, they are derived by Muslim martyrs, Muslim Ghāzis, powerful Sultāns and brave soldiers. In short, Jihād is compulsory for the faithful so long as this world exists. The people who object to Jihād and oppose the warriors of faith because of their innate meanness and jealousy, commit themselves to eternal damnation."¹ The omitted portion enumerates the advantages that accrue to other various sections of humanity.

As was remarked above, the Syed had no high opinion of any of the Muslim dynasties in length and breadth of India. The simple and sturdy folk of the North-West were attracting him and providing a vast field of action. At last he resolved to migrate into their country.

Early in 1825, the Syed bid farewell to his home for good. He and his party, which consisted of about 500 men, first went to Hyderābād (Sind) and then to Shikārpūr. From there he proceeded to Qandhār *via* Chakan Khangarh, Shahpur, Bhak, Dhadhie and Shal and arrived in that town about the 2nd September 1825. His preaching here proved very successful and a large number of people gathered round him. The ruler of Qandhār did not wish his subjects to join the Syed. He issued an order asking his people not to listen to the Syed whom he requested to leave the place immediately. The Syed's stay at Qandhār lasted for four days only but still he succeeded in enlisting 270 recruits. He then proceeded to Kābul *via* Ghazni. At both these places, he had to face bitter disappointment. Tribal feuds and the strife among the descendants of Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni kept the people very much occupied, and their response to the Syed's call was accordingly very feeble. The Syed tried to compose the differences of the Durrāni princes but with no success. He then returned to Peshawar and embarked on a campaign of vigorous propaganda.

After about a year, the Syed's followers increased so much that he felt himself in a position to take in hand his much cherished campaign of Jihād against the infidels. He chose Nushera as his headquarters. In order to distinguish himself from a mere leader of dacoits, he sent a message to Maharaja Ranjīt Singh offering the following terms:—

- "1. Either accept Islam, but remember there is no compulsion in religion ;
2. or acknowledge me as your overlord and pay Jizia, in return for which your life and property will be protected ;
3. or prepare for war, but remember martyrdom is dearer to us than wine is to you."

1. *Shirāt-ul-Mustaqīm*, p. 95.

The messenger was turned out from the Durbar which considered acknowledgement of the communication to be beneath its dignity. But the Maharaja soon made a sterner reply. He sent an army of 10,000 soldiers under S. Budh Singh to crush the Syed. Budh Singh moved up to the Syed and encamped at Akora, which is at a distance of seven miles from Nushera. The Landha separates the two places. A Muslim named Shamshir was found doing espionage work for S. Budh Singh. He was arrested and brought before the Syed who, strangely enough, did not punish him but sent him back safe to the hostile camp. This act of over-indulgence on the Syed's part may be ascribed to his inborn piety, but it was a grave defect in a man engaged in warfare of this type. A day after this occurrence, Amir Khān, the Amir of the Khataks and a Ra'is of Akora, paid a visit to the Syed and swore allegiance to him. He also gave information that S. Budh Singh intended to fight in the territory of the Sammas, and advised the Syed not to let the Sardar cross the river but to make a night-attack on the enemy. The Syed acted accordingly, and on the 21st December, 1826, sent a party of 900 men under Allāh Bukhsh Khān for this purpose. The Sikhs were taken unawares in their camp, which was encircled by barbed wire. Many of them fell, most of them fled away, and S. Budh Singh also managed to escape to Saydo, a village distant three miles from Akora. There he blew the bugle, at which the Sikhs assembled. They drew up their lines and opened fire on the Muslims. When the day dawned, the Muslims retreated. Thirty-seven of them were martyred and thirty-five were wounded.

This successful night-attack enhanced the prestige of the Syed and people began to muster round him. Two days after this attack, Khadai Khan, Sardar of the Hund Fort, swore allegiance to him and made him shift his headquarters to the fort. The number of his followers now rose to 5,000. Here Khadai Khan asked for the Syed's permission to make a night-attack on Huzru, a busy market under the Sikhs. The Syed permitted him but refused to send any of his followers. Fifty Qandharis, however, managed to escape and participated in this campaign. Early in the morning, next day, the Syed found his fifty Qandharis fighting against an overwhelming majority of the Sikhs, while Khadai Khan's followers, burdened with goods, were escaping in various directions. He reinforced the Qandharis, who thus succeeded in beating back the Sikhs and effecting a safe return. The Syed later desired that the property captured should be distributed in accordance with the Shari'at law, but none of Khadai Khan's followers agreed to share his booty with others. This annoyed the Syed very much, and he began to think of some means of checking such things in future. S. Budh Singh also sent a letter of protest, in the course of which he remarked, "You who have come here after covering so great a distance and have initiated war and have worn the dress of martyrdom, ought to come out in the open field and fight. To make a night-attack on the poor people and Beopāries of Hazru is a per-

petual disgrace and infamy." In reply to this letter, the Syed explained his mission and said, "Some fight to conquer countries, some to display valour, and others to become martyrs. I fight only to carry out the order of God, the Overlord, in regard to helping and making Islam triumph. God bears witness that I have no other motive. Nothing selfish has ever crossed my brain."

Soon afterwards, he was elected Imām and his name was inserted in the Khutba on the 12th January, 1827. On the same day he addressed a general letter to Indian Muslims calling upon them, in his capacity of Imām, to help him in carrying out the Jehād against the Sikhs.

This assumption of the title of Imām by the Syed gave an opportunity to the hostile Maulvis to vent their rage. Numerous objections were raised both by Indian and Afghan Ulema to which the Syed and Shāh Ismā'il made replies in their letters. The latter even managed to find time, despite his occupation with the prosecution of Jihād, to write a book entitled *Maṣab-i-Imāmat*. The scope, the detail and the precision of this book make one wonder at the scholarship of Shāh Ismā'il, who managed to write this in a battlefield having no access to any library. As the *Republic* embodies Plato's view of an ideal State so his book expresses the views of a Muslim religious scholar about an ideal leader. It first of all deals exhaustively with the five chief characteristics of the Prophets: Wajāhat (Status), Walāyat (Sainthood), Bi'that (Ordainment), Hidāyat (Guidance) and Siyāsāt (Polity). In the course of this exposition, the writer specifies all the qualities, spiritual and moral, that leaders of the public, the successors to Prophets, must have. Then he mentions points of similarity between Prophets and Saints. He divides Imāmat into real and virtual and subdivides the former into three and the latter into several types. Here he critically examines the various forms of Government functioning in the world. The book as we have it is incomplete, and so we miss very much Shāh Ismā'il's presentation of the Syed's case.

How strongly he felt in this matter may be gathered from the following letter which he wrote to Mīr Shēr 'Alī. "The fact of the matter is that though making speeches and writing on such questions (Imāmat) is also a sort of Jihad, yet the people here and myself are engaged in a work in which speeches and writings have no place. We, as compared with the speakers and writers, are like those who are busy in prayer while the latter are only teaching people the necessity of offering prayer." Referring to the people who took exception to Imāmat, he writes, "They have left this important tenet (i.e. Jihād) of the powerful religion and are busy in doing obeisance to the arrogant wealthy people and in rubbing the anuses of women, the defective in religion. God be praised! Does Islam deserve that its chief tenet should be uprooted, and that the man who, in spite of his weaknesses and limitations, is fired with the ambition to serve Islam should be cursed? Verily these people are from among the Jews or the Sikhs or the Hindus and are hostile to the Muslims.

The tradition of Islam was that if anybody, by way of sport, invited to Jihād, the hearts of the Muslims bloomed like flowers. If such good news came from a far-off country, the Muslims madly ran away through forests and deserts, nay even flew like the falcon. Has Jihād, despite such grandeur, fallen so low that books on it are not taught, as if they are books treating of the monthly course of women and other irregular bleeding."¹

On the importunate request of the Sardars of Punjtar, the Syed visited that place. On his way, he gave a sermon at Daki where about two hundred Ulema recognised him as the Imām and swore allegiance to him. At Punjtar, he was even more successful. Here the Sardars not only recognised him as the Imām but also consented to run the administration of the Ilāqa in strict accordance with the Shari'at. He visited Mandur too, which also hailed him as the Imām.

Here we may examine the type of Shari'at rule which the Syed gave to Punjtar. According to the pledge, the people were bound to introduce the Shari'at law and to abandon the customs which were not Islamic. He appointed officials to give effect to the terms of the pledge. The duty of one Quṭb Dīn was to see that all people offered the compulsory daily prayers. Accompanied by thirty subordinates he moved about the territory and publicly punished all discards of prayers. Among other Afghan customs the one that all refugees must be given shelter and defended against their enemies, no matter how heinous their offences, particularly disgusted the Syed. In order to check the evil consequences of this custom "he sent, one day, parties of his followers to the places where such refugees were taking shelter. They were arrested and brought before the Syed. Some of them were imprisoned, others were flogged, while others were tied to the branches of big trees beside the highways. God be praised ! No chief of the said village came to the help of the refugees."² Such a rule, at its best, may be described as 'benevolent despotism,' but the blunder of not preparing the people intellectually before taking such drastic action was so grave that it was bound to produce grumblers, if not enemies.

Wherever he had a chance of a hearing, the Syed enforced his reforms and asked people to disown their un-Islamic customs and traditions. For instance, he took strong exception to the tribal custom of keeping girls waiting for marriage till the man who was prepared to pay a sufficiently high price became available. This resulted in the presence of many elderly maidens, who naturally proved harmful to the moral tone of the tribe. Widows also were not permitted to remarry. The Syed strongly condemned this custom and encouraged people to give it up. He seems to have acted in this matter on the mere strength of his own power and conviction, in complete disregard of human psychology.

1. *Sawāneḥ-i-Aḥmadi*, p. 212.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

J'afar Thanesri writes, "The Syed called a meeting and advised the people to stop selling their daughters. All of them promised to abandon this custom. Ahmad Khān, Ra'is of Hoti Mardan, who knew the object of this conference, did not attend it and went away to Peshawar where he joined the Durrani. The Syed organised a surprise attack on Hoti Mardan under Shāh Ismā'il in order to punish the Ra'is."¹ He met stiff resistance but still succeeded in occupying the place.

At this stage, W. W. Hunter writes, "The power of the Syed was now at its height. Elated with success and the sanctity of his declared mission the destruction of the infidel Sikhs, he assumed the title of the Khalifa and is believed to have struck coins in his name bearing the inscription :—

" 'Ahmad the just, Defender of the Faith, the glitter of whose sword scattereth destruction among infidels.' "²

In Peshawar, he introduced the Shari'at law. The effect was that all prostitutes, dancing-girls, and other such people wound up their business and departed. Shops of wine and other intoxicants were closed. Officials were appointed to see that people offered the compulsory daily prayers and acted in accordance with the Shari'at law. Under such a Government the Mullas were bound to wield far too great an influence. It is stated that Peshawar Mullas took exception to Raf' Yadain (raising of hands more than once in prayer) and Āmin bil Jahr (saying Amen aloud). Moreover, the population was entirely Muqallid Hanafi while most of these Indians were Ghair Muqallid. This gave a handle to the enemies of the Syed. The local Mullas looked askance at the reforms introduced in matters of religion, and were not prepared at any cost to entrust their future in the next world to Indian immigrants. Such people were easy tools and were used by the Syed's enemies against him. To crown all, it was rumoured that Indians were marrying Afghan girls forcibly.³

It is possible that the intermarriage of Indians and Afghans begun in right earnest for good, was later exploited by malcontents and pictured in such a manner as to arouse ill-feeling in the illiterate tribesmen.

The rest is a sorry tale. It tells how degenerate Muslims intrigued against the good-intentioned Syed, how he had to face three fronts at the same time—the Sikhs, the English, and the malcontent Pathans; and how his confidence proved premature. We shall narrate the final catastrophe at some length.

Disappointed with the people, the Syed decided upon migration.

1. *Sawāneḥ-i-Aḥmadi*, p. 126.

2. In fairness to the Syed, it may be added that "the followers of the Syed strenuously deny his assumption of the title of Khalifa and his new coinage." (Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, p. 100).

3. شاه ولی الله اور ان کی سیاسی تاریخ pp. 164 and 170.

Towards the end of December, 1830, he left Punjtar. On the 20th of January, 1831, he stayed at Raj Dawri in order to spend the winter there. The Sikhs continued to attack the Bhukar pass but each time they had to withdraw. As the weather improved, Shāh Ismā'il advanced and took possession of Balakot. Later, Balakot was placed under Sardar Habib Ullāh Khan. Another contingent under M. Khair Dīn captured Muzaffarabad. Prince Sher Singh who had gone to Peshawar now returned and prepared to fight against the Syed. Habib Ullāh Khān felt his position threatened and sought the Syed's help. The Syed came to Balakot in order to assist him, and encamped at an unfrequented place to which access could not be easily gained.

But all along he was harassed by the hostile Afghans. In a letter written on the 7th of April, 1831, the Syed bitterly complained that the people of the Summa still pursued him like hungry dogs and murdered all the stragglers of his army. Despite this, he was not dismayed, and expressed the hope that, God willing, he might come out victorious in the impending action of Balakot and thus all the territory on the side of Kashmir and the Jhelum would lie at his feet. But God willed otherwise!

"When Raja Sher Singh heard that the whole army of the Ghazis had arrived, he mustered all his forces, cannon and other weapons of war from different forts and places. He encamped at a distance of two miles from Balakot; the intervening territory was studded with such impassable hills that it was impossible for the Sikh army to cross them. The ancient kings had prepared a route in the past through the hills, but it had become so covered with trees and undergrowth that only a few people of Balakot knew about it. In consultation with the local inhabitants, the Syed posted a guard consisting of 70 men on this route. Another route, across a small bridge, led to Lahore. Here also was posted a guard consisting of some unreliable Punjabis and local men. Raja Sher Singh thought it impossible to attack Balakot and so he began to prepare to return to Lahore. In the meantime, some greedy Punjabi or Afghan member of the guard went over to Raja Sher Singh and gave him full information about the old route. He even brought some of the Raja's men with him and showed them the way. When Raja Sher Singh had got all the information he wanted, he prepared his army and made an unexpected night-attack on the guard posted at the small bridge. Mirza Ahmad Bēg, the Punjabi Commandant of the guard, offered resistance for some time, but after suffering heavy loss he retreated. A man was sent, as soon as the attack was made, to inform the Syed, but he conveyed the message at a time when the Sikhs had already occupied the entrance. Mirza Ahmad Bēg and his detachment went down from the hill. Soon after, Sikh soldiers spread on the Western part of the hill like a swarm of ants. A Jamadar and Arbāb Behrām Khan with small contingents were sent to the help of Mirza Ahmad Bēg in two different directions. But the Muslims were already too late. The Sikhs had now a

thousand routes by which they could descend from the hills; it was therefore impossible to stem the tide. So a large mosque in which the Syed was lodging was immediately fortified with large wooden planks, so that resistance might be offered from that base. The Sikhs began to descend from the hill. The Syed donned a fine dress and wore other ornaments? A small cannon was placed in the courtyard of the mosque. He began to fire it, did immense damage to the invaders, but could not check them. Mulla Lal Mohmmmed Qandhari was assigned the duty of attacking the main body of the enemy from a corner of the hill. Maulvi Muḥammad Ismā'il, along with the contingent of Maulvi Ahmad Ullāh Nagpuri, was posted in a spacious house facing the west, just below the above-mentioned mosque. The plan fixed upon was that when the hostile army crossed the fields and the mire and began to attack Balakot, it should be subjected to severe gun and cannon fire and then a hand to hand fight should commence. But soon after the Syed, left alone, began to hear mysterious voices, calling him to the battlefield. The Sikhs had not yet crossed the mire and seemed to be thinking of retiring from there, in view of the difficulties that the mire presented, when the Syed, along with his contingent, jumped from his mosque to a lower one in which another contingent was entrenched in order to check the enemy. Maulvi Muḥammad Ismā'il also left his post and came to the Syed along with his men in the lower mosque. Here the Syed told him that a mysterious voice was repeatedly calling him to the battlefield. The Syed at that time was in an angelic condition. His face had grown so ruddy that none could look at it for long.

"By reaching the bank of the mire, the Sikhs had come so near Balakot that their firing began to damage the lower mosque. The Muslims also made a befitting reply by firing. The Sikhs had the mire in front of them and were also subject to a rain of bullets of the Mujahids. They had therefore no option but to retreat. At this critical juncture, the Syed left the lower mosque too and reached the nearer bank of the mire. Now only the mire and some fields separated the two armies. Maulvi Muḥammad Ismā'il then ordered that all musketeers should join the Syed and act as a body-guard. At the bank of the mire, the Syed sat down, reclining against a large stone. When the Sikhs saw all this, they gave up the idea of retreat and intensified their firing. The Syed then ordered Shaikh Wali Muḥammad Phailti to fetch the light cannon from the higher mosque. Arbāb Behrām Khān, a Ra'is of Peshawar and a devout follower of the Syed, was sitting on his left. At this time, a man told the Syed that the number of the Qandharis who were attacking the main body of the enemy was very small and should be increased in view of the great enemy pressure. But the Syed remarked that the number was sufficient and did not require any addition. At that time, one Ghāzi wanted to cross the mire and engage in a hand-to-hand fight with the enemy, but the Syed stopped him from doing so and therefore he had to come out

of the mire. After some time the Syed said to Arbāb Behrām Khān, "I feel intense desire to make an attack on the Kafirs who have descended from the hills and are on the other side of the mire, and tear them to pieces." Arbāb Behrām Khān replied, 'It is not difficult to tear those people to pieces, but in doing so we will be exposed to the firing of the enemy from the top of the hills. The hill routes are narrow and difficult to pass; it is therefore hard or rather impossible to attack the enemy.'" A few moments later, the Syed shouted 'Bismillāh, Allāh-o-Akbar,' and jumped into the mire without informing anybody beforehand. The mire was deep and difficult to cross but the Syed, by virtue of his physical and spiritual powers, crossed it in a trice. The enemies fled before him like a flock of sheep. All the men in his bodyguard also jumped into the mire and crossed it with great difficulty. In this act of crossing, the guns of most of the Mujāhids were wetted and thus became useless. Thousands of the enemy were killed. In this action, the Mujāhids were throughout subjected to the fire of about 10,000 guns. Beating the enemy, the Mujāhids reached the foot of the hill, which was difficult to climb. Their guns had become so useless that they could not make any reply to the enemy firing from over the hill. Here the Syed unexpectedly disappeared from the midst of the Mujāhids. This incident occurred on the 24th Zilqā'd 1246 (8th May, 1831)."¹ This is the description of the battle as given by Maulvi Ja'far 'Āli Naqvi, who was one of the participants in it. Then disappearance of the Syed broke the hearts of the Mujāhids, who were soon overpowered.

This calamity brought the Muslims face to face with a situation which it was far beyond their power to control. The Sikhs had now got their chance, and those tyrannical acts were perpetrated which made the name of Hari Singh Nalwa a terror to the tribal Afghans. The sufferings of the Indian Muslims were no less. They were like sparrows facing a hawk. Their Sathiana camp carried on Jihād against the Sikhs and their successors, the British, but nothing tangible was achieved. Whenever these Mujāhids, for so they called themselves, gained in power, they raided the British territory. The British repulsed them each time, inflicting and occasionally suffering heavy losses. Strong measures were adopted to cut off the help that was sent to the camp from India. The East India Co.'s Government at last succeeded in its attempts and discovered the agents of the camp. These people were tried as conspirators and awarded various punishments. This brought to an end the whole system that Syed Ahmad had devised.

ASLAM SIDDIQI.

1. *Sawāneḥ-i-Aḥmadi*.

KITAB-I-NAURAS

IN the history of a country there are always some epoch-making periods. During these periods the development of all sorts of arts and sciences reaches the pinnacle of the country's achievements ; and the contribution thus made to the store of knowledge is commemorated by successive generations through the ages. For India, the period of glory, or rather the Golden Age, was provided during the Mauryan and the Gupta rule in the ancient periods. During the mediæval period, however, especially the 16th century and a part of the 17th, India, like Europe at the same time, was passing through a glorious stage which has left a great heritage for posterity. The Mughal Empire, and especially the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan, provided the requisite encouragement for the fusion of Hindu-Muslim culture and the result was a renaissance in art and literature. The excellent specimens of these that have come down to us present a vivid and pleasant picture of the social and religious structure of the time. The Muslim rulers of the Deccan, though they were the pioneers in this direction, have not hitherto been appreciated by historians as much as the Mughal Emperors. Take, for instance, the Kingdom of Bijapur. We find that there was nothing in the Mughal Empire that the 'Ādil Shāhi Sultans had not achieved. Art and architecture, education and literature, religious toleration and social structure, and many other things had already reached perfection in the Deccan before the great Mughals introduced these features in the North. The Marathas were to the 'Ādil Shāhi Sultanate what the Rajputs were to the Mughal Empire. Their loyal support went a great way towards consolidating their kingdom. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's marriage with a Marātha lady was perhaps based on the same principle of gaining sympathy and love through matrimonial relations as was recognized by Akbar in later years. Hindus had a considerable share in the administration and wielded a great influence in society. Hindu manners and customs and other items of Hindu culture were adopted by the rulers as well as their Muslim brethren. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, though a staunch Sunni, gave preferential treatment to the local Hindus over the Pardesi Muslims. 'Ādil Shāh I had a regard for Hindu ascetics. Sadhus of the Natha School also seem to have had considerable influence at the 'Ādil Shāhi court.

Ibrāhīm II, the author of the book which forms the subject of this paper, was criticised by the Orthodox Muslims for his devotion to the Hindu gods and goddesses, the chief among them being Ganapati, the god of wisdom and intellect, and Saraswati, the goddess of learning and knowledge, in whose praise we find him singing in *Nauras*. His adoption of the title of the spiritual head of the Hindus, viz. "Jagatguru," the world preceptor, and "Abalabali," the protector of the weak, as well as his knowledge of Hindu mythology and religious beliefs speak volumes about the cultural influence on the Sultān. He can be very favourably compared with the Mughal Emperor Akbar who propagated the Divine Faith. It was this influence that brought about the general tolerance and enthusiasm in the production of artistic and literary works of common interest. Paintings and buildings, manners and customs, ornaments and costumes, language and literature all ran in harmony with each other and make a special appeal to the student of history and culture.

Like the Mughal court, the court of the 'Ādil Shāhi Sultāns was a centre of the masters and admirers of art and literature. Artists, musicians and poets of eminent position and universal reputation were patronised by the rulers. The renowned historian Farishta and the enlightened popular Persian poet Zuhūri were among the gems of the court of Ibrāhīm II. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh and his son Ismā'il, besides patronising the artists and poets, were themselves good poets. Ibrāhīm II excelled both of them inasmuch as he combined in himself the qualities of a painter, a poet, and a musician. His love for music was very well known. Asad Beg, Akbar's envoy to Bijapur, found him wrapt in music. Under his patronage music had greatly advanced. Calligraphy was also considered an accomplishment and evoked Royal appreciation.

Like his predecessors Yūsuf and Ismā'il, Ibrāhīm Shāh also wrote poems in Dakhani. His *nom-de-plume* was "Ibrāhīm." Farishta, the famous historian of his court, tells us that he wrote many Qasidas and Ghazals, but none of these have yet come to light. His book *Nauras* has been noticed by several scholars, and the following is an attempt to deal with it in some detail.

The book is a rare one. Only five copies of it have so far been traced. Besides the one in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, (the existence of which is being announced today), there are four more, all in the city of Hyderabad-Deccan, contained in the following collections:— (1) The Local State Museum; (2) the Collection of Nawab Sir Salar Jung Bahadur; (3) with Mr. Khurshid Ali in the Library of Daftar-i-Diwani-wa-Mal; and (4) the Library of Prof. Haidar Hasan, Nizam College.

THE DATE OF NAURAS

As there are only a few manuscripts of this work and unfortunately none of them reveals the date of the book, it is difficult to assign a par-

ticular date to it. Mr. Naṣīruddin Hashimi puts the compilation between 990 and 1015 Hijri. He is, however, of opinion that this work might have been completed in 1005. I have examined only two copies, viz., the one in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and the other in the collection of Nawab Sir Salar Jung Bahadur, a well-known art connoisseur of Hyderabad State. The Bombay Museum copy bears a seal with a fragmentary remnant of date which may be 1011. Sir Salar Jung's copy is, however, a perfect thing and bears two dates; one on the title-page and the other at the end, which Mr. Hāshimi has perhaps overlooked. These dates are 1037 and 990 respectively. The latter is given just below the name of the calligraphist 'Abdur Rashid at the end. So that is evidently the year in which this copy was prepared from the original, which was perhaps in the Sultān's own hand. The former date, 1037, coincides with the year of his death, when the manuscript is recorded to have been removed from the king's private collection to the public library of the State. Thus it is clear that, among the known copies, Sir Salar Jung's copy is the earliest, and the others were made later. The fact that there are more songs in other manuscripts is suggestive of the continuance of the king's activity in composing poems, which were subsequently incorporated in later copies. Mr. Hāshimi notes that there are 50 couplets more in Mr. Khurshid 'Alī's copy than in the Hyderabad Museum copy. This would assign the latter, i.e., the Museum copy, to a date earlier than the former one. The manuscript in the Prince of Wales Museum bears a fragmentary date. The existence of the Royal seal and the Naskh calligraphy, etc., of the illuminated manuscript are indicative of its contemporaneous nature.

THE NAME OF THE BOOK

THE name of the book is *Kitāb-i-Nauras*—*Taṣnif-i-Jagatguru*, the book *Nauras* being the work of the World Preceptor, i.e., the king Ibrāhīm Ā'dil Shāh II himself. It is well known that Ṣuhūrī, the famous Persian poet of his court, wrote a preface to this book. The famous masterpieces of rich and ornate Persian prose composed by the poet Ṣuhūrī are studied by all students of Persian literature under the name of *Seh-Nathr-i-Ṣuhūrī*, i.e., the three prose compositions. All these three are erroneously supposed to have been written as a preface to this one book *Nauras*. As a matter of fact, they are three different compositions, meant, in all probability, to stand as prefaces for three different works of the monarch. These are, *Nauras*, *Gulzār Ibrāhīmī*, and *Khān-i-Khalīl*. The first of these books (i.e., *Nauras*) is discussed here, while the other two still await discovery. In his beautiful language full of alliteration, simile and metaphors in praise of Ibrāhīm's accomplishments, Ṣuhūrī assigns reasons for naming the work as such. Let us read his own words:—

وجه تسمیه این کتاب آنکه هندیان نه شجرهٔ مجتمع را نورس میگویند و پارسیان اگر نورس

نہال فضل و دالیش دانند نجاست و باین معنی کہ این شاہد ہے غیب از پردہ غیب بجاہد کہ ظہور نو
رسیدہ نورس خوانند ہم روایت - مصرع : فیاس سسمی ازین اسم گیر .

Thus it can be seen that the author's intention, as interpreted by his own poet-laureate, was to introduce among the Muslims or Persian-knowing readers the traits of the nine Rasas known in Indian literature. Playing the words he again, justifies the name, saying that as this particular phase is a "New Arrival" it would be quite in the fitness of things if we called it "Nau-Ras."

Rasa literally means the sap or juice or essence of anything. In Sanskrit literature and allied Indian vernaculars this word is technically used in poetics for the particular taste or character of a work. A particular feeling or sentiment prevailing in a piece of poetry (or even prose) is called Rasa of a particular kind in Sanskrit poetics. They vary from eight to ten according to different theories. The common opinion, however, is in favour of nine. It is this phase of literature that the author must have had in view. The nine Rasas commonly recognised are :--

1. SHRINGARA .. The Rasa predominating the sentiment of Love or Romance.
2. VIRA .. Heroism.
3. BIBHATSA .. Disgust or obscenity.
4. RUDRA .. Anger or Fury.
5. BHAYANAKA .. Terror.
6. HASYA .. Mirth or Humour.
7. KARUNA .. Pity or Pathos.
8. ADBHUTA .. Wonder or Amazement.
9. SHANTA .. Tranquillity or Contentment.

The human mind is nothing but an asylum of these sentiments, and one or another of these becomes predominant under different circumstances. A poet takes advantage of this weak point and tries to arouse any sentiment he likes by his mastery over words. The same is true of music. The musician can draw his audience into any channel of the above sentiments or Rasas.

It is therefore clear that Ibrāhīm had the nine Rasas of Indian literature in view and thought that anything that is an admixture of various styles or tastes and has diverse effects on human minds can be called *Nauras*. Because of his fondness for this word he named a number of things after *Nauras*. At a distance of about 4 miles from Bijapur he laid out a city and called it "Nauraspur." The Royal palace was called "Nauras Maḥal." The Royal banner and the Royal seal also bore the name "Nauras." It is said that even coins with this word were stamped.

From the above discussion the viewpoint of the author becomes quite clear. His was meant to be an assorted collection of songs arousing various sentiments.

CONTENTS OF NAURAS

HAVING understood the meaning underlying the name, let us now proceed to look into the contents of the work. Those who have mentioned the existence of this book have noted various subjects. Some have said that it is an explanation in Persian or Urdu of the nine Rasas of Indian literature. Others have said that it is a book of songs of Dhrupad. A few have again introduced it to their readers as a treatise on music. All of them have no doubt connected the subject-matter with music, but none has so far been able to dive deep into the contents and come to the correct conclusion. As a matter of fact, none has tried to interpret the pieces in this book of songs, though a few lines are cited by Mr. Hashimi in his book *Dakhan mēn Ūrdu*, by way of illustration of the language and style of this book.

After a study of the manuscript in the Bombay Museum and the pieces taken down from Sir Salar Jung's copy of the manuscript, it can safely be said that the book *Nauras* is a collection of stray songs composed by the king Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II from time to time, and that the songs were meant to be sung in different tunes or Ragas of Indian music. All the pieces are independent of each other. There is nothing like a continuous narrative on any particular subject. All the same they present a vivid picture of the author's command over the language and literature of his subjects, his religious tolerance and faith, and also give a glimpse of his private life.

THE STYLE AND ARRANGEMENT

BEFORE we pass on to an examination of the contents of *Nauras*, it may be noted that the songs in this book are based on the north Indian or the Hindustani school of music, and not on the South Indian or the Karnatak school. Every song is generally divided into four stages in keeping with the above school. The whole song is called a Geet. At the beginning of each Geet the particular Raga or tune in which it is intended to be sung is mentioned, and the word *Nauras* added to it. For instance, a song in Kedara, Kanada or Malhar Raga would bear a heading such as *dar-Muqām-i-Kedāra*, *dar-Muqām-i-Kanada*, or *dar-Muqām-i-Malhar*, etc. A song is again subdivided into Geet, Bain or Antra, Sanchari and Abhoga, which correspond to the four scientific stages through which every song has to pass. The musician starts with Sthāyī, in which he tries to adjust the words of the song to the scientific measures of a particular tune or Raga in which it is intended to be sung. In this stage he adheres strictly to the prescribed measures of the seven Svaras. The next stage is Bain or Antra, wherein the musician tries to proceed a step further and plays upon the words of the song. When he reaches the third stage of Dohra, he tries to convey the feelings contained in the

subject-matter of the song and by his skill in tunes creates a harmonizing atmosphere. In the fourth and last stage, Abhoga, the tunes and words of the song along with the scientific ebbs and tides are taken as a whole, and the music reaches its climax according to the knowledge, practice, skill and vigour of the musician. All these four stages are marked in almost every song of *Nauras*. It would be a real pleasure to hear *Nauras* sung in accordance with the original intentions of the author, who must himself, as an expert musician, have realized what he was doing. It will, however, be sufficient for our present purpose to understand the literary merit of the work. Let us, therefore, pass on to the manuscript and cursorily glance at the lines of the various songs composed by the Sultān.

The Bombay Museum manuscript is of the crown 1/16 size measuring about 4"×6". It is written in beautiful Persian Naskh characters in shining black ink. The head-lines are in gold. The marginal lines are in five colours, gold, green, red, white and blue. The ink, paper and calligraphy all point its contemporaneous nature. The title-page bears a fragmentary Royal seal and two lines giving the number of songs and Dohras. These lines read :—

درین کتاب را گیت ہندی گیت پنجہ و چہار دو ہرہ

The first page opens with the head-line *Kitāb-i-Nauras*, Taṣnīf-i-Jagatgurū. The first song, intended to be sung in Hajiz, begins with reverence to Ganapati, the god of wisdom and intellect. The lines run as follows :—

نورس گاؤ گیت گنی جن گن گج پی جم جم جیو آتش خان سداسست دتی

In Sir Salar Jung's copy, the opening lines acknowledge the blessings of Sarasvati, the goddess of knowledge. The author seems to have had great faith in Ganapati and Saraswati. There is a reference to these Hindu deities in several songs.

آتم بھاگ نیکو سو سوھے جا پر سرستی ہولے پرسن
ابراہیم سنسار چاہے ودیا شبد کر شیوا جب کر ایک من

In another poem he describes the goddess Saraswati.

سرستی سو چہ سندری مہا اوتنم جات نرمل
ایک ہمت بستک دوجے پانی سمرن
تیجے سہ شکر (؟) چوتھے کر کمل

Song No. 34 of the Bombay copy is the same as the opening verse of Sir Salar Jung's manuscript, which reads :—

نورس سورج گجک جیو آن سرو گنی پون سرستی ماتا ابراہیم پرشادہٹی دونی
شاردا گنیش ماتا پتا تم مانو نرمل سپت پھٹک شیشی تاس
ابراہیم کبت کھے سو آپ نواز پرکٹ کینھو دھن میرو راس

We also find him describing Bhairava as under :—

- بھیرو کر پور گورا بہاں تلک چندرا تری نیترا جٹا مکٹ گنگا دھرا
ایک تھت رنگ نرا ترشول جگل کرا باہن بلیوردسیت جات گنہائی ایشورا

There are a number of poems wherein his knowledge of Hindu mythology, astrology and religious beliefs is also displayed, and in such pieces we also find him using high-flown Sanskrit words and phrases such as :—

- یا چندر چندنا راس موتی یا اندر اندو چندنا ایراوت ہتی
یا ودیا ودھو چندن جل بہا گرتی با کیانی چندر چندنا منڈل و بہوتی
یاودن چھائی جیو چندنا آرسی جوتی یون کوت آکھیں ابراہیم سنسار کل پتی
مکھ گورا بھٹک تلک چھائی ادھر تلک اکشتا منڈل سمد ر مدھیر میرو پروتا
یون آپاں موسن لاگی نش پتی لچھن دھرتا

All the same we find him singing in praise of the Prophet of Islam and the saint Syed Muḥammad Gēsūdārāz with all the faith and zeal of a true Muslim. Let us quote a few lines to illustrate this in his own words :

- سید محمد میرے دل پر نالو جیون رسول کر مکھے عرش ٹھالو
گمٹ دسے جیون خرد مدینہ کٹے غلیف کر موتیوں چونا
صفت کیا کروں تیرا سو جیہ ہووے تو تھورا
جیون نارے چاند کو جیہں اجیت نکلیا سب چھیں
تییوں سب پر غالب سیہ محمد اپیں
حسن تمہارا یوں بھرے دائم سراسن دیکھی بھرے
چاند سو لاجوں جھرے
تر لوک جیت تو نام پاویں پران کے پران
اچرت سہا بیرا بلا بلی توہی سانچو اتار

Here is a couplet in which the poet sings in praise of the tomb of Syed Muḥammad Gēsūdārāz and says that Syed Muḥammad is a pearl in the grave that is like mother of pearl ; the entire sea is the cover for his grave and the sky is a dome over it with the celestial stars as the shining pinnacles, Kalash, etc. " The heavens afford a gate for thy tomb and the angels serve as attendants. The smoke of incense ever travels beyond this world. So says Ibrāhīm, that your abode is a great place." Thus he maintains the metaphor throughout the song.

در مقام پورب نورس

مخدوم سید محمد گیسو دراز عاشق شہباز سر فراز

تمہاری قبر سی پی سید محمد اچھے موقی اوپر غلیف دریا آسمان گمئی
 دیری تارے کاشن قدرق
 ابھوگ

عود کا دھنوا بھرے ہر دو جہان پارا مقام ابراہیم تمہارا بھارا

As a matter of fact, Ibrāhīm was beyond any religious bias or prejudice, and treated all religions alike. He believed that various religions preach the same thing and that all men worship the same God, whether they be Brahmins or Turks, i.e., Muslims.

آتا ہی دعاری نجن تر جگ گنہائی تر او چن
 بھاشا نیاری نیاری بھاؤ ایک کیا تر ت کیا بر عمن
 اوتہ بھاؤ نیکو سوسوے جاسرستی ہووے پرسن
 ابراہیم سنسار چاہے ودیا شبد در سیوا جب در ایک سن

CONCEPTIONS OF RAGAS AND RAGINIS

THERE are certain paintings which portray the six main Ragas and their Raginis, wherein various scenes are depicted. It is perhaps thought that a favourable impression will be made on the mind of a musician if he has before him the respective conceptions of the different Ragas and Raginis while he is singing in a particular Raga or Ragini. We cannot say how far this is true. But there is literature about this in Sanskrit books on music which is also copied in Hindi and Persian prose as well as poetry. In different sets of these Ragas and Raginis called "Raga Mala" we find these conceptions written down on the picture. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh has also given pen-pictures of a few Ragas and Raginis in this book in his own way.

Raga—Bhairava.—This Raga is portrayed as the one resembling Shiva, and is described as such in the following lines as having a camphor-like fair complexion with the crescent on the forehead, three eyes, and Jata-Mukuta with the Ganges in it. The trident and other emblems of Shiva and the vehicle bull also come into the picture.

Here are the lines :—

بھیرو کر اور گورا بھال تلک چندرا	تری نیتر جتا مکٹ گنگا دھرا
ایک تہست رند ترا ترشول جگل کرا	باہن بی وردسیت جات گسائیں ایشورا
کس کرت کنجرا یوست چرم ویا گھرا	سرپ سنگار تس تن پر چھائی کلپترا
رمنی وادن مردنگ دھام کیلاش تدہرا	ابراہیم آکت لچھن راگ بھیر و سہا اوتہ سندرا

Raga' Malhar.—He describes the picture of Raga Malhar in the following lines :—

اپان سندری سوے شدہ سدا برسات بجلیاں جھمکیں جگا جوت سوں سیتے دانت
کشوت رنگ رنگ دیسے بادلان چھائے بر سے میگو سکھد جل
سب تن کشیش روکھ پرکار تسرس جانی رت آئی بہار
گرچے سو تو کہے راگ ملار ابراہیم مور ریچھ ناچے ہکار

Asavari.—The Ragini Asavari is pictured as a charming lady in these lines :—

آشاوری ستری گوری چند سار رکت پتا سر کنجکی پیلی پیلے سروسینگار
جیتی جیتی نہیں بولتا پی جوبن پھانسیہ دار اینحت بستر نہ کر دھر نار

Kalyani.—Ragini Kalyani is described by the author of *Nauras* in his own way in these verses :—

کالیانی رمی پیور کچانودری مرگ نینی مہاتنوی شیاماکیش بدن ہمکر
کانٹا کمر بستی بالی لجادر درشا پتی روماولی نیل کنجکی وچتر وستر

Gouri Ragini.—Gouri Ragini is described as a Brahmin lady with charming eyes :—

جات برہمی انکھیاں ٹامی انجن جانوا نین دیتی
پلکان پتا مہر باندھ لیتی انجھو جل جہاگ کیتی
جب کردر شٹ ایش پاروق

Kanada.—The picture of Ragini Karnati of Raga Kanada is described as under :—

کرنائی گوری مانو کیتی بیج سیت پتر
ساڑی نیلی کنجکی پیلی کمد کر کمل نیتر
کونل کوکی کریرا کرت بنتی تھولی کیترا
ابراہیم منالے برہی کہتے رے اب آئی لال کچھندرا

wherein the poet portrays local beauty and the costumes of his time.

Ramkali.—Ramkali Ragini has extracted the following romantic description from Ibrāhīm's pen :—

رام کری بنا آیو سینج سنگرام چت چایو چونپ چلی چنچل چپلا
سکھیاں سنگت سندری ہست کھلت چہار پریم انوکھی تھکلا
مکتا بھوشن بھوشنا شویت رکتا منو چند چھپلا
ابراہیم رام کلی راگنی کستوری سیام لوکیش کیسے دھملا

A FEW EXAMPLES OF THE ORNATE LANGUAGE

READERS will find a rare and perfect simile in the following lines, where the author compares the eyes to a letter, conveying the message of the mind. At the same time, the lines reveal the mediæval way of despatching letters.

کاغذ سیت نرمل زین اکھر خط کیڑے کاجر
بیچ سکھ تار کا پلگھان لکھوٹی لیچی تاہر

In separation.—*Nauras* has a number of lines wherein the pains, pleasures and miracles of separation are described by the poet ; in these passages original similes, metaphors and hyperboles can be noticed. We note a few lines below :—

میرا دل ڈھونڈوں دل سوں انکھیاں بیتر ری
اس پلکھان کی پردی میں آچھی ری
مجھ کن عذاب نا چھوڑی ری
جیوں چھپیا تھا خضر ظلمات میں ری
میرا من سکندر ہوا ڈھونڈ لے ری

“ My mind is searching in the eyes the lover who has hidden himself behind the thin curtain of the eyelashes, and alas ! for what sin of mine have you quitted me ?

“But still, just as Khizr hid himself in the dark and Alexander went out in search of him, my mind is out to play the role of Alexander now.”

Here is a metaphor in the attribution of physical weakness to sexual lust due to constant exhaustion of the blood and flesh like the wine filled in the bottle of the body and roasted meat (physical flesh), in the enjoyment of which the passionate indulges.

شریر شیشہ نرمل پور رکت دانتہ شراب
مدن سدا مست متوالا بھوجن دل کباب

In the following lines the author advises the breeze to refrain from entering the house of those who are spitting fire because of the burning heat of separation. For, he says, I am not afraid of my being affected, but my apprehension is that the fire will spread throughout the whole

world and burn it down.

ارے ہون نہ جا آن پرچن برہی کے تئیں اگن پھاگ
ہوں جلوں کچھوڈر نہیں مجھہ ڈر جگ جل جائے اس آگ

The author tries to explain why, in spite of the heart's breaking into pieces in separation, the sufferer does not die. It is because of the memory of the beloved that picks up and brings the pieces together. Though the lover would rather die than suffer the pangs of separation, it is very difficult to die, for the very thought of the beloved serves the purpose of nectar and keeps the lover alive in spite of the breaking of his heart. Here are the lines in his own words :—

اس فراقوں ہو ٹکڑے ٹکڑے دلا سمرن کٹئے سب لے چن چن ملا
تیرا دھیان امرت آب مرنا مشکلا

REFERENCES TO PERSONALITIES

We find a few references to certain personalities also. For instance, there are a few lines wherein he expresses his respect for his aunt Chānd Bibī, called Malika-i-Jahān, who not only wielded a great influence in the palace but also guided the administration of the State. She was also the Queen Regent for some time. Ibrāhīm regarded her as his mother. Here is his appreciation :—

دلہن بیٹی چاند سلطانہ ملکہ جہاں اوتم سندر ناری ایسی مھے بھی کہیاں
روم روم چاتر سمپورن آتا دوں ساریاں لاج تھکیاں ناریاں ایسی تو درت سوں
امرت وچن بدھونٹ نرمل سن ایک چند ایک پھانو
ابراہیم ریچھیا لوچن بگ کر جل میں آنو

Here is another song meant to be sung in Ragini Todi in *Nauras*, wherein Ibrāhīm again appreciates the charming personality of Chānd Bibi with literary exaggeration and expresses a wish that she may live long to bless her son (i.e., himself). This would put the date of the composition of this poem at least, if not of the whole of *Kitāb-i-Nauras*, much earlier. In this poem he makes Chānd Bibi excel in beauty to such an extent that the heavenly Chānd, i.e., the Moon, is nothing before her, for it has spots on its face, while the Hauris and Fairies could not stand before her glorious personality, and that is why the former are hidden in the heavens and the latter penetrated into the Patāl, i.e., the world below. The song runs :—

در مقام توڑی نورس
سوم بیچ نور اوتم اپا یا کر تار کلنک جھوٹ جہاں کھار تہاں اندھکار

بھور * اس نور صورت سنواریا جہاں حوراں پریاں چھپیاں دوؤ اکاش کوؤ پاتال
 ابراہیم سب سندی دیکھیا یولچہن ھے کہان جان چاند سلطان نالو بیبی ملکہ جہان

We can also note the difference in the language of this piece, which is simple Dakhani wherein the high-flown Sanskrit words are totally absent.

Ātish Khān.—I have not been able to trace the identity of one Ātish Khān referred to in some of the verses of *Nauras*. We have seen a reference to this name in the first verse where, while praying to Ganapati, the poet wishes Ātish Khān to live for ages in perfect health and with the physique of an elephant.

جم جم جیو آتش خان سداست ہتی

Here is another reference to Ātish Khān in which he is emitting fire because of the burning of separation. What a misfortune !

آتش خان کی برہی کیسی برے آگ

آخرت سمگل بھی کون کنشٹ دیرے بھاگ

Here is another reference which eulogises Ātish Khān beyond conception. All expert paintings and words are found wanting. Even the gods sing his praises.

سور سراهیت سراون ست سارے سرائیں آتش خان

چٹارے چتر چھوڑیں بھات بھولیں بکھان

سب دیکھوں تھک رھے ابراہیم بیج حیران

Moti Khan.—Moti Khan was evidently a favourite musician of the author's court and was an expert in playing the Rabab or guitar and tambourine. In *Nauras* there are some references to him. Here is one that reveals his identity :—

جہن جہن مونی خان کی تانت گاجے

یوں تو تال مردنگ بھید سون نورس باجے

THE AUTHOR'S PERSONAL FAITH

"FORTUNATE is the man whom Saraswati, the goddess of learning or the muse, blesses." Ibrāhīm says that he is simply anxious to do some service to literature.

اوتم بھاگ نیکو سوسوھے جا سرستی ہوئے پرسن

ابراہیم سنسار چاھے ودیا شبد کرسیواچپ کرایکسمن

Ibrāhīm's fondness for the tambourine and for the fair sex is shown in the following lines :—

اس جگ میں دو کچھ لیجے ایک تنبور ایک کامی کیجے
ابراہیم جب تو بو جھے بہشت امرت کیا کروں مجھے

Here he says that there are only two things most pleasant in the world ; one is a tambourine and the other is a damsel. If you ask Ibrāhīm about the pleasure and happiness involved in these, I would, says he, if these are available, have nothing to do with Nectar of Paradise. Taking his ability to play on the tambourine as a great achievement, he considered it a boon bestowed upon himself, in the following lines :—

موودیا ادھک کر پا کی پروردگار گن ابراہیم تنبور کار

Ibrāhīm's view about superstitious beliefs can be judged from the following lines while we must also appreciate the literary beauty of the poem.

ڈریت درگ دار آوت یو تیری ہر تھم بھٹ رھئے سب پیا پرگا کر
اساس سمیٹ جائے چاھت یونہ چھنک بھئی دھئے میرا بھاگ اجاگر
شکن اور اوسکن نیکیے پرچت جابت تم سکل بدھ کو ساگر
ابراہیم آکھین آشر واد چر نجیو پر ان دیو نیو چھاو

CONCLUSION

THE literary and historical merits of this little book can better be realised if it is studied with greater care and concentration. Much useful material can be culled out of it. It is therefore very necessary to study all available copies of this rare manuscript with a view to bringing together the entire collection of poems composed by the enlightened monarch of Bijapur in different musical tunes. We have here merely attempted to bring the work to the notice of orientalist.

Let us, therefore, look forward to a more detailed and critical study of this work. It is worth while considering the publication, after careful edition, of all the known copies of this wonderful and interesting little book—*Kitāb-i-Nauras*.

B. G. GAYANI.

THE CONCEPTION OF MAN IN ISLAM

THE Islamic conception of Man is primarily the Qur'anic conception of man and the essence of this conception is that 'Man is God's vicegerent on earth.' It is therefore necessary for us to address ourselves to the implications of this phrase. Even a cursory reading of the Qur'ān forces one's attention to the broad features of this conception, which are, as Iqbal² has already pointed out :--

(i) 'That Man is the chosen of God.' "Then his Lord chose him, and relented toward him and guided him" (XX-122).³

(ii) 'That Man with all his faults is meant to be God's representative on earth.' "And when thy Lord said unto the angels : Lo ! I am about to place a viceroy on the earth, they said : Wilt Thou place therein one who will do harm therein and will shed blood, while we, we hymn Thy praise and sanctify Thee ? He said : Surely I know that which ye know not." (11-31).

(iii) 'That Man is the trustee of a free personality which he accepted at his peril' : "Lo ! We offered 'the trust' unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And Man assumed it. Lo ! he hath proved a tyrant and a fool." (XXXIII-72).

To these should be added :

(iv) That God equipped Adam with knowledge of Names, which knowledge not only made him superior in that respect to the angels but also fitted him later on for his sojourn on earth : "And He taught Adam all the Names, then showed them to the angels, saying : Inform Me of the names of these, if ye are truthful" (11-31).

(v) That Adam after his initial act of disobedience received words of revelation from his Lord and a promise that he and his progeny would continue to receive divine guidance from time to time in their sojourn on earth, and that obedience to such guidance would qualify them for salvation : "Then Adam received from his Lord words (of

1. Iqbal : *Reconstruction*, Chap. IV.

2. All citations from the Qur'ān are from Pickthall's translation.

revelation) and He relented toward him. Lo! He is the Relenting, the Merciful. We said: Go down, all of you, from hence; but verily there cometh unto you from Me a guidance; and whoso followeth My guidance, there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they grieve." (II-37-38).

Now the study of the Qur'ānic account of Adam's advent on earth makes one thing clear. This advent is *not a Fall*, as it appears to be in the Biblical account, for instance. Adam's initial act of disobedience is not accounted a sin in the eyes of God; it is described as a going 'astray' at Satan's instigation, who 'whispered' to Adam: 'Shall I show thee the tree of immortality and power that wasteth not away?' (XX-120). 'The Garden' in which Adam and his wife lived was obviously the garden of innocence. It was not Paradise. Satan's whispered incitement to them to taste of that forbidden tree which led to the twain's eating thereof in hopes of 'immortality and power that wasteth not away' put an end to that state of innocence and opened up for them a life of *toil* from which they had so far been secure. Knowledge of this tree made the twain shame-conscious and there could be no return after that to their former state of innocence. The hope of 'immortality and power' served in Adam's bosom as both incentive and ideal. Satan was a true deluder. The hope he kindled in Adam's bosom was not entirely false; it had that medium of truth without which no falsehood can be swallowed by anybody. Fired by this hope the twain exercised their free choice in an act which did not give them the 'immortality and power' with the idea of which Satan had deluded them but which certainly extended their existence beyond their individual selves and ensured for them a sort of vicarious immortality and power in the form of the continuity of the human race.

I think we can say that even the initial act of disobedience was not really one of disobedience but only of heedlessness, of lack 'of constancy,' and was, therefore, not accounted a sin in the eyes of God. It was only a 'going astray' which, however, entailed a definite break with the former state of innocence and a life of ceaseless toil for the twain and their progeny. It is worth noting here that it was only after the perpetration of this 'act' of heedlessness that the progeny came in formation. In the Garden (of innocence) there was no progeny. The trustee of the free personality had been warned by his Creator of the consequence of heeding the advice of his enemy, who wanted in this way to justify his own act of disobedience. Adam accepted that advice and by his own free choice forced himself into a life of toil. God, Who in His foreknowledge knew what the choice would be, also knew in His infinite wisdom the stupendous implications of that choice. So "He relented towards him. Lo! He is the Relenting, the Merciful;" and gave him words of revelation to lighten his burden and to light his way.

Consider a father, rich in years and wealth and wisdom, and a young son, pure of spirit and of nature, but eager for adventure. There is for

him a life of peace and comfort, of profit unearned and of ease not the result of his own efforts. Can such a life contain him? He spurns it for, a life of toil and adventure abroad. The father pities him for the suffering which he is now going to impose on himself, but he also respects him for his choice, for he knows that if the youth succeeds in working his way up in his freely chosen mode of life, he will prove himself to be the true successor of his father. Can he let the youth depart without giving the benefit of his own experience and wisdom?

So God relented towards Adam and chose him for his representative on earth. He received from his Lord words of revelation to equip him for his high office. But as the journey was to be long and arduous and generation was to succeed generation, guidance in the future was also promised and the warning given that only those would find a good journey's end who followed that guidance. Life on earth was to be one of ceaseless toil, no doubt, but the goal justified and explained the toil. The chosen representative of his Master had to strive to be worthy of him. (Hence the Prophet's advice: 'Create in yourselves the attributes of God').

We must be content here with this brief account of Adam's advent on earth. There is no trace in it of any doctrine of 'original sin' to poison man's life at its root. There is, however, the burden of hereditary begotten of Man's original choice of a life of toil without which the fruit of 'immortality and power' must for ever remain unreal. This burden with its ever-increasing load would have become too hard to bear but for God's Goodness which has been easing man's journey for him by His guidance, a guidance which, says the Qur'ān, has not neglected a single community of human beings. Now this guidance assumes many forms, the highest and the best-known being 'revelation.'

Man is not left entirely to his own resources in the conduct of his life. His knowledge is not dependent on the 'trial and error' technique of animals. He has the peculiar capacity to translate his experience into conceptual terms, and the more gifted among his kind have the even more peculiar capacity to receive sudden flashes of insight into the heart of things. These flashes of insight illumine his way and enable him to make new advances in his march towards God. Revelation is the highest form of this illumination. Knowledge of 'Names' is there to enable him to cope with both the world of things in which he is to exercise his vicegerency and the realm of divine attributes from which and in which he is to seek inspiration. But this knowledge of 'Names,' this capacity to conceptualise, his experience of the world of matter and of spirit, does not make him independent of divine guidance at any time and least of all when his spiritual horizon is at its darkest. There has not been a moment in man's history when things have been so bright that he did not need additional light or when things were so dark that there was not a ray of light. The Qur'ān is emphatic on this point. Man's intellect, if left to its

own resources, only too often lands him in a confusion of his own devising. "Of knowledge ye have been given only a little." But still he is urged to pray: "My Lord! Increase me in knowledge." Obedience to divine guidance and to the best in his own nature guarantee for man a successful journey's end.

Let us then consider briefly the make-up of God's vicegerent on earth. But now we must talk not of Adam or of Man in general but of individual men, you and me, born in the midst of an environment which is made up partly of selves like our own and partly of objects more or less different from us, animals and plants, mountains and rivers, earth and sky and all that is between them. In this environment, which is partly sympathetic and partly hostile, partly understandable and partly confusing, is each one of us born. In the first instance, however, the immediate environment is mainly sympathetic—it is the mother's bosom. Between the ill-defined being of the baby and the much more definite personality of the mother there exists a peculiar community and mutuality of feeling, an *emotional rapport*. This rapport of feeling becomes the basis and guarantee of the baby's later development. The mother's being is the first object for the baby's soul; it is its world. In a way the mother is in the child, both physically and mentally. The rapport of feeling which exists between the two makes possible a peculiar non-rational communion between them. Some such non-rational communion also exists between two perfectly wedded souls. Perhaps it is also the essence of Love in its mystic aspect. In the attitude of the babe towards its mother, however, it is in its most primitive, pure and ill-defined form. The mother's reactions enable the babe to evolve a definiteness of its own which will again later on enable it to develop independently of her. The Qur'an repeatedly emphasises this emotional aspect of the parental relationship, and considers it one of the signs of the beneficence of God. "And of His signs is this: He created for you helpmates from among yourselves that ye might find rest in them, and He ordained between you love and mercy. Lo! herein indeed are portents for folk who reflect." (XXX-21). "And We have enjoined upon man concerning his parents. His mother beareth him in weakness upon weakness—and his weaning is in two years. Give thanks unto Me and unto thy parents. Unto Me is the journeying." (XXX-14). The 'weaning in two years' is not merely a physical weaning; it is also a partial spiritual detachment of the growing selfhood of the baby from the self of the mother in which it was till then more or less absorbed. Just as a star is born out of its original nebula, so does the self of the baby grow and assume shape out of the emotional rapport in which it has had only a nebulous being till then. The act of weaning signifies the real birth of the new self—a self just launched on a conceptual career of its own.

The individual, then, is born *to* a parent full of love for it, but he is also born *in* an environment. We have said that this environment is partly

sympathetic and partly alien and hostile. How then is it possible for the individual to accommodate himself to it, *i.e.* to interact with it and to understand it? It is not possible for any subject to understand and interact with an object entirely alien to it. Interaction is a mutual business and can only be possible when there is some community of being between the subject and the object. Now a community of being there is between the individual and his environment. Both owe their origin to God, both are spiritual in essence, for God is essentially Spirit. Every thing bears the stamp of its Creator. But the environment appears hostile and alien to the individual soul because the latter belongs to a higher plane of being than the former. Man is spirit grown conscious and self-conscious, *i.e.* a soul; the physical environment is spirit yet asleep and dormant, *i.e.* only the hope of a soul. That (according to the Qur'ān) the physical environment also can become conscious and articulate is evident from passages in which we are told that at the Hour of Reckoning one's hands and feet and even inanimate Nature shall, at the command of their Lord, bear witness against the individual soul.¹ If 'kneaded clay' could at God's command become Man, it is nothing to be surprised at if a similar command should awaken the Spirit in dormant nature and give tongue to it. Hence when man understands his environment, it is really spirit calling to spirit and soul finding itself in congenial company. As Iqbal has beautifully put it, the articulate spirit of man and the inarticulate and dormant spirit of the physical environment both echo the original command which brought them into being. Nor is this unison of spirit with spirit anything accidental; it is in accordance with God's preordained purpose: "See ye not how Allāh hath made serviceable unto you whatsoever is in the skies and whatsoever is in the earth, and hath loaded you with His favours both without and within? Yet of mankind is he who disputeth concerning Allāh without knowledge or guidance or a Scripture giving light." (XXXI-20). When the dormant spirit in Nature responds to the call of the articulate spirit in man, it is really God's preordained purpose become manifest.

In short, individual man interacts and co-operates with his environment and the environment is such that it can be co-operated with. The environment is, of course, not merely material, it is also social. Man's interaction with this environment is to be regulated according to the divine purpose which inspired his creation. It is not to be a purposeless and passive co-operation. Man is not merely man, he is also God's representative on earth. He is to image his Creator in miniature and to strive to create in himself His attributes. Of these attributes that of Creativity of the Good is closest to His essence. His vicegerent also should be creative in a minor degree, for does not God call Himself 'the Best of Creators'¹ and not the sole creator?

1. XXXVI—65.

Man's creativity follows logically from his 'trust,' viz. from his capacity to choose freely, which he at his peril accepted from his Master. Free choice, however, entails 'good creativity' as well as 'bad creativity,' the criterion of 'goodness' being 'agreement with divine purpose' as revealed from time to time in the teachings of God's messengers and as testified to by the voice of Reason in man's own heart. Those who mould and direct their creative energy in conformity with the divine purpose are 'partymen and helpers of God.' Their duty is 'to command the good and to forbid evil,' i.e. to serve as true viceregents of their Master. Those, however, whose creative energies and free choice are directed to purposes which run counter to the divine purpose, viz. those who 'command evil and forbid the good,' they are the 'rightful owners of the Fire wherein they will abide,' 'a hapless journey's end.' "And who doth greater wrong than he who is reminded of the revelations of his Lord, then turneth from them? Lo! We shall requite the guilty" (XXXII-22).

The Qur'ān gives us detailed advice as to what constitutes 'good' in the light of divine purpose and what sort of activities are conducive to this good. Feeding the needy and the wayfarer, solicitude for the orphan, the slave, the prisoner of war and the woman unprotected, the offering of poor-due and alms, meticulous regard for personal purity, the inculcation of the spirit of generosity towards others, of justice tempered with love in one's domestic relations and of justice without regard to person in civic and political life, and above all of *ceaseless toil* in all these respects and always for Allāh's sake, are some of the more obvious forms of 'good.' The Qur'ān marks an epoch in that it equates 'social and personal' good with 'divine good.' Salvation does not now consist in repeating God's name so many times every day or in indulging in certain mystic exercises conducive to union with the Deity or in ecstatic contemplation oblivious of all that is mundane. Man is God's vicegerent on earth and the criterion of his conduct is: whatever is conducive to the efficient discharge of this function is good, and whatever hinders it is bad. It is individual man who is to seek salvation, but his salvation depends in large measure on his realisation of social good. God is to be discovered in man and service of his fellowmen becomes *the* duty of God's vicegerent. This is the essence of Qur'ānic Ethics, and Tradition also emphasises and illustrates it. Every Muslim is familiar with the distinction between 'duties towards man' and 'duties towards God,' and with the dictum that whereas God in his infinite Mercy may forgive on the Day of Judgement all man's transgressions against Him (barring the cardinal sin of Shirk), He will not forgive man's transgressions against his fellow-man. That shall only be done by the aggrieved party. The

road to spiritual good then is through social good, and God's vicegerent should be ceaselessly creative of this good.

Man accepted the great 'trust' of free choice at his peril. *Wherein lies the peril?* It lies obviously in the accountability for the deeds which follow the choice. Free choice entails accountability. Kant said correctly that the 'ought' implies the 'can.' The Qur'ānic view is, however, truer and can be put in the form: the 'can' implies the 'ought.'

Let us examine the matter a little more closely.

We have been assuming so far, on the authority of the Qur'ān, that man did accept the 'trust' of free choice. Does the human mind bear witness to it? It does. It is a fact that there are times when I feel as if my environment is forcing me to choose in one way rather than in another. These are times when I am a mere instrument in the hand of external circumstance. But it is also a fact that there are times when I feel that it is I who determine my choice and not anything external to me. It is quite irrelevant to say that this feeling of self-determination is a delusion or that my self-determination is ultimately explainable in terms of heredity and environment. Such explanations may or may not be true, but they are quite irrelevant. What is relevant is this: I have the feeling of free choice on certain occasions (and not on others) and this feeling is enough, and not one iota more of evidence is required, to establish my moral responsibility for my actions. Barring the insane and the drug-fiend, whoever, with the least bit of sincerity in him, ever denied responsibility for the crime he had committed or the social wrong he had done? It requires the assistance of an efficient advocate and an out-and-out mechanist or a psychiatrist to convince the agent that he was not responsible for what he did and that his self-condemnation, if any, was really to be deplored and cured. The human heart stands witness that on certain occasions it can choose freely between alternatives, and that therefore it is responsible for its actions. The 'peril' follows from the 'trust.' They who can choose freely must choose well or pay the penalty of their bad choice. Bad choice is always creative of the bad, and the evil consequences of such creativity constitute the 'peril' which ever haunts the choosing agent in his life on earth—"And verily We make them taste the lower punishment before the greater, that haply they may return" (XXXII-21)—and faces him as his Hell when he reaches his hapless journey's end. Such a one proves himself a 'tyrant and a fool.'

I think we can safely assume that whatever may be the esoteric meaning of this 'trust' which even the mountains refused to bear, the heart of man does bear witness to its capacity to choose freely between alternative modes of thought and action. It is only on the basis of this trust that man's moral life can be explained. Man can choose freely, and for that very reason he is accountable to man and God for his actions. His 'can' implies his 'ought.'

There is another consequence of this 'can,' this capacity to choose freely. If each man can choose freely, there is no occasion for collective responsibility except in those cases where a community, as such, freely chooses to act in a certain way. Each individual must bear the burden of his own choice and no one can bear the burden of another. Similarly each community is accountable for all those of its actions which are the result of its own self-conscious and collective will. We have in the Qur'ān mention of the Pharaohs and Hamans and Abu Lahabs who met the doom which their own hands had created, as well as of communities like 'Ād and Thamūd and the Jews who reaped the bitter fruit of their evil collective will. Their 'can' also implied an 'ought,' which they disregarded in their actions.

Divine guidance and man's own Reason provide him with the criterion of 'the good.' His gift of free choice implies interaction with and interference with his environment. He is to exercise this choice in the light of his main duty, God's vicegerency on earth, the essence of which is creation of good and not of bad. The environment he is to interact with should be transmuted into something better as the result of this interaction and the agent himself should similarly be ennobled, the criterion of which is that he should be more God-like.

But what is the agent in himself? What is his original nature? Is he launched on his career on earth with a specially endowed nature? The Qur'ān is emphatic that man has an original nature; that there is no altering it; that only he serves Allāh's purpose who is true to this nature; and that one can do so if one moulds one's life according to Islam, which is the perfected form of the right religion (*Dīn-i-Ḥanīf*).

Says the Tradition :

The Prophet (on whom be peace!) said :— "There is no child who was not created on the *Fiṭrat-e-Islam*. Then his parents turn him into Jew or Christian or Majusi.' Then he recited this verse ; "So set thy purpose (O Muḥammad) for religion as a man by nature upright—the nature (framed) of Allāh, in which He hath created man. There is no altering (the laws of) Allāh's creation. That is the right religion, but most men know not." (*مسا، عاری، مشکوٰۃ*)—Another Tradition is even more emphatic. Said the Prophet (on whom be peace!) :— 'If you hear (somebody say) that a mountain has shifted from its place, (you can) subscribe to its truth, but if you hear that a man has shifted from his inborn nature, do not subscribe to its truth because he will surely revert to it.' *مسند احمد و مشکوٰۃ*. We have the following questions before us now :

What is this 'original upright nature of man,' which is more firmly rooted than a mountain and to live according to which is following the right religion? Is this original uprightness of man consistent with such description of him as we find in other Qur'ānic passages, e.g. :

"And when harm toucheth men they cry unto their Lord, turning unto Him in repentance; then, when they have tasted of His mercy, behold! some of them attribute partners to their Lord so as to disbelieve in that which We have given them." (XXX-33-34). "And when We cause mankind to taste of mercy they rejoice therein; but if an evil thing befall them as the consequence of their deeds, Lo! they are in despair." (XXX-36).

Further, if man be by nature upright why should there be antagonism between his deeds and his nature? Is this antagonism to be explained in term of environmental influence (as in the Tradition quoted above), or must we accept in addition a partial corruption of original nature in the case of some individuals, through factors of heredity originally the result of environmental influence? And lastly, how are we to construe for ourselves this original nature of man and its relation to or development into Islam?

The questions are, of course, more easily raised than answered, but we should consider them briefly and as a whole. On a very superficial view of the matter it appears as if the description of man as 'easily pleased and easily upset' (XXX-33-34), 'forgetful of God in moments of pleasure and repentant in sorrow' (XXX-36), 'heedless of God's guidance and portents' (XX-128), 'thankless of Allāh's bounty' (XVI-80-83), 'secure in worldly pleasures and forgetful of the meeting with their Lord (X-7-8), and so forth, is a more accurate statement of man's true character than the uprightness which is, we learn, the essence of his original nature. It is true, of course, that this description of man's infirmities and failings is true only of the great mass of mankind and not of those who are steadfast in their loyalty to Allah, true 'Muslims,' who seek guidance from Him and receive it. But why should the larger part of mankind slide from their original and inherent uprightness? How are we to reconcile the fact of original uprightness with the observed fact of unrighteousness later on? Adverse environmental influence, whether direct or through heredity, can explain a lot, provided the capacity and option to negate itself is included in the original uprightness of man's nature. An ego can be corrupted (or improved) by another only if it is willing to receive this influence. And what about the influencing ego? If we are to avoid an infinite regress we must postulate an act of original and unfettered choice for at least one ego and at least upon one occasion. And what thus turns out true of one ego can be taken as true of all human egos. It is not easy to escape the conclusion that the original uprightness of man's nature should only be understood as his inherent *capacity* to develop, under proper training and in the midst of a suitable environment, into actual uprightness, i.e. into Islam, which means 'Surrender to God.' The original 'is' bears in its womb the potentiality of a richer 'is,' an 'is' which is rich because it has actualised and absorbed the 'ought' which was implicit in it from the beginning.

On purely general considerations too such a view of the matter appears to be sound. One of the profoundest things Aristotle ever said was that 'the nature of anything, e.g. of a man, a horse, or a house, may be defined to be its condition when the process of production is complete.' To understand the nature of a thing, in short, we should turn, not to an examination of its crude and nebulous beginning, but rather to its complete development, its ultimate perfection. Now this complete development of a thing is also its highest good, and its highest good is the objectification of its 'ought.' Thus the 'nature,' the 'complete development,' the 'highest good, and the ought of a thing turn out to be more or less synonymous terms. The 'is' of a thing, i.e. its existence as a fact with all its potential content, tends to coalesce ultimately with its 'ought.' The 'ought' is the 'is' in full bloom.

Similarly in the case before us. If man's original nature be his 'is' then Islam represents according to the tradition and verse cited above its complete development, its greatest good, and its 'ought.' Hence only in terms of Islam can we construct in our own minds the picture of this original nature, and the relation between the two turns out to be one of potentiality to its actuality or of the nebula to its star. Perhaps it is for this reason that whereas we have in the Qur'an even minute details of the Islamic *way of life*, we have only the broad statement that man is by nature upright and that 'there is no altering the laws of Allāh's creation.'

On the basis of this view of the relation between man's original nature and Islam, it should not be difficult to understand the contrast between this nature and man's actual lapses, weaknesses, and evil deeds. For just as a man can become truly rational by reflection on his actual rational and irrational thoughts and by learning to overcome the irrationality which attaches to the latter, similarly, a man can be truly Muslim in his life only when he has learnt to distinguish and transcend those weaknesses which do attach to his nature in so far as it is not yet moulded, developed, and integrated in the light of and with the motive force of the ought which is all the time implicit in it. Potentiality undergoes a transformation in the process which actualises it. Its principle of actuality, its ought, transmutes the original weakness of indefiniteness into the strength of actual uprightness. Thus what existed as seed flowers in all its perfection. Man must be potentially a Muslim if he is to be one in actual fact later on, just as a man should be potentially rational if he is to be truly rational afterwards. Perhaps it is this process of actualising the potential into the real which is emphasised in the beginning of this verse :—
"So set thy purpose (O Muḥammad) as a man by nature upright—the nature (framed) of Allāh in which He has created man."

The human soul, then, is launched on its career by the decree of God, but it is not fully formed; it is to shape and develop itself by ceaseless

1. *Politics*, I, ii.

effort in the light of divine guidance and its own spiritual nature. "He is indeed successful who causeth it (the soul) to grow and he is indeed a failure who stunteth it." (XCI-7-10). The Journey of the soul is from God to God, but it should reach its destination with the stamp of true growth on it. Its end should be better than its beginning. Such a soul is pleased with God and God is pleased with it. Its growth in uprightness ensures its existence as a distinct and unique entity in association with God. Only in God can such a soul find peace because only in God can it find the home and the environment which nourish its urge for perfection. That such development is not an 'ideal' in the sense of the 'unattainable best' is shown in the *Mi'rāj* (Ascension) of the Prophet (on whom be peace!). As Iqbal has said, "The 'unceasing reward' which the Qur'ān promises such dutiful souls is man's gradual growth in self-possession, in uniqueness and intensity of his activity as an ego. Even the scene of 'Universal Destruction' immediately preceding the Day of Judgement cannot affect the perfect calm of a full grown ego."¹ The successful soul is the developed soul, the soul which defies disintegration and which has proved its worth and worthiness by a life of uprightness and good creativity. It is such souls that are God's party-men and 'helpers' and is to them that all that is in the heavens and the earth is made subservient. And lastly, it is such souls that give the lie to Satan's boast that he was better than man and prove the unreality of the fear of the angels that man would cause evil on the earth. The cosmic significance of Adam's creation is understood when Man has become God-like.

We have considered thus far some of the more obvious implications of the Qur'ānic view of Man. We should turn now to the perplexing problem of the relation between the will of man and the Will of his Creator; or the relation between the creativity of God and the creativity of man. Thus, I think, we should paraphrase the well-known problem of *Taqdir*. The difficulty of the problem can be stated in the form of a familiar dilemma. Man is either a free agent or he is not. If he is, then God cannot be Omnipotent (for man's creativity is something distinct from God's), and if he is not, then human morality is illusory, for that is only real on the basis of man's free agency. We must therefore, either deny all reality and worth to man's moral life (and that would imply that all divine guidance is gratuitous), or else be prepared to admit that God is not Omnipotent,—both conclusions being repugnant to intelligence. I do not propose to discuss the different solutions of this problem recorded in the history of human thought. The problem is really as simple or as complex as we are prepared to make it. I would only mention here a few points which should not be overlooked if a solution within a Qur'ānic framework is to be found; (1) The Qur'ān bears witness to man's acceptance of the 'trust,' the capacity to choose freely; (2) Man is enjoined to follow divine guidance,—a recommendation which would be

1. Iqbal: *Reconstruction*, p. 111.

meaningless in the absence of free choice ; (3) " God asketh not a soul beyond its scope. For it (is only) that which it has earned and against it (only) that which it has deserved " (III-286),—i.e. responsibility is in exact ratio to actualised capacity ; (4) God is Almighty, *Omnipotent*, Owner of Sovereignty. He exalts whom He wills and abases whom He wills, but *in His hand is the Good* ; (5) " Allah guideth whom He wills unto a straight path " (II-213). " And if thy Lord willed, all who are in the earth would have believed together . . . He hath set uncleanness upon those who have no sense " (XX-99-100), i.e. choice of any alternative, good or bad, is ultimately and in some sense with God's permission ; (6) all that comes to be is already recorded in the Book of God's decrees " Naught of disaster befalleth in the earth or in yourselves but it is in a Book before We bring it into being—Lo ! it is easy for Allāh—that ye grieve not for the sake of that which hath escaped you, nor yet exult because of that which hath been given. " (LVII-22-23).

The position, then in brief is this. Man has some sort of a capacity to choose freely between alternatives and his moral consciousness bears witness to it. But God knows beforehand what his choice will be and he cannot choose either without His permission. In God's hand is both ultimate Power and the Good, and He bestows the latter on whom He wills. On the heart of those ' who have no sense,' i.e. the evil-doers, He has set 'the seal of uncleanness' so that choice of the good does not exist in their case. Thus, whether one chooses the good or the bad, one can only do so with God's permission. Free choice, therefore, is not exactly free ; at best it is ' permissive' ! This has led some critics of the Qur'ān to say that it speaks with two voices. On one side it declares that all that is or happens is bound in the iron bands of Allāh's Will, and on the other, it emphasises man's accountability for his actions on the ground of free choice which really does not exist as something distinct from Allāh's Will.

How should we resolve this paradox ? The usual answer is—and it is true as far as it goes—that the feeling and conviction that I am choosing freely is a sufficient basis for normal responsibility ; that I am a free agent in so far as I am not externally constrained to do what I in fact do ; that I am *self-determined*. But we are not *now* concerned with man's accountability in the eyes of his fellow-man. We face the larger question: Who am I who choose ? And *how do I choose* ? We have already noted the potentialities of good in man's original nature. How are these potentialities actualized ? How does the whole thing work ? Am I completely explainable in terms of heredity and environment ? Or must I include in my make-up a factor over and above these ? Does my choice proceed from the former or from the latter ? What anyway is the core of personality ?

Says the Qur'ān : " Verily We created man from a product of wet earth ; then placed him as a drop of seed in a safe abode ; then fashioned We the drop a clot ; then fashioned We the clot a little lump ;

then fashioned We the little lump bones, then clothed the bones with flesh, and then produced it as another creation. So blessed be Allāh, the Best of Creators." (XXIII-12-14).

You are already familiar with Iqbal's excellent exposition of this oft-quoted verse. I shall not try to recapitulate it. One feels that heredity and environment may perhaps be more or less sufficient explanations of the process of evolution from 'wet earth' to 'flesh and bones,' but that when we come to that unique emergent which is described as the production of 'another creation,' these concepts simply will not do. Is not this 'other creation' the Spirit which God breathed into Adam when He had fashioned him and which transformed the organism of flesh and bones into Man? Is not this process repeated in the case of each individual man? Does not this factor form the core of a man's personality, his Spiritual Me, unexplainable in terms of heredity and environment? I am inclined to think that it is and that it is this Spiritual Me which is the bearer of the 'trust' of free choice and therefore also the creative factor in man's personality. On this view, the human self is not explainable merely in terms of heredity and environment, however generous the connotation which we may attach to these terms. The factor of 'spirit' must also be included, 'spirit' being the creative emergent breathed into the organism by God to turn it into Man. This spiritual factor serves both as nucleus and dynamism for the later development of the self. The rigid determinist ignores it and his equally extreme opponent, the indeterminist, does not try to locate and explain it. This factor appears to be both directive of existing energy in the organism and its environment as well as creative of new. It transmutes the existent with which it interacts and it creates new values as the result of such interaction. Only in virtue of this factor can man be called the representative of God on earth. And only thus is he capable of performing in his finite and limited way God's creative functions of 'Khalq' and 'Amr', i.e. creative transmutation of the inanimate and animate worlds.

The question now is this: Does man's endowment with creative capacity imply God's self-limitation of His creative Might? Does man's freedom of choice necessitate a self-imposed loss in God's Omnipotence?

I do not think we are forced to take this view of the matter. We should not allow ourselves to be misled by spatial and physical analogy where addition to something implies subtraction *from* something. This is not the relation between God's Creative Might and Man's creative capacity based on his relatively free choice. The relation between the two, God and Man, is neither qualitative nor quantitative;—it is *spiritual* which should be considered a distinct category of relation for explanatory purposes. I do not propose to discuss the nature of this relation here, but even physical and psychical metaphor can furnish clues

for a proper appreciation of it. If one torch can light another without losing anything of its own luminosity ; if mind can awaken mind without losing anything of its dynamic force ; or if nobleness can kindle nobleness and actually gain in the transaction ;—then there is no reason why the Spirit of God should not quicken the creative potentialities of spirit in man and permit his finite self to live and move and have its own individual being as a minor and only partly independent but still unique creative current in the limitless ocean of His Own Creative Might. 'So blessed be Allah, the Best of Creators.' Man's free choice and relative creative capacity do not imply any limitation to God's creativity. Like minor currents in the ocean, these finite human creators are born in God, draw their sustenance from His Creative Might, live their several creative lives in His Goodness, and preserve and cultivate their own uniqueness in His Being. The human self is relatively independent, not of God, but in Him, Who is 'the First and the Last, the Visible and the Invisible.' But We must also admit that man is to some slight but real extent, at least, the maker of his own destiny.

God's Omniscience, however, envelopes man completely. The Supreme Self knows the potentialities and the later transformation into actualities of each finite self which He in His Wisdom has launched in to the stream of Time. It is not difficult to conceive of this process of prescience. Even the human expert in art or profession can tell with a great deal of accuracy what the reaction of the novice under his training will be to the stimuli which are brought to bear upon him from time to time. For the novice each reaction is free, and therefore creative. For the expert, however, it is predictable and determined by laws which he knows are at work. Now God is not merely Wise, He is also the Creator of the finite self and of the environment (except that part of it which is the result of the creative activity of other finite selves) in which it is to grow. The finite self, however, has to grow in the current of *serial time*. God is 'outside' that current and His knowledge transcends serial time. From man's point of view His Knowledge is fore-knowledge. Hence, "Naught of disaster befalleth in the earth or in yourselves but it is in a Book before We bring it into being."

K. A. HAMID.

THE SO-CALLED CONFERENCE OF CHHAPRAH, JUNE 1766

WITHIN a month or two of the treaty of Allahabad Shāh 'Ālam, who was naturally eager to attain to full sovereignty by regaining his ancestral capital and throne and thus getting rid of English tutelage, sought the assistance of Malhar Rao Holkar in the realisation of his ambition and is said to have promised him in return the cession of the Allahabad and Kora districts. His negotiations alarmed Shuja'-ud-Daulah, who, fearing the Maratha proximity to his dominion, appealed to Clive to allow the British army at Allahabad to co-operate with him in an emergency for the defence of Oudh. The English, who at once detested and feared the Marathas, promptly complied with Shujā's request, refused the Emperor the loan of troops and guns for which he had repeatedly asked, and strongly remonstrated with him in their endeavour to persuade him to give up what they termed the 'wild project' of seating himself on the Delhi throne. Shāh 'Ālam, however, would not be so easily persuaded. He left Allahabad in December, 1765, accompanied by Smith (who was permitted by the Select Committee to escort him as far as Kora); but had to return from the latter town in April, 1766, as his negotiations with the Marathas broke down owing to English hostility to the enterprize and their utter refusal to enter into any understanding with the Deccanis.¹

Greatly disturbed at the menacing prospect of an alliance between the Emperor and the Marathas, the Bengal Select Committee resolved, on the 28th of February 1766, to despatch a large portion of the Company's second brigade from Allahabad to be stationed at Shivarajpur on the Ganges, about 104 miles north-west of Allahabad, and to form a confederacy of Shuja'-ud-Daulah, the Ruhelas, the Jats and the English to checkmate that alliance. "His (the Emperor's proposed) treaty with the Marattoes," wrote the committee to Smith, "must necessarily produce disturbances that may probably extend to Shujah Dowlah's dominions and even to these provinces. This danger we think it absolutely necessary to avert by forming a league between Shujah Dowlah, the Rohilla Chiefs

1. C.P.C., I, 2718, 2725, 2731, 2735, 2735 a, b, c., & d, 2754, 2759; Ben. Sel. Com. to Smith, 29th Oct., 22nd Nov., 2nd Dec. 1765; Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 10th April, 1766; S.P.D., XXIX, 99, 102, 107, 138; Ghulam Ali, II, 251-53.

and the Jauts to oppose the Marattoes in every attempt to gain a footing on this side of the Jamuna or to break the public tranquillity so happily established." On the 13th March Clive and Carnac were authorised to discuss and decide the terms of the proposed confederacy in a personal interview with Shujā' and the other powers.¹

The Select Committee's resolution was based on a correct knowledge of the political situation and the mutual relations of the north Indian powers. The Ruhelas were afraid of an alliance between Shāh 'Ālam and the Marathas, for they feared that they would be made to surrender the Marathas territory in the Doab which they had usurped after their defeat at Panipat. Jawahar Singh Jat too was alarmed, as he rightly believed that he would be the first to be made to feel the full weight of a Maratha invasion as soon as the Marathas had managed to veil their personal ambition under the imperial sanction.² Nor were the English fears of the Marathas altogether groundless. Many a patriotic Maratha was feeling keenly how the English traders had managed to become rulers by making and unmaking 'Nawabs' in Bengal, by keeping the Emperor as a pliable tool in their hands, and by compelling Shujā'-ud-Daulah to sink into the position of a vassal of the Company whose agents were harassing pilgrims to holy Benares by levying pilgrim's tax and other hated duties; and the Peshwa was consequently being urged to undertake a conquest of Bengal.³ Clive and his colleagues, who seem to have been fully aware of these sentiments, wrote to the secret committee of Fort St. George that the Marathas were "the only power in Indostan who have either the means or the inclination to disturb us," and advised the Madras government to settle their disputes with the Nizam of Hyderabad and make common cause with him against the Marathas.⁴

Accompanied by Carnac, Strachey and Ingham Clive reached Chhaprah early in June, where Shujā'-ud-Daulah arrived on the 8th. Here a conference was held in the second week of the month, and among the notables present were, besides the above-mentioned personages, Balwant Singh, Shitab Rai, Munir-ud-Daulah (the Emperor's representative) and agents of the Ruhela Chiefs, of the Jat Raja and the Marathas. In conformity with the usage of polite Indian society at the time the conference was a pageant and its members concealed their business behind a barrage of stately banquets and gorgeous female dances, grand illuminations, and brilliant display of fire-works. Shujā' entertained Clive and other guests to a banquet, with music and dance which vied with the festivities and splendour of the Delhi Court of the 17th Century; while Clive invited the Wazir and party to an equally sumptuous feast and a display of English drill and a mock-

1. Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 28th Feb. and 13th March, 176, *vide* Vol. of year 1766, pp. 21 and 41-2.

2. Smith to Ben. Sel. Com., 10th Feb. 1766.

3. S.P.D., XXIX, 110, 111.

4. Ben. Sel. Com. to Gov. and Sec. Com., Fort St. George, 17th Oct. 1766, *vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 1766, p. 221.

fight of the Company's troops, which pleased Shujā' so much that he lavishly rewarded the English gunners with money. Similar entertainments were given by Shitāb Rai.¹

The Conference proved to be only a qualified success as it abandoned its main object, *viz.* a defensive alliance with the Ruhelas and the Jats. Clive, realising the soundness of Shujā'-ud-Daulah's views that these distant powers would not assist the English in time of danger, gave up the policy of entering into definite treaty engagements with them. As regards those chiefs whose alliance might be useful but the assembling of whose agents would have detained Clive at Chhaprah for many months, Shujā'-ud-Daulah was entrusted with "the management of each treaties (*sic*) as he may think convenient for his own and the Company's welfare; but he is not to conclude anything nor enter into any absolute engagements without previously acquainting the president with every proposal and obtaining his approbation."² The most important achievements of the Conference were the final settlement of the relations between Oudh and the Benares State, and the clearing by Shujā' of the balance of the war indemnity in fulfilment of article six of the treaty of Allahabad. The State of Benares, which had been given in assignment to the English by Shujā' till the payment of the last pie of the indemnity, now reverted to him (from July 1, 1766), and on the recommendation of Clive and against the real desire of Shujā, who wanted to be left free to impose any terms he liked on the Raja, an agreement was entered into between the Nawab and Balwant whereby the latter was confirmed in his Zamindari as a vassal of Oudh on his agreeing to pay regularly an annual revenue of 19,98,449 rupees.³ Clive, however, accorded his verbal assent to Shujā's proposal that the Raja should pay him a Peshkash of three lakhs of rupees as the price of his confirmation.⁴ Similarly the fort of Chunar should, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, have been delivered back to Shujā'; but while Clive issued orders to put the Wazir in possession of it by withdrawing European troops, it was agreed that the Company's sepoys would remain in the fort until the second brigade had been withdrawn from Allahabad, where only one battalion was to be left for the protection of Shāh 'Ālam. In compliance with Shujā's request Clive allowed a battalion under Captain Hill to attend him and all its charges were to be paid by the Wazir. From this date began the process of the accumulation of those military charges which in course of time brought Oudh into the Company's debt, and became a most potent cause of the subsequent shrinkage of the Oudh Kingdom and its complete loss of independence. So favourably was

1. T.M., 251b; Kalyan, 164a; Siyar, II, 778.

2. Clive and Carnac to Ben. Sel. Com., 14th July, 1766, *vide* Ben. Sel. Com. Progs. of 13th Aug. 1766.

3. Aitchison's Treaties—Benares, No. XX, p. 45-6. Siyar, (778), gives 24 lakhs, T.M., p. 251b and Kalyan, p. 164a give 22 lakhs, while Balwant, p. 109, gives twenty-five lakhs and fifty thousand, I accept the sum given in the Patta granted to Chait Singh, Balwant's successor, by Shujā' on 22nd Nov., 1770 A.D.

4. C.P.C., II. 741, 1294.

Clive impressed by Shujā'-ud-Daulah's sincerity and loyalty as an ally to the British that at Chhaprah he took the opportunity of recommending him to the Emperor through Munir-ud-Daulah for re-appointment as Wazir, and soon after the conclusion of the Conference he and Carnac expressed their views about him in these words—"His (Shujā's) own interests indeed, particularly the preservation and protection of his family and riches in case of need, render him an ally much to be depended upon and we must in due justice add that if a due sensibility of favours received, an open confidence and many other valuable principles are to be found amongst Mussalmans, Shujā'-ud-Dowlah possesses them according to our judgement in a higher degree than we have elsewhere observed in this country."¹ A most valuable result of the Conference therefore was the establishment of mutual confidence and loyalty between Shujā' and the head of the British in Bengal, which was to lead to important results in the future.

ASHIRBADI LAL SRIVASTAVA.

1. C.P.C., II. 1044; Clive and Carnac's letter of 14th July, 1766, referred to above.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

TALBĪS IBLĪS OF ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ¹

(Continued from *Islamic Culture* January 1945)

*Section explaining how the Devil deludes them in this Procedure and
Indication of the Errors which it involves.*

AS FOR what is recorded of Sahl, it is an illicit proceeding, since it is loading the soul with a burden which it cannot bear. Further God Almighty has honoured human beings with the gift of wheat, giving its husks to their domestic animals. It is not proper to vie with the beasts in eating straw. Such things are too notorious to need refutation. Abū-Hāmid records that in Sahl's opinion the prayer of a starveling so weakened by hunger that he has to squat is superior to his prayer when a meal has enabled him to stand up.

This is an error. On the contrary, if a man is enabled to stand, his meal is a pious act, since it helps him to devotion : if he fasts till he can only pray squatting, his fasting will have led to the neglect of a religious obligation and so is illicit. If the only food available were the flesh of an animal that had died a natural death, this would not be permissible : still less is it so when lawful food is available. Besides, what piety is there in a fast which puts the instruments required for pious acts out of work ? As for the saying of al-Ḥaddād, "I was looking to see which would prevail, knowledge or certainty," that is sheer ignorance, since there is no contrariety between knowledge and certainty : certainty is merely the highest stage of knowledge. And what has neglect of the soul's needs in the matter of food and drink to do with either knowledge or certainty ? By knowledge he must refer to the ordinance of the Code, and by certainty to power of endurance. This is wretched confusion.

These are people who are strenuous in their inventions, like the Quraish who were so strenuous that they were called Hums ; only they reject the root and are strenuous about the branch. Then the saying of that other, "Your salt is ground, you will come to no good," is a shocking utterance. How can it be said that a man who uses what is permitted to him will come to no good ? Moreover, barley-porridge produces colic. The saying of the other, "Cream with honey is extravagance," is to be rejected,

1. An instalment comprising pp. 225 to 246 of the original Arabic.

because extravagance is forbidden by the Code, whereas this dish is allowed. Moreover it is ascertained that the Prophet ate cucumber with dates, and was partial to sweets and honey. As for the saying recorded of Sahl that he had divided his intellect and his food into seven parts, such procedure deserves reprehension rather than laudation, since it is not prescribed by the Code, and indeed comes near what is forbidden, since it is injury to the soul and neglect of its right. The same is the case with the saying of the man who declared that he only ate at the time when the flesh of an animal which had died a natural death would be lawful; for he did what is to be disapproved out of choice, and coerced his soul when lawful food was available. Further the saying of Abū-Yazid: "Food with us is God," is weak, since the body is so constructed as to need food; even the denizens of Hell require it. There was also no reason to find fault with the man who after a lengthy fast took a melon-rind; indeed a man who fasts for three days does not escape the censure of the Code. The same is the case with the man who vowed that he would not eat when he was cupped, and so fell into a fainting fit; for he did what is unlawful. The remark made to him by Ibrāhīm, "Ye have done well, ye beginners," was also erroneous; he ought to have compelled the man to break his fast even in Ramaḍān, since one who has not eaten for some days, is cupped, and faints, is not allowed to fast. We have been informed by Abū-Manṣūr al-Qazzāz in a Tradition going back to Ibn-'Umar that the Prophet said: Whoso being overcome by fatigue in Ramaḍān fails to break his fast and dies, will enter Hell.

Further, Ibn-Khafīf's reduction was bad procedure, not to be admired; only persons who are ignorant of the principles of the Code cite these stories with approval. One who has command of knowledge is not frightened by the speech of a respected person, still less by the action of a delirious ignoramus. Their abstinence from meat is a doctrine of the Brahmins, who do not permit the slaughter of animals, whereas God Almighty knows more about what is good for the body and has permitted the eating of meat in order to strengthen it. Consumption of meat increases the strength whereas abstinence from it diminishes the strength and is bad for the system. The Prophet ate meat and was partial to shoulder of mutton. One day when he entered a house and some of the food of the house was brought to him, he said: 'I have not seen any cauldron of yours boiling.'—Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī used to buy himself meat everyday. This was the practice of men of old, except indeed that there were poor men among them who could rarely see meat owing to their poverty. Denial of all desires absolutely is not profitable, for since God Almighty created mankind with heat, cold, dry, and moist, and made their health depend on equilibrium of the humours, blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile, and sometimes one of these humours is in excess and nature inclines to what will reduce it, e.g., the yellow bile may be in excess and nature will incline to sourness, or the phlegm may be deficient and the soul will incline to moist matter. He compounded with nature the inclination towards that

whereunto the soul inclines and which agrees with the nature ; hence when the soul inclines to that which will profit it and is denied, such refusal is defiance of the Creator's wisdom and affects the body. Hence such action is contrary to the Code and to reason. It is well known that the body is the human being's mount, and if the mount be not kindly treated, it will not bring the rider to his destination. In fact these people's cognizances are small and they talk according to their mistaken ideas. If they cite authorities these are traditions which are weak or fabricated, or misunderstood. I am surprised that the jurist Abū-Hāmid al-Ghazzālī should have descended from his jurisprudence to the doctrines of these people when he counsels the neophyte to resist two desires.

Now this is most improper. For a relish is a desire going beyond food ; consequently he ought not to indulge in any relish ; and water is another desire. The Tradition does not credit the Prophet with restricting himself to one desire. Is it not recorded in both *Ṣaḥīḥ* that the Prophet used to eat cucumbers with dates ? These are two desires. Did he not eat in the house of Abū'l-Haitham b. at-Taiḥān bread, roast meat and fresh dates, and drink cold water ? Used not ath-Thaurī to eat meat, grapes, and dates mixed with honey, and then rise up and pray ? Do you not feed a horse on barley, straw and clover, and the camel on the plants *Khabat* and *Hamd* ? Now is the body not a camel ? Some of the men of old forbade the combination of two relishes regularly in order that this might not become a habit, and involve trouble. Unnecessary dainties should be avoided lest they cause overeating and induce sleep, and lest they should become habitual and indispensable, so that a man is compelled to waste his life in procuring them, and may obtain them from some improper source. This then was the principle of men of old in rejecting unnecessary delicacies ; and the tradition in accordance with which these people deprive themselves of agreeable foods is a fabrication, the handiwork of the transmitter Bazī'. If a man restrict himself to barley bread and coarse salt, his health will suffer, since barley bread is dry and causes dryness, and salt is also dry and astringent, injuring the brain and the eye-sight. Further, under-eating dries up and contracts the stomach.

Yūsuf al-Hamdāni records that his Shaikh 'Abdallāh al-Haūfi used to eat bread made of acorns without relish ; his companions used to ask him to eat something fat or greasy, but he declined. I would observe that this diet would produce severe colic. You should know that the diet which incurs censure is overeating, whereas the best procedure in the matter of food is that of the blessed legislator. We have been informed by Ibn al-Hasin in a Tradition going back to al-Miqdām b. Ma'di Kariba¹ that the latter said : I heard the Prophet say : There is no vessel which it is worse for a man to fill than his belly. Sufficient for a man are such meals as will keep his back erect. If it be indispensable, then a third (of the belly) should be food, a third drink, and a third for the man's breath.

1. Died 87.

Thus the Code prescribes what will maintain the soul, preserving it and looking after its interests. Had Hippocrates heard this division into thirds, he would have been amazed by its wisdom. For food and drink swell in the belly and it comes near being full ; so that something like a third remains for the breath. This is the best proportion, and if there be a slight reduction, it will do no harm. If, however, the reduction increases, it weakens the strength, and the passages of the food become narrow.

You should know that the Sufis only order the young and the beginners among them to stint themselves, and hunger is a most harmful thing to the young. The old can endure it, as also can the middle-aged, whereas the young cannot. The reason for this is that the heat of youth is severe, and in consequence their digestion works well, and their bodies are in constant dissolution, whence they need a quantity of food just as a new lamp requires a quantity of oil. If the young man endures hunger and withstands it at the beginning of this growth he suppresses the growth of his soul, and is like one who damages the foundations of a wall. Further the belly owing to want of food will encroach on the residues that collect in the body, which will feed it with the humours, so injuring both mind and body. This is an important principle which requires consideration.

Men of learning have spoken of the under-eating which weakens the body. We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir the Hānīz in a Tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb al-Jīlī that the latter said : I heard 'Uqbah b. Mukram say to Abū-'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal : What about these people who eat little and reduce their rations ?—He said : Their practice does not please me.—I heard 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Mahdī¹ say : Some people did this and it prevented their performance of their legal obligations. Al-Khallal (one of the transmitters of the above) also said : I was informed by Abū-Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Sadaqah that he had been told by Ishāq b. Dāwūd b. Sabīh the following : I said (he narrated) to 'Abdar-Raḥmān b. Mahdī : O Abū-Sa'id there are certain of these Sufis in our town.—He said : Do not go near them, for we have seen some of them driven mad by their practice, and others turned atheist.—Then he said : Sufyān ath-Thaurī started on a journey on which I accompanied him at the beginning. He had with him a cloth containing paste of honey and dates and a lamb.—Al-Khallal added that he had been told by al-Marwazī that he had heard a man say to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal : For fifteen years the devil has been after me ; many a time I have felt his suggestions while thinking about God.—Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said to him : Perhaps you have been fasting continuously. Break your fast, eat something rich, and sit with the story-tellers.

I would observe that some of these people consume bad food, avoiding what is rich, so that crude humours accumulate in the stomach, on which the stomach feeds for a time, since it must digest something ; when it has

1. Died 196. Life of him in *Kitāb Baghdād*, X, 240-248.

digested such food as it gets and can find nothing, it takes hold of the humours, digests them, and turns them into food. And that bad food produces suggestions, madness and vices. These under-feeders besides under-feeding consume the worst eatables, so that their humours and the stomach is busy with the digestion of the humours. Gradually they get accustomed to under-feeding, their stomach contracts, and they are able to do without food for days. The process is helped by the strength of youth, and they suppose their ability to do without food to be miraculous; the real reason is what I have given. We have been informed by 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm that he had been told the following by his father. There was a woman well-advanced in years, who was asked about her state. She said: In my youth I used to experience in my soul certain "states" which I supposed to be strength of state¹; when I grew old they ceased. So I knew that this was the strength of youth which I wrongly fancied to be "states."—He said: I heard Abū 'Alī ad-Daqqāq say: Every Shaikh who heard this story sympathized with the old woman and agreed that she was right.

If it be said: How can you forbid under-feeding when you have been told that 'Umar used to eat eleven morsels a day? That Ibn az-Zubair used to go without food for a week? That Ibrāhīm at-Taimi went for two months?—We reply: This sort of thing may sometimes happen to a man, only he does not do it continually, nor endeavour to attain to it. There were among the men of old some who hungered out of want, and some who were inured to endurance so that it did not injure their bodies. Among the Arabs there are people who go for days only drinking milk. We are not prescribing satiety: we only forbid such fasting as will reduce the strength and harm the body. When the body is weakened, its power of devotion is reduced. If you make the body bear the strength of youth old age comes and it weakens the rider. We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir the Hāfiẓ in a Tradition going back to Anas that the latter said: There used to be flung before 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb a *Sā'* of dates, of which he would consume the whole, even the bad ones. We have also been informed that Ibrāhīm b. Adham bought cream, honey, and fine white bread. He was asked whether he meant to consume all that. He replied: We eat like men when we have anything, and endure like men when we have nothing.

As for draughts of pure water, they were approved by the Prophet. We have been informed by Ibn al-Ḥasīn in a Tradition going back to Jābir b. 'Abdallāh that the Prophet went to visit one of the Anṣār who was ailing and asked for water. There was a brook close by. The Prophet said: If you have water that has remained overnight in a skin I should like it; if not, I will put my mouth to the stream. This Tradition is produced by Bukhārī. We have also been informed by Ibn-Manṣūr al-Qazzāz in a Tradition going back to 'A' ishah that the Prophet used to have sweet water

1. The word is here used in its technical Sufi sense.

drawn for him from the drinking-well.

It ought to be known that foul water produces gravel in the kidneys and obstructions in the liver. Cold water, if only moderately cold, strengthens the stomach, whets the appetite, improves the colour, prevents the corruption of the blood, and the rise of vapours to the brain ; it preserves the health. If the water be hot, it spoils the digestion, it causes langour and wastes the body away. It leads to dropsy and hectic fever. If the water is heated by the sun there is danger of its producing leprosy.

One of the ascetics used to say : If you eat dainties and drink cold water, when will you want to die ? Similarly Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī says : If a man eats what he enjoys, his heart hardens and he does not want to die. If he deprives his soul of its desires and denies it its pleasures, his soul will desire to escape from this world by death.

I would observe that such an utterance from a jurist is extraordinary. Supposing a man's soul to be involved in any form of torment, would it not want to die ? Then what right have we to torture it ? God Almighty says (iv. 33) *Slay not yourselves*. Moreover out of care for us He has permitted us to break our fast on a journey (in Ramaḍan). Further He says : (ii. 181) *He would make things easy for you, not difficult*. Is not our mount that whereon we have arrived ?—

She carried us through plain and wilderness ;
Should we not then show her some tenderness ?

Abū-Yazīd's self-torture by abstaining from water for a year is a proceeding deserving of censure, regarded as praiseworthy only by the ignorant. The ground for the censure is that the soul has certain rights, and to deny a just right is iniquitous. A man is not permitted to injure himself, nor to squat in the sun in summer to such an extent as to suffer injury, nor in the snow in winter. Water retains the original juices in the body and helps the passage of food, which is the support of the body. If a man deprives his body of human food and water he is working against it, which is an atrocious error, as also is depriving it of sleep. Ibn-'Uqail says : A man may not either prescribe or inflict punishment on himself, as is shown by the fact that if a man inflicts on himself the punishment prescribed by the law, it does not count, and the sovereign must repeat it. These souls of ours are deposits committed to our care by God ; indeed even the disposal of property is not allowed to its owners except in specified ways.

Moreover I would observe that in the story of the Prophet's migration we are told that he provided himself with food and drink ; that Abū-Bakr laid a bed for him in the shadow of a rock, milked a camel for him into a vessel, over which he then poured water so that the lower part should cool—all this being tenderness for the soul. The gradations established by Abū-Ṭālib al-Makkī are on the contrary a mode of forcing on the soul what will weaken it. Fasting is only praiseworthy when in moderation. The mention of the revelation comes from a futile tradition. The procedure of at-

Tirmidhi was an innovation due to a false notion of his own. What is the point of fasting two months in succession at the time of repentance, or of abstaining from lawful fruit ? Further, if he does not look into books, what career can he take for a model ? As for the quarantine, that is a futile tradition based by them on a Tradition which has no foundation, "If a man practised devotion to God forty mornings, his devotion will never be annulled." Why fix the measure at forty mornings ? Further supposing we allow this measurement, seeing that devotion is an act of the heart, how does food come in ? Then what justifies abstinence from fruit and bread ? Is all this aught but ignorance ? We have been informed by 'Abd al-Mun'im son of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushairi that his father said : The arguments of the Sufis are more evident than those of any one else, and the foundations of their system stronger than those of any other. For people in general are either followers of Traditions and records or reasoners and thinkers ; whereas the Shaikhs of this community have risen above these groups and what is a mystery to others is clear to them. They are the people of contiguity, whereas the others are people of inference ; the neophyte should break off ties, in which his first proceeding is to give up his property, the next to abandon his dignity, only sleep when overcome thereby, and gradually reduce his food.

I would observe that anyone possessed of an atom of intelligence must know that this statement is fallacious. For one who abandons both tradition and reason is not accounted a man ; there is not a creature but practises inference. The talk of contiguity is futile. We pray God to save us from the confusion of the neophytes and their Shaikhs.

Section dealing with Traditions which prove the Error of their Procedure.

We have been informed by Yahya b. 'Alī al-Mudabbir in a tradition going back to Sa'id b. al-Musayyib that the latter said : 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn came to the Prophet and said : O Apostle, I am subject to fancies, and am unwilling to start anything afresh before mentioning it to thee.—The Prophet asked him what his fancies were.—He said : I have a fancy that I ought to castrate myself.—The Prophet said : Not so fast, 'Uthmān' fasting is the castration of my community.—Then Uthmān said : Also I have a fancy to become an anchorite on the mountains.—

The Prophet.—Not so fast, 'Uthmān. The monasticism of my community is sitting in mosques and waiting for the times of prayer.

'Uthmān.—Also I have a fancy to wander over the earth.

The Prophet.—Not so fast. The wandering of my community is raiding in the path of God, and the major and the minor pilgrimages.

'Uthmān.—Also I have a fancy to give away all my property.

The Prophet.—Not so fast. The daily giving of alms, maintenance of

self and family, showing kindness to and feeding the poor and the orphan are better than that.

'Uthmān.—Also I have a fancy to put away my wife Khaulah.

The Prophet.—Not so fast. The migration of my community is forsaking what God has forbidden, or migrating to me in my lifetime or visiting my grave after my death, or leaving at death one, two, three, or four wives.

'Uthmān.—Also I have a fancy to have no further intimacy with her.

The Prophet.—Not so fast. When a Muslim husband has intimacy with his wife, if no child results, yet he will have an attendant in Paradise, and if a child results, should that child predecease him, it will be his forerunner and intercessor on Resurrection Day, whereas if it die after him it will be a light for him on that day.

'Uthmān.—Also I have a fancy to eat no meat.

The Prophet.—Not so fast. I like meat and eat it when I get the chance, and were I to ask God to feed me on it everyday, He would do so.

'Uthmān.—Also I have a fancy to touch no perfume.

The Prophet.—Not so fast. Gabriel ordered me to use perfume every other day, and on Fridays it is indispensable. O *'Uthmān*, do not reject my practice ; for whosoever rejects my practice and dies unrepentant, will have his face turned away from my cistern by the angels.

This, I would observe is the tradition of *'Umayr b. Mirdas*.

We have been informed by *Muḥammad b. Abī-Ṭāhir* in a Tradition going back to *Abū-Ishāq* after *Abū-Burdah* that the last said : The wife of *'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn* visited the Prophet's wives, and they noticed that she was in a distressed state. They said to her : What is the matter with you ? There is no richer man than your husband in the Quraish tribe.—She said : We have no part in him ; he keeps vigil all night and fasts all day.—They went to the Prophet and told him this. The Prophet met *'Uthmān* and asked him : *'Uthman*, have you not a model in me ?

'Uthmān.—Thou art like father and mother to me ; what is it ?

The Prophet.—You fast all day and keep vigil all night.

'Uthmān.—True, I do so.

The Prophet.—Then do not do so. Your eye has claims on you, and so has your body and your wife. So pray, sleep, fast and break your fast.

Ibn-Sa'd has a tradition going back to *Abu-Qulābah* that *'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn* took a dwelling wherein he sat performing devotions. The Prophet, hearing of this, went to him, grasped the door-posts of the dwelling, and said : *'Uthmān*, God did not send me to enjoin monasticism. (This he said twice or three times). Verily the best religion with God is the mild *Ḥanifism*.

We have been informed by *Muḥammad b. Naṣir* in a Tradition going

back to Kahmas al-Hilālī that the latter said ¹: I accepted Islam and came to the Prophet to inform him of my conversion. I waited a year before presenting myself, and by that time I was emaciated. The Prophet looked me up and down. I said: Do you not know me?—He asked me who I was. I replied: Kahmas al-Hilālī.—He said: And what has brought you to the condition which I see?—I replied: Since you went away I have neither broken fast in the day nor slept at night.—He said: And who bade you torture yourself? Fast during the month of endurance and one day in each month.—I asked for something more. He said: Fast the month of endurance and two days in each month.—I asked for more. He said: Fast the month of endurance and three days in each month.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Khairūn in a Tradition going back to Abū-Qulābah and through him to the Prophet that certain of the Prophet's Companions who abstained from women and meat gathered together. We mentioned these two forms of abstinence and the Prophet severely denounced them. He said: Had this been commanded me, I should have practised it. Then he said: I was not sent to enjoin monasticism. The best religion is the mild Hanifism.

In another tradition we have been told that the Prophet said: God Almighty likes the effects of His favours to be shown on His servant in his food and drink. Bakr b. 'Abdallah said: Whoso having been accorded a boon lets it be seen on him is called the beloved of God; whoso having been accorded a boon does not show it is called the hated of God, the enemy of His favour.

Now (I would observe) this excess in abstinence, which we have forbidden, has been reversed among the Sufis of our time. They have become as interested in food as were their predecessors in hunger. They have their lunch, their dinner, and their sweets; and all, or most, of this comes from unclean emoluments. They have abandoned worldly earnings, have neglected devotion, and spread for themselves the bed of idleness. Most of them have no interest save food and sport. If one of them does good, they say: He has offered thanks (?). If he does harm, they say: He has asked pardon. They call what they coerce him to do obligatory; now to call anything obligatory which is not so designated by the Code is a crime against it.

We have been informed by 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz in a tradition going back to Muḥammad b. 'Abdus-Sarrāj al-Baghdādī ² that the latter said: The story-teller Abu Marjūm stood up in Basrah to tell the people stories, and made them weep. When he had finished his stories he said: Who will give us a grain of rice to eat for God's sake? A lad who was in the assembly rose and said: I will.—The story-teller said: Sit down, God have mercy on you, we know your place.—This happened a second time, and when the lad rose for the third time Abū

1. The Tradition is quoted from various authorities in the *Iṣābah*, No. 7460.

2. The story is told in *Kitāb Baghdad*, ii, 280, from which text has been corrected.

Marjūm said to his companions : Rise and go with me to him.—So they rose and went to his dwelling. Here (he said) a pot of beans was brought to us which we ate without salt. Then Abū Marjūm said : Bring me a table for five persons with five *Makkūk* of rice, five *Mann* of butter, ten *Mann* of sugar, five *Mann* of pine-seed, and five *Mann* of pistachio ; all of which were brought. Then said Abū Marjūm to his companions : Friends, what is the world like this morning ?—They replied : Bright in colour, white its sun. He said : Let its canals flow therein.—Then the butter was brought and made to flow in it. Abū Marjūm then accosted his companions saying : Friends, what is the world like this morning ?— They replied : Bright of colour, white its sun, canals flowing in it.—Then he said : Friends, now plant trees therein.— The pistachios and pine-seeds were brought, and flung in.—He then accosted his companions and said : Friends, what is the world like this morning ?—They replied : Bright of colour, white its sun, canals flowing and trees planted therein ; and its fruits are already hanging down for us.—Then he said : Friends, now pelt the world with its stones.—So the sugar was brought and thrown in.—Then Abu Marjūm accosted his companions, saying : Friends, what is the world like this morning ?—They repeated their last answer.—Then he said : Friends, what have we to do with the world ? Strike hands therein.—So they started plunging their hands therein and pushing it with their five fingers.¹—Abū'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Salāmah said : I mentioned this to Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzi and he bade meditate it to him, which I did. Then he said : This is the style of the Sufis.

I would observe that I have seen members of the community who when present at a banquet, eat excessively, and select bits of food with which they fill their pockets without the leave of the host. It is agreed that such procedure is unlawful. On one occasion I saw one of their Shaikhs, who had taken some of the food to carry it away, being assaulted by the host who took it from him.

Account of the Way wherein the Devil deludes the Sūfis in the Matters of Music, Dancing, and Emotion.

You should know that the hearing of singing has a double effect : one is that it distracts the heart from thinking about the greatness of God and maintaining His service ; the second that it inclines the heart to those transitory pleasures to the enjoyment of which it calls, in the gratification of all sensual pleasures, of which the most important is the sexual, which is only complete with fresh individuals, who cannot legally be multiplied, so that music leads to immorality. Between singing and immorality there

1. It is difficult in this passage to know to what substantives the pronominal suffixes refer, as they shift feminine to masculine. Apparently the table or tray represented the world, and the party made a good meal.

is a connexion, inasmuch as singing is a pleasure of the spirit, whereas immorality is the greatest of the pleasures of the soul. Hence there is found in the Tradition the saying : Singing is the charm of immorality. Now Abū Ja'far at-Ṭabari records that the inventor of musical instruments was a descendant of Cain called Tubal, who in the time of Mihla'il b. Qainān invented musical instruments such as the flute, the drum, and the lute. The descendants of Cain in consequence became addicted to amusement, and the account of their doings reached the descendants of Seth in the mountain, some of whom came down into the plain, and indecency and wine-drinking became rife.¹

This, I would observe, is because enjoyment of one thing suggests enjoyment of another, especially of something akin to it. When the devil despaired of hearing among the devotees any forbidden sound such as that of the lute, he bethought him of singing, which is effected by the help of that instrument ; and worked it up through singing without the instrument, encouraging them to practise it. His purpose was to work up from one thing to another. Now the jurist is the person who studies causes and effects, and considers intentions. For looking at a beardless lad is permissible, if there is no danger of lust being aroused, whereas if there is such danger it is illicit ; similarly it is permissible to kiss a girl of three years, since ordinarily no passion is aroused thereby ; but it is illicit if passion be aroused. Similarly it is permissible to be alone with women of prohibited degrees, but illicit if any danger is involved. So consider this principle.

Now there has been much discussion about singing, some forbidding it, others permitting it without disapproval, others with disapproval. The general result may be thus stated : The nature of a thing should be studied, and only then should it be forbidden, disapproved, or treated otherwise. Now the term singing is applied to a number of things such as that of pilgrims on their journeys, since some foreigners who are making the pilgrimage recite as they journey poems describing the Ka'bah, Zemzem, the Station of Abraham, sometimes beating the drum while they recite ; it is lawful to listen to such odes, the recitation of which does not afford such pleasure as to disturb equanimity. The case of raiders is similar ; they too recite odes encouraging them to raid. The same too is the case with duellists who recite boastful odes when they advance to single combat. The same too is the case of camel-drivers, who recite odes on the Meccan road, *e.g.*

Her guide her soul with fair assurance fills :
To-morrow thou shalt see Talh and the hills.

Such odes spur on camel and man, but such encouragement does not thrill sufficiently to disturb mental balance. Now the origin of singing to camels was told us by Yaḥya b. al-Ḥasan in a tradition going back to Ṭalḥa²

1. Ṭabari, *chronicle*, i, 168 (abridged).

2. Died 152.

of Mecca who had it from one of their savants, that the Prophet one night on the Mecca road turned aside to a party who had with them a driver who was singing, saluted them, and said : Our driver has fallen asleep, so hearing your driver sing, I turned off to you. Do you know how such singing originated ?—Certainly not, they replied.—He said : Their father Mudar went to one of his herdsman and found that his camels were all scattered. He took a stick and hit his slave on the hand with it. The slave ran into the Wadi shrieking : My hand, my hand ! The camels, hearing this, came towards him. Mudar said : If this sort of thing were reduced to rule, the camels would like it and come together. So such singing was reduced to rule.¹

The Prophet had a singing camel-herd named Anjashah, whose singing made the camels trot : to whom he said : Anjashah, drive slowly with the glass bottles.² Salāmah b. al-Akwa' said in a Tradition : We started out with the Prophet to Khaibar and travelled all night. One of the company said to 'Āmir b. al-Akwa' : May we not hear some of your stuff ? Now 'Āmir was a poet, so he alighted and led the people's camels by singing :

Only by Thee, O God, we find our way ;
Only through Thee give alms, through Thee we pray.
Cause Thou Thy peace to rest on us to-day,
And let our feet be steady in the fray.

The Prophet asked who this driver was. When told that it was 'Āmir b. al-Akwa' he said : God have mercy on him !

I would observe that it is recorded that al-Shāfi'i said : There is no harm in listening to the songs of camel-herds and the recitations of the Bedouin.

I may add that among Arab recitations were the words of the people of Madina when the Prophet arrived :

Out of the Farewell ridges
Rises on us the moon :
Let us while preacher preaches
Be grateful for the boon.

Verses of this style were recited in Madina, at times accompanied by the drum. Thus we have been informed by Ibn al-Ḥasān in a Tradition going back to 'Ā'ishah that she was visited on the days of Mina by Abū-Bakr, when there were with her two slave-girls who were beating drums while the Prophet was wrapped in a cloak. When the slave-girls were rebuked by Abū-Bakr, the Prophet uncovered his face and bade Abū-Bakr leave them alone, as these were feast-days. This Tradition is produced

1. This seems to be the sense ; but the text may be corrupt.

2. According to Ibn al-Athīr the glass bottles meant the women in the Howdahs, who were equally fragile. See also the Ḥadīth, يا اخنوخ لا تكسر القوارير يعني ضففة النساء Ed., I.C.

in both *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

I would observe that these slave-girls were clearly of tender years: since the Prophet used to send such girls to play with 'Ā'isha. We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir in a Tradition going back to Maṣṣūr b. al-Walīd b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad that the latter said: I asked Abū-'Abdallāh Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal what was the singing mentioned in this story of 'Ā'isha and the slave-girls; he replied that it was the song of the riders "We've come to you! we've come to you!" Al-Khallal (Maṣṣūr's informant) added that he had been told by Aḥmad b. al-Faraj al-Ḥimsi a Tradition going back to 'Ā'isha, according to which she said: We had with us an orphan girl of an Anṣār family, whom we gave in marriage to one of the Anṣār, and I was among those who conducted her to her bridegroom. The Prophet said: 'Ā'isha, the Anṣār are given to erotic poetry, so what did you say?—She said: We invoked blessings on them.—He said: Why did you not say:—

We've come to you, we've come to you;
Greet us and we will greet you too.
Were it not for the ruddy gold,
She had not entered in your fold.
Were it not for the golden ear,
Lasses would not so plump appear.

We have been informed by Ibn al-Ḥaṣin in a Tradition going back to Jābir b. 'Abdallāh that the Prophet said to 'Ā'isha: Have you taken the girl to her home?—Yes, she replied.—And did you (he asked) send with her some one to sing to them

We've come to you, we've come to you;
Greet us and we will greet you too?

For (he said) the Anṣār are people given to erotic verses.

I would observe that these records explain what they sang, which was not thrilling in character, neither were their drums of the style known in our time. To the same category belong odes which were recited by ascetics with chant and tune stirring the heart to thoughts of the next world, called them ascetic odes, such as:

O thoughtless one in all thy ways,
How long will sin receive thy praise?
Fearest thou not that scene of stress
When God will make thy limbs confess?
I marvel how one blessed with sight
Turns blindly from the path of right.

This too is permissible, and to such verses Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal referred when he sanctioned them according to a Tradition told us by Abū'l-'Azīz¹ Kāwūs with a chain of transmitters going back to Abū-Hāmid al-Khulqānī

1. Probably Abū 'Abd al-'Azīz.

who said to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal : O Abū 'Abdallāh, what do you say of the moving verses which are about Paradise and Hell ? He asked for a specimen. I (said the narrator) replied that they said :

When unto me my Lord doth say,
Me dost thou boldly disobey,
Dost hide thy sin from human eye
But me unblushingly defy ?

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal asked me to repeat the lines, which I did. He rose up, entered his chamber, and shut the door ; but I heard him groaning inside as he recited the verses.

There are also verses recited by professional mourners, who thereby move men to grief and draw tears ; these are to be forbidden owing to their import.

As for the odes recited by professional singers, describing fair women, wine, and other subjects calculated to produce emotion and disturb equanimity, thereby awaking the dormant passion for entertainment which is the style familiar in this time, e.g.

Golden of hue, a fire might seem
Out of that cheek to blaze or gleam ;
They terrify me with disgrace ;
I'd welcome it for such a face :

for such odes they have composed melodies of different sorts, all having the effect of disturbing the hearer's equanimity, and arousing passion. They have a style which they call *al-Basil*, which gently stirs the heart, after which they introduce the recitation which causes violent emotion ; to this they add striking with the wand in rhythm according with the recitation, the ringing of bells, the *Shabbābah* which is a substitute for the reed-pipe. This is the singing which is familiar at this time.

Before we discuss its lawfulness or unlawfulness or whether it should be disapproved, we may state that the wise man should give good advice to himself and his fellows, and should be on his guard against the devil's deluding him into treating this style of singing like the varieties with which we have been dealing, which also are designated singing. He should not treat all forms alike, saying so-and-so permits it, and so-and-so disapproves of it. So let us begin with what is sound advice for oneself and one's fellows.

It is a known fact that the natures of human beings vary and are scarcely ever uniform ; and if a healthy, vigorous young man professes that the sight of fair women does not affect or influence him or interfere with his piety, we disbelieve him, knowing what we do of the human constitution ; but, if his veracity is established, we may tell him that he suffers from an ailment which upsets his balance. If he alleges in excuse that he looks at the fair women only by way of contemplation and admira-

tion of the Creator's skill in producing such black eyes, delicate noses, tint of pure white, we may say to him that there is sufficient opportunity for such contemplation offered by the various objects which the law permits, whereas in this case there is a natural inclination which distracts from thought, and indeed owing to the supervision of passion does not permit it to exist. Likewise, if a person says : This thrilling chant which produces emotion and stirs the erotic sentiment and love of worldly things has no effect on me, neither inclines my heart to love of that world which it describes : we shall not believe him, this being a matter in which all natures participate. Further, even if his heart be far removed from passion through fear of God, such audition will recall him to nature, however long he may have been travelling on the road of fear. And there is nothing worse than leaving the right path. And how can such deviation escape Him (XX, 6) *Who knows what is secret and yet more hidden ?* Further, if the case be as this Sufi asserts, we ought not to permit the indulgence except to persons so qualified ; whereas the community permit it absolutely to a young beginner, or an ignorant stripling. So much so that Abū-Hāmid al-Ghazzālī asserts that it is the correct view that erotic prologues describing cheeks, temples, figures, stature and other feminine charms are not to be forbidden.

As for the person who says that he does not listen to the singing for any worldly object, but merely to obtain hints therefrom, he is in error in two ways. One of them is that nature hastens to its aim before the hints are obtained, so that he is like the one who asserts that he gazes on a fair woman in order to reflect on the creation. The second is that the singing contains little that can serve as a hint about the Creator, who is too lofty to permit of the expressions " to be enamoured " or " to philander " being used in reference to Him. Our portion of knowledge of Him is awe and the sense of His greatness.

Having finished our counsel, let us record what has been said concerning singing.

The view of Ahmad b. Hanbal. In his time the singing consisted in recitation of ascetic odes ; different views are recorded as his in the case where such odes were set to music. His son 'Abdallāh records that he said : Singing produces hypocrisy in the heart ; I do not like it.—Ismā'il b. Ishāq ath-Thaqafi records that being asked about listening to odes he said : I disapprove, it is an innovation ; such company is to be avoided.—Abu'l-Hārith records that he said : Singing is an innovation.—When told that it softened the heart, he repeated that it was an innovation. Ya'qūb al-Hāshimi records the same, with the introduction of a synonym.—Ya'qūb b. Ghiyāth records that he said that he disapproved of singing and forbade listening to it.

I would observe that all these traditions indicate disapproval of singing. Abū-Bakr al-Khallāl states that Ahmad disapproved of odes when told that they were accompanied with ribaldry. There is, however, another

tradition that he said they were harmless. Al-Marwazi says : I asked Abū 'Abdallāh (Ibn-Ḥanbal) about odes, and he said they were an innovation.—I said to him : They (the poets) rave.—He said : They do not go as far as that.

We have been told that Aḥmad heard a man chanting to his son Ṣāliḥ and made no objection.—Ṣāliḥ said to him : Papa, do you not disapprove of this ?—He replied : I was merely told that they indulged in impropriety in consequence whereof I disapproved ; but I see no objection to this.

I would observe that members of our school (the Ḥanbalite) have recorded that Abū-Bakr al-Khallāl and his friend 'Abd al-'Azīz permitted singing, referring to the ascetic odes of their time. And the approval of Aḥmad must refer to the same. This is indicated by the fact that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, being asked about a case in which a man had died and left a son and a singing-girl, whom the lad had to sell, had replied that she must not be sold as a singing-girl. Being told that as a singing-girl she would be worth 30,000 dirhems, whereas as an ordinary slave-girl she would probably fetch only 20 dinars,¹ he still said she must be sold as an ordinary slave.

He must have said this on the ground that the singing-girl would not sing ascetic odes, but such as are merry and erotic. And this shows that singing is forbidden, since, were it otherwise, he would not have let the orphan lose the money. The case then was similar to that in which Abū-Ṭalḥah told the Prophet that he was in possession of wine belonging to certain orphans. The Prophet bade him pour it away. Had it been permissible to regard it as a proper possession, he would not have wasted the orphans' property. Al-Marwazi reports that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal said : The earnings of a eunuch by singing are to be condemned : the reason being that such a person does not sing ascetic odes, but only such as are erotic or dirges. It is clear from this collection that the two opinions recorded of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, approving and disapproving, refer respectively to ascetic odes set to music and to others. The singing with which we are acquainted in these days is illicit according to him : still more would it have been had he known of the additions which have been introduced since his day.

With regard to the system of Mālik b. Anas, we have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir in a tradition going back to Ishāq b. 'Isā aṭ-Ṭabba' that the latter said : I asked Mālik b. Anas about the singing in which the people of Madina freely indulged. He replied that this was done only by evil-doers.—We have been informed by Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarīrī that he was told by Abū-ṭ-Tayyib aṭ-Ṭabari that Mālik b. Anas had forbidden both singing and listening to it. If, he said, a man buy a slave-girl and find that she is a singer, he may make the vendor take her back as defective.—This is the doctrine of all the Madinese except Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd,

1. At the usual rate of exchange, 300 dirhems.

who, according to Zakariyyā as-Saji, saw no harm in it.

With regard to the system of Abū-Ḥanīfah, we have been informed by Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarīrī after Abū't-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabari that Abū-Ḥanīfa disapproved of singing, although he permitted the drinking of date-wine; he regarded listening to singing as sinful. Similar, he said, was the doctrine of the other jurists of Kufa, Ibrāhīm, ash-Sha'bi, Hammād, Sufyān ath-Thauri, etc., there being no difference between them on the subject. Nor, he added, do we know of any difference of opinion among the jurists of Baṣra in disapproval and prohibition of it, except that 'Ubaid-Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Anbārī¹ is recorded to have seen no harm in it.

With regard to the system of ash-Shāfi'i we have been given by the same authority a tradition going back to al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Harawī according to which the latter said: I heard Muḥammad b. Idrīs (ash-Shāfi'i) say: I left behind me in Iraq an invention of the atheists, which they call Shifting,² whereby they divert people from the Qur'ān.

The Shifters are mentioned by Abū-Manṣūr al-Azhari,³ as people who "shift" by the mention of God in prayer and supplication: They call the emotional poetry which they introduce into the mention of God "Shifting," the idea being that when they chant their words with tunes they feel emotion and dance. This is why they are called Shifters.

We have been informed by Hibat Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarīrī after Abū't-Ṭayyib Ṭāhir b. 'Abdallāh aṭ-Ṭabari that ash-Shāfi'i said: Singing is to be disapproved, as it resembles falsehood. One who does it frequently is a fool, whose evidence is to be rejected. He added that ash-Shāfi'i disapproved of Shifting.—Aṭ-Ṭabari states that the learned men of the chief cities were agreed in disapproval and prohibition of singing; the only jurists who differed from the general opinion were Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd and 'Ubaidallāh al-Anbārī. Now the Prophet said: Be on the side of the great majority; for one who isolates himself, does so in Hell.—And again: Whoso differs from the general opinion dies a pagan death.

Now I would observe that the leading followers of ash-Shāfi'i disapproved of hearing music. No case is known of a different opinion among the earlier members of this school; and the foremost representatives of it in later times also disapproved. Among the latter was Abū't-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabari, who composed a treatise in censure and prohibition of singing, recited to us by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī. Also the Qāḍī Abū-Bakr Muḥammad b. Muẓaffar ash-Shāmi, who, as reported to us by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak al-Anmatī, said that singing, listening to it, and playing with a rod were all illicit. He added that any one who attributed to ash-Shāfi'i the licencing of these performances was making a false assertion. And indeed ash-Shāfi'i states distinctly in his *Book of Conduct for a Qāḍī*

1. Qāḍī of Baṣra, ob. 168.

2. The text has been corrected from Jāhiz, *Bayān*, ed. 1332, I, 116.

3. 282-370. His name was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.

that if any man habitually listens to singing his evidence is to be rejected, and he is disqualified from giving testimony.

This, then, is the doctrine of learned and pious followers of ash-Shafi'i, and licence was only given by some of the later followers, whose knowledge was scanty, and whom passion overcame. The jurists of our (the Ḥanbalite) school hold that the evidence of a singer or a dancer is not to be accepted.—God is our guide !

(To be Continued).

(Late) D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Maharaja Yamin-us-Saltanat Prize and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu Prize for non-Muslim Competitors on the Life of the Prophet.

AS USUAL the boarders of the Osmania University hostels arranged this year a prize competition for writing essays on different given topics connected with the life of the Prophet. Two special prizes were reserved for non-Muslim boys and girls respectively from among the college students of the University. In spite of unusually short time, due to unavoidable circumstances this year, the response was very great and even lady candidates were praised very much by the examiners for the wide reading and objective treatment.

Theses on Islamic Studies :

Candidates for the Master's Degree in the Osmania University are offering their theses as we write these lines in the middle of February. Many of these pertain to Islamic studies. A select list may be of interest:

LL.M. :—

1. 'Abdul Mājid Fārūqī, *Comparative Study of the Institution of the Caliphate and the Papacy.*
2. 'Abdul-Mun'im, *Constitutional Position of Asaffjāh I after his Declaration of Independence vis-a-vis the Mughals and a Comparison with the Sultanates of the Later 'Abbasid Period.*
3. Ismā'il 'Ali Khan, *Private International Law in Hyderabad, Past and Present.*
4. 'Abdul-Ḥafīz, *Administration of Justice in the Mediæval Muslim Deccan.*
5. Riyād Ahmad, *A Comparative Study of the Rights of Wife and Husband in Different Systems of Law, with Special Regard to Islam.*
6. Vināyak Rāo Ranbāorey, *Custom in Different Systems of Law, with Particular Reference to Hindu and Muslim Laws.*
7. Laxman Reddy, *The Theory of Balance of Power, Particularly in Hindu and Muslim Political Science.*

Theology, M.A. :—

1. Diyā'uddīn, *Muḥammad 'Abduh and his Characteristics from the Point of View of Kalām.*

Arabic, M.A. :—

1. Syed 'Abdullāh, *Kumait and his Poetry.*
2. Syed Naṣrullāh, *Ḥassān ibn Thābit and his Poetry.*
3. Mohd. 'Abdur Rashīd, *Kharijites, their Poetry and their Famous Poets.*

Persian, M.A. :—

1. Miss Sa'idah Maẓhar, *Life and Poetry of Naẓīri Nishāpūri.*
2. Miss Syeda Salīm, *Life and Poetry of 'Abdur-Raḥmān Jāmi.*
3. Aḥmad Idris Qādrī, *Life of Zinda Ghani and a Persian Composition of Khāja Bandē Nawāz (of Gulbarga).*

History, M.A. :—

1. Shaikh Maḥmūd, *Educational Progress of Modern Hyderabad.*
2. Syed Taqī 'Alī, *Contribution of Seljuqs to Civilisation and Culture.*
3. Ishwarnāth Māthur, *Political Thought of Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī.*
4. Muḥammad Asadullāh, *Political Influences of Muḥammad Ghūri.*

Exhibitions of Islamic Culture in Hyderabad :

THE earliest recorded public exhibition of Muslim culture was inaugurated on 4th Muḥarram, 1345 H. in the Bazm-e-Adab, Hyderabad. Though it consisted of the possession of only one family, it had a marked success. It was described in detail in the monthly *Ma'ārif*, Azamgarh, of February, 1927. The same organisers were responsible for renewed efforts in the years to follow in the Bazm-e-Adab as well as the Arabic Union and the Historical Union of the Osmania University. The last named was an imposing affair as a large number of notables in the city had co-operated to make it a success. It was described in the Urdu Hyderabad weekly, the *Nizam Gazette* of 26th Mihr, 1339 F. (1930). Two years ago, immediately after the exhibition of the Moham-madan College, Madras, a society was formed, in Hyderabad which organised the biggest exhibition, as recorded, of Islamic culture, described among others by us also. Under the auspices of the said society, the interest is now spreading all over the country with the result that many hidden treasures are coming to light and are better cared and preserved by their so far ignorant owners.

Early this year the Theology Union of the Warangal College organised a provincial exhibition of Islamic culture which was a great success.

In the first week of Rabi' I last, a new note was devised when the annual 'Urs of a local Mashā'ikh, Syed Saifuddin Qādrī, was the occasion of an exhibition of Islamic culture, probably the first of its kind at such an opportune time. It is a fact that the Mashā'ikhs of Hyderabad possess not only a very large quantity of objects worthy of the highest cultural exhibitions, but they also possess means of organising exhibitions. If the lead given this year by Maulānā Qādir Muḥiuddīn Qādrī is followed by others, one may expect to bring to light unheard-of treasures of great value.

M. H.

DECCAN

Bombay Provincial Jamī'at-ul-Ulema Conference :

OVER 25,000 persons, including people of all shades of political opinion, attended the conference which was held in Bombay in the month of January 1945. Maulānā Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvi, presiding over the session on the first day, said: "Ignorance of the traditions and culture of one religion and adoption of another lead to fiasco. The new culture and civilization in this country did more harm than good." He advised the people to study the teachings of their own religion to know what it contained. M. Pir Zia Ma'sūm, Chairman of the Reception Committee, said that the lack of education among the Muslims had led them to all those vices which Islam prohibited. He advised them to devote more attention to education. He was of opinion that there was great room for improvement in the administration of Waqf. The Muslims were not only backward educationally but in every sphere of life. Maulānā Muḥammad Tayyib, presiding over the session of the second day, said: "Slavery is the worst disease: Islam teaches us to live free and independent: we must make earnest effort to gain independence. Muslims should rise to the occasion according to the injunctions of their religion. Many useful resolutions were passed; such as: Urdu should be the common language of India, since it was spoken in every part of the country and understandable by the majority of the inhabitants without the distinction of caste and creed. This resolution also criticised the attitude of all those institutions which were opposing the language on communal basis and regarded it as more propaganda against the Muslim community. In a resolution the Bombay Municipal authorities were criticised for failure to introduce religious instructions in primary schools. A resolution was passed urging the British Government to look into the genuine grievances of the Arabs in Palestine. The need for an Islamic Research Institute in Bombay was also urged.

Indian History Congress :

The 7th Session of the Indian History Congress was held in Madras in the last week of December, 1944. The section dealing with mediæval period, ranging from 1206 to 1526 A.D., was presided over by Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvi. In the course of his presidential address he said : "History of India is being taught by our own compatriots, who also compile various text-books, and conduct researches on the deeds and achievements of the kings of different periods. But I regret to find that they are still treading upon the path of their foreign predecessors. And so the imperative need is to be guided by the pure motive of neutralising the evils of the previous system of writing and teaching history, and re-casting it in order to create harmony and concord amongst the various peoples of this country. Historical facts are raw materials, which can be manufactured into any shape and form. A biased and unbiased historian can interpret one and the same historical incident in two different ways. . . . I regret to say that the Turk conquerors in waging wars in India overlooked the Islamic laws of war and peace, victory and booty as well as income and expenditure. Still their questionable behaviour is ascribed to the Islamic Shari'at, although Islam has provided a clear and definite code which regulates how to deal with the Dhimmis by mutual agreement. This sort of discussion is generally made an object of much confusion, and so the history of the Muslim rulers of India has dwindled into confused mass of controversy. Their administration, along with their religious laws and injunctions, are depicted sometimes in a horrible manner. This has reaction amongst the other group of writers who try to defend every deed and extol every action of the Muslim rulers. The virtue of researches is thus transformed into the vices of bitter criticism in the historical works of the respective authors. Historical criticism must be free from all imputed motives. Glorious deed of a king must be eulogised and not underrated and their evil actions must be deprecated and not defended. This must always be kept in view that the Muslim rulers were no doubt the temporal heads, but were not the spiritual luminaries and divines who were expected to be free from all failings and shortcomings. If they committed some political errors or adopted some improper course, we do not need to offer any apology on their behalf, nor we are to feel ashamed of ourselves for their lapses. No nation can boast of having all of its rulers and conquerors as paragons of virtues. Each country in every age had good as well as bad kings. . . ."

The following papers dealing with the Indo-Muslim history were submitted to the conference :—

Gury Venkata Rao.—*Status of Musalmans in the Vijayanagar Empire.*

Kishori Saran Lal —*Zia Barani—as an Authority on the Khiljis.*

Dr. Maḥdi Ḥusain.—*Maḥmūd of Ghazni idolised by 'Isāmi.*

Dr. S. Moinu'l-Haq.—*The Deccan Policy of Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq.*

Dr. P. M. Joshi.—*Some Notes on the Textile Industry and Trade of the Kingdom of Bijapur.*

Prof. H. K. Sherwani.—*The Independence of Bahmani Governors.*

Dr. B. A. Saletore.—*Gujarat as Known in Mediæval Europe.*

K. B., J. D. Kanga.—*Arts and Letters during the Reign of Maḥmūd of Ghazna.*

Mr. Abdul Majid Khan.—*Sultān Ghiyāthu'd-Din I was of Bengal.*

Mr. Jagdish Narayan Sarkar.—*Mir Jumla's Diplomatic Relations with Ranga Rayal and Shahuji Bhonsle.*

M. 'Abdulla Chaghatai.—*Āl (race)-i-Tarkhan and their Survivors in India.*

'Abdul-Majid Siddiqi.—*Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, the Organiser of the Quṭb Shāhi Dynasty of Golconda.*

K. Sajan Lal.—*A Plea for the Study of Pre-Mutiny Urdu Newspapers.*

Mr. A. Subbaraya Chetty.—*Tipu's Endowments to the Hindus and the Hindus' Institutions.*

Muslim Inscriptions :

Recently Mr. V. S. Bendrey, Poona, has brought out a brochure entitled *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions* with a foreword by Prof. Shaikh 'Abdul-Qādir Sarfarāz. It is divided into two parts. The introductory part is spread over twenty short sections and the second part gives the most essential particulars of each inscription so far published in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslimica* of Government of India. The author acknowledges that he is not conversant with Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages. That is why the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslimica* has been chosen for this study. In the published material before us in the *E.I.M.* we never find that any contributor would have put words Ramjan, Fouzdar, etc. as Mr. Bendrey has put them in this brochure instead of their actual rendering as Ramzan, Foujdar, etc.

The Glory that was Gurjardesa :

Mr. K. M. Munshi, the president of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, has recently published the third part of his scheme *An Exhaustive History of Greater Gujarat* from the earliest pre-historic times up to 1300 A.C. So far only its first and third parts have been published. The latter dealing up to 1300, which also includes the early Muslim period history of Western India, is before us. Mir. Munshi is a well-known

writer among the Gujaratis. A casual glance into his work reveals that it is a well documented attempt. Although by a Muslim it requires a very careful study and it is also obvious that he has devoted much of his attention to Hindu viewpoint. He himself says in its foreword: "In this volume I have also touched the fringe of the next period (1199-1526 A.C.), which in fact is the age of Indian Resistance. Generally the history of this period is devoted to the achievements of the Sultanate of Delhi as have been described by the court poets and historians of Delhi, and which in consequence, are accorded a space and treatment incommensurate with facts. First, except during a few years under 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khiljī and Maḥmūd Tughlak (correct is 'Muḥammad Tughluq), Delhi was but a raiding camp with a small hinterland and several scattered outposts controlled by incessant expeditions with the aid of foreign and local mercenaries and did not settle down into a political and cultural centre on account of the rapidity with which it changed masters during this period. Secondly, from the Indian point of view, it was a period of ceaseless resistance on a country wide scale. Thirdly, the Turks and Afghans military captains wherever they could, established independent principalities with the aid of local Hindu co-operation. Of this period the most tragic factor was the inability of the Indian kings to organise collective resistance on a scale sufficient to overcome the new danger. It is of the greatest importance that this period which introduced an alien factor in the country and which ended in producing factors of adjustment which still influence the destiny of the country, would be studied in the light of Indian materials which are now available."

Indian Historical Records Commission :

The twenty-first Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission took place at Udaipur (Mewar) during the month of December, 1944. Thirty-three papers, based on unpublished documents, were read on different aspects of Indian history. Only the following as noted below in brief dealt with Indo-Muslim history:—

Diplomatic Letters of Shāh Jahān by A. Halim :

This paper is based on a MS. of the *Aḥkām-i-Shāh-Jahāni* which exists in the library of the Muslim University, Aligarh. It is a collection of eighteen letters, fifteen of which are addressed to the rulers of Trans-Oxiana, Persia and the Deccan ; one in the form of a Farman to Shāyista Khān, and of the latter two, one is addressed to Jahān Ārā while the last by Prince Aurangzeb to Shāh Jahān is a representation of Aurangzeb before his encounter with Dārā. Aurangzeb complains that the Emperor Shāh Jahān has lost all control over the administration which is in the hands

of his brother who was and is his enemy. He cites example of his past conduct and justifies his march to the capital.

'Ādil Shāhi Grants to Shaikh Muḥammad Abū-Turāb Mudarris by M.A.Chaghtai :

Ever since the Muslim conquest of the Deccan, Bijapur has been a centre of learning. Shaikh Abū-Turāb Mudarris, professor, his father Shaikh Abu'l-Ma'ālī and his grandfather Shaikh 'Ilmullah belonged to a group of professors. Shaikh Abū-Turāb was very popular owing to his keen interest which he took in the profession of teaching and thus he was called Mudarris. He had received some grants from the 'Ādil Shāhi kings of Bijapur which were later on transferred to his family. These four documents described here, range from A.H. 1076/A.D. 1656 to A.H. 1133/A.D. 1723.

The Pre-Mutiny Records in Agra by Dr. Mahdi Ḥussain :

The records at the Agra Collectorate are rich in information and throw light on the pensions and gratuities granted by the Mughal emperors to the Hindus for the upkeep of their temples, idol-houses and cow-sheds ; they also throw light on the history of the Jum'a Masjid, the Tripolia, the Tomb of Mariam Zamāni at Sikandra and the Dargah of Fathpur Sikri, the Mausoleum of I'timādu'd-Dawla, the Tahsil and the Collectorate buildings.

Akhbārāt-i-Lahore-o-Multan by S. Ganda Singh :

They contain copies of Farmāns and Parwānas from the capital to the various Sardars and officials during the year preceding the annexation of the Panjab ; a Persian account book of the Sikh troops stationed at Peshawar from Chaitar to Bhadon Samvat 1905, with the signature of George Lawrence ; and an autobiography and correspondence of Maulvi Sayyid Rajab 'Alī Khān who was for a long time Mir Munshi to the agent to the Governor-General on the Sikh frontier and later on to the British Resident at Lahore. The *Akhbārāt*, or news-letters, cover the most eventful period of the great tragedy. They were written for the information of some one beyond the boundaries of the Sikh kingdom and this is shown from the fact that Diwan Mul Raj, Raja Sher Singh and his father Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala and their friends are referred to as *namak ḥarām* and *badzāt*—traitors and base-borns.

A Parwānah of Nawāb Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān to the Dutch by K. K. Datta :

The Parwānah was issued to the Dutch in Bengal by its Nawab Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān in 1730. It referred to the trade of the Dutch in Southern India. Dr. Datta has criticised the Parwānah and says

at its end that Nawab Shujā'-ud-Dīn granted to the Dutch a Parwāna containing strictest injunctions against all kinds of molestation and impediments which prejudiced their trade and other affairs.

Munsha'āt-i-Husainia Collection of Browne's Correspondence by S. H. Askari :

It is an unbound and undated MS. in the Oriental Public Library, Patna, which contains the correspondence of Major Browne. It was compiled at his instance by Munshi Sayyid Muḥammad Husain. Prof. 'Askari finds that it has been addressed to Shāh 'Ālam, Āsaf-ud-Dowla, Prince Jahāndār Shāh, Najaf Quli Khān, Zainu'l-'Ābidīn, Mīrẓā Shafī' Majd-ud-Dowla, Afrāsayāb Khān, Muḥammad Beg Khān Hamdāni, Afzal Khān, brother of Najīb-ud-Dowla, sister of Mīrẓā Najaf, Mahdji Sindhia, Raja Partab Singh of Jaipur, Raja Partap of Macheri, Raja Ranjit Singh of Bharatpur, Thakar Bakht Singh of Bharatpur, Raja Bhim Singh of Udaipur, Raja Bishen Singh of Bundi, Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala, Raja Karan Singh Sikh, Raja Chait Singh of Benares, Ray-i-Rayan Manikchand, Lajjah Ram and Sarda Ram, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān and Mīrẓa Khalil. The collection includes some letters addressed to Major Browne, and also two important letters, one from Hastings to the king, the other from Mīrẓā Shafī' to Hastings.

Two Documents relating to the Nature of Religious Assignments in the Sultanate of Gujarat by Dr. J. H. Quraishi :

These documents are in the possession of Sayyid Amīr Miyān Ṣāhib of Mangrol. The first is a Farman assigning a sum of ten lakh and sixty thousand coins for the maintenance of the descendants of Sayyid Sikandar and the upkeep of his shrine, its mosque and staff. Sayyid Sikandar was the disciple and Khalifa of Haḍrat Jahāniya. It is dated A.H. 960/ A.D. 1553. The second document is a government certificate regarding the grant of land for the maintenance of an Imām and a Mu'adhdhin in one of the mosques built by Sayyid Sikandar. It is dated A.H. 812/ A.D. 1416.

The Dabdaba-i-Sikandari by Mr. Kasim Ali Sajan Lal :

Mr. K. Sajan Lal has undertaken to describe the old newspapers of India and in this contribution deals with a newspaper entitled *Dabdaba-i-Sikandari*, as it was named after one of the Nawabs of Rampur. It was published every Monday by order of Muḥammad Hasan Khan under the supervision of Md. Hasan, the editor, in the Maṭba'-i-Husaini, Rohilkhand, Rampur. The paper, along with its necessary items, used to prevent the spread of false rumours or reports and always took other editors to task for lowering the prestige of the press.

Persian Correspondence of Vithal Mahadeo Kibe alias Tatyā Jog of Indore by R. B., M. V. Kibe :

Sardar Kibe found about two hundred documents in Persian relating to the period between 1818 and 1826 when Vithal Mahadeo as the head of the administration of the Holkar State had been engaged in the work of consolidation. All these letters are now in the custody of the Rajwade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhulia, (Khandesh).

Shaikh 'Alī of Mahim (near Bombay) :

The writer of this note, on the invitation of some merchant friends of Bombay, had the opportunity to pay a visit to the shrine of the saint Shaikh 'Alī at Mahim, particularly on the occasion of the commemoration of the said Shaikh which took place in the beginning of December, 1944. Though the shrine is daily visited by numerous people of all shades and creed yet during the week of the commemoration thousands of people visited it to pay a tribute to the memory of the saint and get blessings thereof. On this particular occasion the Bombay Government had to make very elaborate arrangements of traffic to meet with the huge rush of the devotees and visitors almost from all parts of the country. As to the details of the life and work of the Shaikh enquiries were made on the spot but unfortunately no one could throw any light. Every one following the tradition of the past and having a great faith in the saint had come there and nothing else. And above all, to enjoy the sight of the variety shows and shops of sweets, Halwa Māhim, people come there in flocks. However, a brief account pertaining to the life of the Shaikh and his work is gleaned here from various sources. We notice that the first mention of Māhim in Muslim annals appears in A.H. 835/A.D. 1432 when Sulṭān Aḥmad I of Gujarat contested with the Dakhan sovereign its possession in which the Gujaratis were victorious (*Firishta*, Per. Text, Bombay ed. II, 370-71). It leads us to believe that the island of Māhim much earlier than this incident was already known as a flourishing populated town. There was a Madrasa-school where this Shaikh 'Alī used to give lessons to students for which reason, according to a short biography in Arabic known as *ضمير الانسان لازداد اشتياق المحبين الى ذكر الرحمن* he is generally called Shaikh Faqīh (skilled in Jurisprudence or School-master). His name was Shaikh 'Alī bin Ḥasan bin Ibrāhīm bin Ismā'il Makhdūm Māhimī. This small manuscript in the Library of the University of Bombay has been composed by Sayyid Ibrāhīm bin Sayyid Muḥammad al-Qādrī al-Ḥusaynī al-Madani, who has based his information on a certain book of Mulla Muḥammad Khalil of Kalyani. The first chapter deals with the saint's lineage, the date of birth (A.H. 776/A.D. 1375) and the date of his death (8th Jumada II, 835/11th Feb. 1432). He was 59 years old at the time of his death. He was buried at Māhim on Friday

in the graveyard in which his mother and other relatives were buried. Shaikh 'Alī belonged to the tribe of Nawait and he was the follower of the sect of ash-Shāfi'ī. Chapter II treats of the miracles he had shown before he had attained maturity and chapter III gives an account of the miracles shown thereafter. But it is a pity that many details of his life are not available. Among his literary works his commentary on the holy Qur'ān, known as *تفسير الرحمن وتيسير المنان*, is well-known and has already been published at Cairo in two volumes. About his commentary one great authority says: "There are hundreds of commentaries on the Qur'ān but this contribution is absolutely different and distinct from others as far as style and way of explaining the verses of the Qur'ān are concerned." One feels so much interested in its study and begins to feel charmed by its special style. His second work *كتاب انعام الملك العلام* is considered by the same authority as standard work, being the first of its type which was later on found in the *Hujjatullāh al-Bāligha* of Shāh Wali'ullāh of Delhi, although the latter had never seen that of the Shaikh. Therefore it is recognised that within one thousand years there has been no one who could be compared with the Shaikh except Shāh Wali'ullāh Muḥaddith of Delhi. From the study of the *Ḍamīr-ul-Insān* a list of his works is available which is:—

كشف الظلمات، شرح القصص، انعام ملك العلام، نور الازهر و شرح ضوء الازهر، استجلاء المصير، ترجمه لغات عراق، زوارف شرح عوارف، المحاضر الصبيح، مرآة الحقائق ترجمه جام جهان نما، شرح رسالة الوجود، تفسير تبصير الرحمن و تيسير المنان.

This note is based on the authorities:— *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*, 174; *Barakāt-ul-Awliyā*, 36; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, 59-60; *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Urdu MSS.* in the Library of the University of Bombay by Sh. 'Abdul Qādir-i-Sarfarāz, 181.

M.A.C.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Bengal, celebrated the thirtieth death anniversary of Khwaja Altāf Husain Ḥālī on the 1st January, 1945, at the Islamia College, Calcutta, amidst a distinguished gathering which enjoyed a great intellectual festivity on the occasion. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over the function. During the course of her presidential address, she paid a glowing tribute to the merit and talent of Ḥālī and observed, "Languages are there to express the fine thought of human beings. That thought has been revealed in Ḥālī's simplest and most beautiful words. Ḥālī wrote in a language which every village woman could understand. When he writes about the Prophet he writes not in the language of mysticism...., but he writes in the language in which he was able to unite all the quarrelling, all the conflicting, all the rebellious clans of his people. There is the message of Ḥālī in the language of everybody's

life rather than in the grandeur of palaces." She added further, "Hālī was really one of the great makers of modern India. Although he wrote in the Urdu language, his was the language of Indian renaissance. It is a very strange thing that with that long inheritance of poetry influenced by a decadent period of Persian literature, which overshadowed all contemporary production, it was possible for this man to have the courage to break this tradition and create a new language which is the very language of modern thought. Hālī had a prophetic vision as every poet has. He foresaw that tomorrow is the child of today. In him was born a spark of fire called patriotism, not in that narrow, stupid and isolated sense. He had a true love for his own people, which made him realise that literature could not be the language of the few or of the kings and princes, and of the law courts." And then she remarked, "Hālī said all poetry has a creative function. He said the day of softness was over. The future is only to those who are strong, who are true to their own sacrifice. That is the message of Hālī." In the end she appealed to the members of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu of Bengal to translate into Bengalee the finest thought in the poems of Hālī, so that not even a little child in Bengal need be ignorant of the great treasure that he had left.

Hālī evoked a similar profuse applause and admiration from other eminent scholars and publicists of Bengal as Khan Bahadur Raza 'Alī Wahshat, the well-known Urdu lyric poet of Bengal, in a written discourse entitled *Hālī and Urdu Literature* said: "Hālī's *Musaddas* is truly a remarkable production. Nothing like it exists in the Urdu language. It has achieved in no small degree the purpose which the author had in view. It has reawakened the sleeping Muslim, it has made him conscious of his weakness, it has reminded him of the glory that was once his, it has led him to paths more useful than he had lately been pursuing. The *Musaddas* has enjoyed wonderful popularity and will continue to do so for all time to come. In it the Muslim finds food for reflection and is at the same time urged to better himself and do something for the moral and material improvement of his community. If Hālī had written nothing else, his claim to the gratitude of his community would have continued to be as strong as ever, but he lived to win more laurels in the field of Urdu literature. Though a prolific writer, Hālī never wrote anything that could be called ephemeral. Every work of his bears the stamp of his thoughtful mind. His claim on the gratitude of his community and lovers of Urdu literature is destined to continue undisputed and unabated." Mr. Mowdūd-ur-Rahmān, Bar-at-Law, in his paper entitled *In Memoriam* observed, "*Musaddas*, which with its appendices, is not only a complete history of the rise and fall of Islam but also a true pen-picture of the depths of decadence to which the Muslim has fallen. It is a masterly survey of the causes of their downfall, and a sure guide to ways and means by which they can recover their lost glory." Mr. Mizān-ur-Rahmān, Deputy Magistrate and Collector, who is also the

Secretary of the Anjuman-i-Taraqq-i-Urdu, Bengal, in his article *Hālī, the Poet of Patriotism*, remarked that from the very outset Hālī did not like the old methods of Urdu poetry based on Persian models. The dreamy reverie on flower and nightingale, wine and goblet and the art of puns on words did not appeal to Hālī, who had higher conception of poetry. So he wrote *Musaddas*, which will keep his memory effulgent throughout. But his fame on the one side and gratitude of the lovers of Urdu literature on the other stand on different stable grounds. He was not merely an awakener of the Muslim India. His poem on *Patriotism*, his *Shikwa-i-Hind* (The Wail of India), his *Munājāt-i-Bēwa* (Widow's Prayer) his *Chup ki Dād* (Tribute to Silence) show him as a true lover of the country, though his passionate love for Islam is unquestioned. Hālī did demonstrate how one's love for his own religion and culture could be of no conflict with one's love for the land he lives in. It is the Hālīs of all communities or nations who are most needed at this time of storm and stripe all over the world. The Muslim Press of Calcutta also paid its homage and compliments to Hālī in the editorial columns. The *Morning News* in a long leading article eulogised Hālī as a man who was born with a mission in his life, a mission which he tried to achieve as a journalist, a writer, a poet and an essayist. It also wrote that Hālī's *Musaddas* is a fine specimen of Urdu epic poetry. It has, what Matthew Arnold calls 'high seriousness' and the felicity of its diction reaches the sublime heights which he would call, the 'grand style.' Its recurring note of plaintive despondency has a tremendous emotional appeal. It is not to the sterling literary qualities of the *Musaddas* but to its inspiring, renovating and revitalising power that the rebirth and consolidation of the Muslim nation in India are due. Hālī's magic words charged with the Islamic fire and faith breathed life into the supine people and spurred them on to action. He was one of the pioneers of the Aligarh Movement which ushered in the era of Muslim renaissance in India. The spirit that pervades the *Musaddas* is the living and eternal spirit of Islam which from age to age gives new life and new impetus to the nation." The *Star of India* wrote: "This eminent stylist, distinguished poet and, above all, gifted patriot was symbolic of the age he lived in. He harmonised the inner urge of the teeming millions around him, gave it a tone and purpose. Herein lies his unforgettable service to his nation and fatherland. He diagnosed the causes of Muslim's decadence and searched for the ways and means by which they could recover their past glory. He vividly portrayed their failings and foibles, the depths of degradation to which they had been dragged down to. He denounced the ostentation which had vulgarised and castigated the luxury which had enervated them. He lashed them right and left to awaken them from their decades-old stupor in words they had never heard before. No wonder his life and work began to exercise a commanding influence over them. His contributions to current literature were prolific and varied including the immortal *Musaddas*, which

is a testament to the Muslim nation."

It is pleasing to note here that the Bengalee speaking Muslims of Bengal have, of late, begun to take much interest in the classical literature of Urdu language and Urdu books are being translated into Bengalee. For example, some of the poems of Iqbal's *Bāng-i-Darā* have been rendered as *Pathays Paigham*, and Hāli's *Musaddus* as *Jagarni*. Just on the eve of writing these lines, a Bengali Muslim, contributing an article in the *Morning News*, has very strongly advocated the cause of Urdu for the Muslims of Bengal by saying, "Bengalee is as much foreign to the Muslims of Bengal as any other foreign tongue. It is certainly open to them to learn Bengalee though not at the expense of Urdu."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu spoke also on *Islamic Ideals* in the Muslim Institute Hall, Calcutta, on the 6th January 1945, under the Chairmanship of Sir Hasan Suhrawardy. She told the audience that the Holy Qur'ān was a great charter of humanity and a great Magna Carta of freedom. As a book of ethics and as a code of conduct, she said, she had not found any other scripture so clear-cut and simple as the Qur'ān which did not need commentaries from philosophers. Mrs. Naidu added that Islam gave every man the status of brotherhood and an indivisible code. It gave women an economic position in the recognition of their rights in property which was the beginning of self-respect and self-reliance. Besides Islam's gift to the world in Algebra, Science, Mathematics, etc., it brought to India a philosophy which was a corrective of too much of philosophy and too much of contemplation. Mrs. Naidu was of opinion that the educational and economic backwardness of the Muslims was due to their being unfaithful to their dynamic ideal. She then asked, "Why not mobilize that solidarity of the Mussalmans for the economic regeneration, for the purpose of giving the individual Mussalman the right to say that he is also in truth a true Mussalman in every sense?" Sir Hasan Suhrawardy characterised this speech as worthy of being pondered over because it contained much food for thought.

It has been reported in some Calcutta newspapers from London that Orientalists of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Manuscripts have begun to translate into Russian the complete text of Bābur's *Memoirs*. The present translation is being made from the old Uzbek manuscripts preserved in Hyderabad, India, and published in facsimile in London in 1905. The translation is expected to be published in 1945. The reporter has made the following comments also on Bābur's autobiography:— "The *Memoirs* of the first of the Great Mughals were written in old Uzbek, a language which reached the height of its development in the 15th and the 16th centuries and is not fully understood by the Uzbeks today. The new edition prepared by the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Academy is provided with a glossary of the more archaic words and expressions. Bābur's *Memoirs* are disconnected diary of events which took place during his lifetime and are

filled with adventures and vicissitudes. It is not a dry list of battles, campaigns, victories and defeats. Wit, learning and the ability to use apt quotations from the classic poets, a fine handwriting and a musical style are qualities which in Bābur's time were as highly valued as personal courage. In a period when flamboyancy of style was considered the greatest literary virtue, when an abundance of epithets, metaphors and similes made almost every phrase a riddle that could only be understood with the greatest difficulty, Bābur had the courage to produce brilliant literary works, with simplicity and crystal clarity. The engaging frankness of Bābur, his nobility and fine humour give the *Memoirs* great originality and beauty."

Another report gives useful descriptions of some precious treasures of the Indian Art Collection in Moscow, which forms part of the State Museum of Oriental Culture. It says that one of the most valuable sections of the collection is the miniatures from the Persian Manuscript version of Bābur's *Memoirs*. There are about 70 of them and they are in an excellent state of preservation. They were painted at the end of the 16th century in Emperor Akbar's palace workshop and are typical of the Mughal school of Indian painting. Their artistic value is undisputable, and their content, illustrating historical events in Central Asia, Afghanistan and India, gives them further importance. The scenes depicted are battles, royal hunts and banquets. The pictures not only give some idea of palace life of that period but also of flora and fauna of India and the architecture of its cities. The miniature showing Agra, for example, is particularly interesting from the point of view of the architect. Another series of miniatures in this collection dates back to the 17th century and constitutes a whole gallery of representatives of the Mughal aristocracy.

The *Journal* of the Bihar Research Society (June, 1944), has published an article, 'A Few Letters of Qutb Shāh and Mīr Jumla relating to the Karnatak Affairs.' These letters have been culled from Nāzīr-ul-Mamālīk Ḥājī 'Abdul-'Alī Tabrezi's *Collection of Letters*, which contains letters written by the author in the name of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh (A.H. 1035-1083), of Abul-Ḥasan Qutb Shāh (A.H. 1083-1098) and of some Amīrs of the court of Hyderabad. A manuscript copy of this collection, dated Machhlipatan Jamad-i-uth-Thani A.H. 1197/ A.D. 1783, copied by Nizām-ud-Din Ḥasan, is preserved in the British Museum (vide Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, Vol. I, p. 398-99). The writer of the above article has utilized Sir J. N. Sarkar's transcript and given the English translation and extracts of the letters, which Qutb Shāh wrote to the Captain of Pulicat (A Dutch settlement), Faṣīḥuddīn Muḥammad (Qutb Shāh's agent at Delhi), Ḥājī Nasira (Qutb Shāh's envoy at Bijapur), Faḍīlat Khan, (Wazīr of Bijapur) Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumla Sar-i-Lashkar of the Karnatak, Ḥājī Muḥammad Shāfi', (envoy of Mīr Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumla), Aurangzeb, Fath-Ullāh Khan (Havīl-

dar of the port Masulipatam) and Shāh Jahān. Mir Jumla's letters are addressed mostly to Qutb Shāh and also to Nawab 'Allāmi Shaikh, Muḥammad Khatun, (Peshwa-i-Kul of Golconda court), Zubdat-ul-Hukama Hakim-ul-Mulk Peshwa, Ikhlas Khān (Wazir of 'Adil Shāh), Malik Raihān (an Abyssinian in the employ of Nizām Shāhīs), Siddi 'Abdul-Wahāb (Subedar of Kurnool). These letters, in the opinion of the writer of the above article, throw new light on Mir Jumla's conquest of the Karnatak.

In another contribution of the same journal, a writer discusses the identity of a Hindu king who sent an embassy to Khusrāu II of Persia. The writer says that the name of the Indian king who sent the embassy is given in the printed text of Tabarī as Farmisha (فرميشا) and the variants Qarmisa (قرمىسا) and Qarmisia (قرمىسيا) are noted. This Farmisha or Qarmisa or Qarmisia, according to the writer, is the incorrect form of the usual Indian royal title Paramesha, which means 'the supreme lord.' Now this title was borne by the following four Hindu kings: (a) Harshvardhana of Qannauj, (b) Pulakesin II of the Chaulakyan dynasty of the Deccan, (c) Vasudeva, the ruler of Bahman (Brahmanabad) Multan, Tukan, Zabulistan and Sapardalaksan, probably Rajputana and (d) Sahi Tigna the king of the Indus region. The writer of the above article is of opinion that Harshvardhan cannot be supposed to have sent the embassy to Persia, but there is some ground for disputing the claims of the other three rulers, although the insufficiency of the data prevents final choice between them.

According to the recommendation of the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference has resolved to establish a Central Islamic Research Institute at Aligarh. Its chief objects will be (1) to organise advance studies and higher research works on Islamics and Islamology; (2) to survey the existing published and unpublished literature in European and Eastern languages; (3) to analyse the tendencies of traditional and modern scholarship on problems connected with History, Religion, Philosophy, Science, Literature, Arts and Architecture; (4) to prepare and publish standard books of Muslim History based on advanced studies and researches with a view to expound the principles of Islam and its cultural heritage; (5) to encourage advanced studies in Islamic classical languages; (6) to establish a Museum and research library of Islamic studies in order to preserve and collect manuscripts, records, documents, paintings and pictures and other materials of values in studies of Islamic history and culture and to prepare a catalogue of such manuscripts, etc. existing in India or in any other country and (7) to publish the results of researches by Muslim scholars in a quarterly English Journal to be named *Islamic Research*. The Hon'ble Sir Aziz-ul-Hug, the Commerce Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council, is taking extraordinary amount of interest to bring the above scheme into a pract-

ical shape. It may be recalled here that Sir 'Aziz-ul-Huq served also as a Chairman of the Kamal Yar Jung Education Committee while he was the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, and, again, it was at his initiative that a chair of Islamic History and Culture had been established in the Calcutta University.

A grand symposium of the Urdu poets of India was held in Lucknow in the first week of December, 1944. Its most remarkable feature was the inaugural address of His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallet, the Governor of U.P., who gave some useful pieces of advice to the poets. His Excellency said, "The poet is not merely a master of beautiful words and phrases but also a leader of thought, one who guides with his vision and clarifies with his command of language, the stumbling thoughts of lesser men and leads them to a finer perception of the beauty of the world. Lucknow, with its history of courts and palaces, has ever been a home of great poets. Whether it is still the home of great poets, time only can tell. Great poetry is a revelation of life and the life of these days is a strenuous, dangerous and yet hopeful. The poetry of today cannot be styled and cloistered within traditional thoughts and images. It must reach out and touch every aspect of the changing life of the times, crystallizing that which appears confused, and sublimating that which seems to be ordinary or earthbound. May the poets assembled here today be filled with this spirit of revelation and may their influence spread far a-field."

Maulānā Sayyed Sulaimān Nadvi, in his editorial notes of the December issue of *Ma'ārif*, has levelled strong criticism against Mr. M. L. Roy Choudhury's *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* and the article *Akbar's Maḥḍar Nāmāh* published in the *U. P. Historical Journal* (vide also the previous number of the *Islamic Culture*). The gists of his remarks on Mr. M. L. Roy Choudhury's works are as follows:—The book *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* is a confused mass of false informations, wrong surmises and illogical conclusions. The commandments of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* have been described on the authority of *Dabistān-ul-Madhāhib*, which is a book written by an author of unknown identity. They are based on a passage which the author of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, due to his lack of knowledge in Persian, has failed to understand fully. After a study of its regulations and observances as depicted by Abul-Faḍl, *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* can be called a religion only at the risk of betraying a complete ignorance of the fundamentals of religion. The author of *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* has tried to make a survey of the religious tendencies of the Timurid rulers from the days of Timur to Akbar. He has shown that Timur and his descendants were not out and out Muslims, but were undergoing a sort of Sufistic evolution which culminated in Akbar's *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. To prove the irreligiosity of the Timurids in order to have a background of Akbar's religious inanity is a fallacious and untenable form of dialectics. The *Taṣawwuf* of Islam is not to be found

in either the religion of Akbar or in the works of Dārā Shikoh. The true Islamic *Taṣawuf* is to be had in the works of Sultān Nizām-ul-Awliyā, Makhdūm-ul-Mulk Bihari, Mujaddid Alf-Thāni and other mystics of their ways of thinking. Harmony and concord between the Hindus and the Muslims cannot be brought about by preaching Sufism based on the philosophy of Yoga. This kind of admixture has not been welcomed either by the Muslims or the Hindus. Every literary collaboration in this connection has ever met with dismal failure.

Maulānā Sayyed Sulaimān Nadvi then writes on the article *Akbar's Maḥḍar Nāma* :—

The writer of this article says that the Maḥḍar, which, according to ultra-liberal and enlightened Ulema of Akbar's days, made him an Imām vested with the authority of "Ijtihād" and issuing religious decrees, was valid in view of the well-known opinions on the theory and practice of Sunni law. The writer, who is a lecturer in European History in the Lucknow University, seems to be totally unaware of Sunni laws. No wonder his article is full of misconceptions. He refers to the "knowledge," required as an essential qualification for the election of a Caliph and an Imām, as mentioned by Māwardi in *Aḥkām-us-Sultāniya*. But this requisite "knowledge" is the knowledge of the principles and fundamentals of religion which must be necessarily observed in practice. Akbar was entirely devoid of the forms and practice of such a knowledge and so he could not be justifiably declared either an Imām or a Mujtahid, or as one who could select any one view in case of differences of opinion. He could have, of course, been declared anything by the power of his sword and he did become what he liked. In that case "knowledge" did not play any part in the matter. The sceptre and the crown were quite sufficient for this purpose. The writer of the above article has been misled for some reason or other to believe that amongst the Sunnis too "Imām" conveys one and the same meaning. "Imām" means "Pēshwa" (leader) and amongst the Sunnis there can be religious Pēshwa, a literary Pēshwa, a political Pēshwa as well as Pēshwa in heresy, e.g. the Holy Qur'ān says *قاتلوا أئمة الكفر* (Fight the leaders of unbelief). And so the Imām who can make "Ijtihād" and issue decrees in preference to others is really that Imām who is a Pēshwa in religious knowledge and not the person who is an "Imām" in another sense. And of course, a person who happens, perchance, to have the requisite knowledge both in religion and politics, can exercise the right of "Ijtihād" and issue decrees in preference to others according to his capability, just as the first four Caliphs, 'Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz and others, who fulfilled these conditions, did. It can be definitely said that if there is a difference of opinion amongst the jurists who may have valid arguments in justification of their contentions, then the political Imām (Sultān), in view of some expediency and absolute needs of the Muslims which, according to the 'Ulema of the time also are really the expediency and absolute

needs of the Muslims, may select any one opinion and implement for the time being. But this authority is partial. This has nothing to do with the contents of *Maḥḍar Nāmāh*, and for this partial authority the draft of *Maḥḍar Nāmāh* was not needed at all. This authority is enjoyed even today by every Amīr of an Islamic State without having any *Maḥḍar Nāmāh*.

S. S.

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First Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archæology :

The first meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Archæology was held in the Chamber of the Council of State, New Delhi, on February 3, 1945, with Hon'ble Sir Jogendra Singh, member of H. E. the Governor-General's Executive Council in-charge of Education, Health and Lands, in chair. There was a distinguished gathering at which Sir Maurice Gwyer, Sir Syed Raza 'Alī, Sir M. Yāmin Khān, Sir Mirza Ismail, Mr. Percy Brown, Sir Radhakrishnan, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji, Dr. Nazim, Dr. Tarachand, Dr. Wheeler, the Superintendents of Archæology and other prominent persons were present. Of the Universities, only three were represented by their professors, according to the indication of the Inter-University Board of India, one of which was the Osmania University.

The Director-General of Archæology in India read a very interesting report in which he dealt with the work already done and with the work he was planning to undertake. He began with the remark that he was struck by two things since he took over charge, *i.e.* the endless variety and superlative quality of the structural, sculptural and other remains of Indian civilization and the tremendous value of that cultural heritage to the present. He said he came before the Board properly impressed with the great and live responsibility resting upon himself who was concerned to preserve that heritage.

In the programme which the Director-General of Archæology has put before himself, a prominent place has been found for the remains of Islamic culture in India. In the Frontier Circle, centred at Lahore, it is proposed to undertake a systematic over-haul of the Mughal monuments of the Lahore region. He said he was not satisfied with the present condition ; the long over-due work of tidying up and conserving the Fort had already begun and would proceed year after year until its completion. Moreover, efforts have been made to improve the appearance of the world-famous Shālamār Bāgh and to improve its water-supply. In the Northern Circle important conservation has been done to the great 'Idgāh at Agra, the tomb of the Emperor Akbar at Sikandra and the Dargāh

of Hadrat 'Abbās at Lucknow. In the courses of the reconstruction of the Agra 'Idgah some very interesting details have been discovered relating to the roof of the building. He said that among the most important works he was going to undertake was in connection with the tomb of Hadrat Shaikh Salīm Chishtī at Fatehpūr Sikrī, which he said was irreplaceable among the surviving architectural monuments of the world and which was showing serious signs of subsidence.

The Department was also proceeding with the exploration of Mediæval Delhi. In the circle the task of replanting the garden of Humāyūn's tomb by 'Mughal trees' has been actually undertaken. "As specimens of Mediæval Indian architecture it would be difficult to overrate the importance of Tughluqābād and 'Adilābād group.....It is notable among other things for the combination of Hindu and Muslim elements in its design." The Director-General hoped that he would soon be able to take up the programme of the rehabilitation of Mediæval Delhi in right earnest.

In the Western Circle he specially mentioned Bijāpūr with its outstanding Muslim remains and said that it would remain a constant source of anxiety to the department.

Dr. Wheeler's report showed a welcome orientation in the work of the Archæological Department and was much appreciated by the Board.

It may be interesting to mention that Prof. H. K. Sherwani had laid particular emphasis on the apparent neglect of some of the Mediæval remains in Delhi and Lahore in his Presidential Address he delivered to Mediæval Section of the Indian History Congress as late as December, 1943. He said on the occasion, "In this connection I cannot help to refer to the neglect of the tombs of the Sultāns at Delhi and elsewhere. As may be known to some of you, the remains of the founder of the Sultanate of Delhi happen to be buried in the verandah of modern three-storied house, now rented to a bank in one of the blind alleys of Lahore, and surely it is time that the site should be extracted from private possession by all means at the disposal of the Archæological Department.....Coming to Delhi we find the mausolea of the Shamsī, Lodī and other Sultāns in varying stages of decay.....It is time that they should be connected by good cement roads and the growth of acacia jungle round some of them ought to be cleared."

Nawab Zāhir Yār Jung Bahadur Inter-University Swimming Trophy :

The Honourable Nawab Zāhir Yar Jung Bahadur B.A. (Osm.), Amīr-i-Paigāh, Hyderabad Deccan, and now member of the Executive Council of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar, has donated a very handsome Swimming Trophy to Inter-University Board of India. The Trophy was designed by and executed under the supervision of the

Hon. Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur, P.W.D. Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. It was unveiled by H. E. Sir Thomas Rutherford, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Governor of Bihar and Chancellor of the Patna University at the time of the inauguration of the twenty-first meeting of the Inter-University Board at Patna on 2-12-1844.

Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies, Aligarh :

A seat of research in Islamic learning has so far been ignored even by those who are connected with the city in which it is located. The Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies at Aligarh is a small Christian institution named after Rev. Henry Martyn who came to India early in the last century and died in Iran. The school was founded by a number of Christian missions and churches to do Islamic research to stimulate and sustain interest in the Muslims and their religion among all Christian missionaries in India. It was first located at Lahore but was later shifted to the United Provinces and is now at Aligarh in winter and Landour (near Mussoorie) in summer. It has a permanent staff of an Indian convert, an Englishman and an American. Of late its work has been extended by the arrangement of extension lectures by Christian missionaries working elsewhere. The summer courses offered by the school are designed for Christian missionaries to whom the school gives a kind of introduction to Islamic religion and allied languages, while winter months are mostly spent in research work and in the preparation of tracts, pamphlets and books for Muslims. The school also publishes a small quarterly bulletin.¹

H. K. S.

FOREIGN

The USOWI (U.S. Office of War Information) of Bombay Reports :

A NEW book, the *Arab Heritage* has recently been edited in America by Nabiha Faris. It is a guide to Islamic culture and contains lucid articles by authorities of international reputation. Prof. Ettinghausen writes on the Islamic Art; Prof. Levi della Vida and Prof. Oberman deal with cultural origin of Islam. In the words of Alber Viton, the reviewer, the study of al-Ghazzālī, the great Arab theologian, shows how similar the best Oriental and Western thoughts can be. The book contains in all eight essays and seems to be on the lines of the famous Oxford publication, *the Legacy of Islam*.

1. These data form part of the information furnished by Prof. W. C. Smith of Forman Christian College, Lahore.

Islamic Studies in America :

In 1878 only the Yale University possessed a professor who knew Arabic, and theses even from Harvard, if they pertained to Arabic or Islamic studies, had to be sent there for examination. But much has changed since. The American Oriental Society and its famous journal are known all over the world. Semitic studies now mean primarily Arabic and Islamic studies, and in recent years such chairs at Princeton, Columbia and Pennsylvania Universities have been filled by Islamists or Arabists. Since 1935, the Michigan University has created an extra chair even for Muslim Art. In 1938 the Library of the Congress employed a consultant in Muslim archæology and art. Since 1930 American Oriental Society has added in its programme an entire session for discussions on Islamic studies. The Princeton University has been holding every three years a vacation course in Arabic and Islamic studies, which is daily growing more popular. The senior popular course, called "Ancient and Mediæval Semitic Culture," provided by the same University, half of which is devoted to the history of Arabs, has been maintained for many years.

Apart from the famous Garret Collection of Arabic manuscripts, the New York Public Library possesses the most important collection of Arabic literature in U.S.A. The war has brought new requirements, and now the Universities of California, Columbia, Harvard, John Hopkins, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Yale and the Catholic University of America have provided courses in Arabic.

Many are the new publications of Islamic interest these days. William Ernest Hocking, emeritus professor of philosophy, Harvard, has written *Arab Nationalism and Political Zionism*, and has unusually sympathetic sentiments towards the Arab cause. Prof. P. K. Hitti has abridged his famous *History* under the name of *The Arab*, which has had wide circulation. The author is the well-known orientalist and Professor of Semitic languages and literatures at Princeton University. Another is *The Arab Heritage*, edited by Nabih Amin Fâris, consisting of papers by nine outstanding scholars on Arabic and Islamic studies in U.S.A. The last named work has been analysed above.

Iranian Institute :

The Iranian Institute in New York, enjoying international prestige, is acknowledged to be the leading U.S. institution of its kind. It was founded in 1930 and is engaged both in research and education. Already it has to its credit a number of achievements both in research and archæological exploration and is now under the directorship of Arthur Upham Pope, who is also adviser in art to the Government of Iran. The institution has organised and directed approximately 150 exhibi-

tions in all countries, of which more than 50 were held in American museums. It has organised one and initiated two international congresses—held in Leningrad and London—for Iranian art and archæology which were responsible to evoke important contributions from more than a dozen countries.

Archæological explorations have been organised, financed and directed by the Institute: one to Kish and Barghūthia in 'Irāq, two to Luristān and one to Astrābād. Fifteen expeditions organised under its supervision for the survey of Iranian architecture in Irān as also the Iranian architecture in 'Irāq, Afghānistān and related regions have resulted in the discovery of scores of important unknown monuments, produced hundreds of plans and measured drawings, and acquired nearly 8,000 photographs of important monuments and objects.

In 1938 the institute organised a School of Asiatic Studies which helped in providing institutions and colleges throughout the U.S.A. and Canada with trained personnel. The institute conducted during the last year a seminar that had made a preliminary survey of the economic geography, history, theory and practice of the Orient including such specific subjects as transportation. In view of the post-war economic interests of U.S.A., there are included in the curriculum of the current year courses in such widely divergent subjects as prehistoric life and art in Irān, cultures of Sumer, Babylon and Assyria, art of India, masterpieces of Arabic literature, Islamic institutions, contemporary problems of the Muslim world, Chinese village, rural and family life, immediate political problems of China and Japan, problems of reconstruction in Asia, etc.

By furnishing proper training and equipment, these courses will prepare students who are undertaking lines of commercial or governmental administration in Asiatic countries and those who are entering actively in oriental work, whether in diplomacy, journalism, law, archæology, anthropology, sociology or economic research and planning. They also train those who expect to work in America itself as linguists, museum curators, editors, teachers or historians of the various phases of Asia. Courses are now given in Akkadan, Amharic, Arabic, Armenian, Bengali, Burmese, Chinese, 'Irāqi, Japanese, Kurdish, Malay, Persian, Russian, Sanskrit, Syriac, Telugu, Tibetan, Turkish and Urdu.

Garrett Collection in Princeton :

This collection of MSS on Islam was started in 1900 to which 6,000 volumes were added in 1942. It now comprises more than 10,000 volumes chosen with discrimination, including specimens of all Muslim countries and fields of interest. The compositions range from the 8th to the 19th centuries of the Christian era. The largest group in the collection inc-

ludes works dealing with religion, theology, jurisprudence and tradition, with language and literature coming next. Excellent examples of work on medicine, astronomy, mathematics and philosophy are also included. The latest printed catalogue is that of 1940, and more than half of the collection was acquired two years later. There are many projects in hand to edit some of the rarer MSS with the idea that their wider use will prove of inestimable value in many fields.

The Princeton University *Library Chronicle* says :

"Of singular scientific interest are a 16th century treatise on sugar ; an elaborate work on pyrotechnics by all Muhtadi, an interpreter stationed at the castle of Bulghar, not far from the lower banks of the Volga ; and what seems to be a unique copy of a work on archery and marksmanship.

Valuable Works :

"Among the medical manuscripts is a voluminous translation of ten of the medical works of Galen, done into Arabic by the Dean of Arabic translators from Greek, the eminent Nestorian physician and scholar, Joannitius. The major part of this copy was transcribed in 1176, and antedates any Greek or Latin text extant.

"Another valuable medical treatise was modelled by Rhazes after the aphorisms ascribed to Hippocrates." (In recognition of the many scientific contributions of Rhazes, probably the greatest of all Muslim physicians, a stained glass window bearing his likeness is dedicated to him in the University Chapel at Princeton).

"Another important work," says the Princeton University *Library Chronicle*, "is the medical encyclopædia, better known as '*Liber Regius*', composed by the celebrated Haly Abbas for the Buwayhid Sultān 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah. The Princeton collection contains the only known complete copy of the work.....

"Another medical treatise comes from the pen of Ibn-an-Nafis who discovered the pulmonary circulation of the blood two and a half centuries before Servetus, to whom the honour is commonly ascribed.

"Among the mathematical manuscripts is a recension of Euclid's geometry made by the distinguished aṭ-Ṭūsi, the vizier of Hulagu. The copy is profusely illustrated with well-drawn diagrams.

A Unique Manuscript On Physics :

"The field of philosophy boasts among other valuable manuscripts a 16th century copy of Avicenna's *Kitāb-ash-Shifā*. A unique manuscript as far as can be ascertained, is that of al-Amidi on logic, physics and metaphysics based, as the introduction expressly states, on Plato, Aristotle and Pythagoras.

" Closely allied with the philosophical studies were the researches in music. One of the earliest and most distinguished scholars in this joint field was Alpharabius, from whose pen the collection has a treatise on the theory of sound and music, together with instructions for the construction of lutes. The copy is illustrated with elaborate diagrams and scales.

" Certain manuscripts are noteworthy because of personal associations. Of these some derive interest from the distinction of their owners. Such is the case with one from the library of Saladin, composed for him by one of his secretaries, on the proprieties of kings in their private and public lives. From the library of Saladin's nephew, al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, Sultān of Damascus from 1218 to 1227, is a unique work on jurisprudence, compiled for him at his express order and used by him as a work of reference in the dispensation of justice. It is said that the Sultān ' never parted company with this book, whether he was at home or on a journey.'

" Another is a treatise on astrology expressly transcribed for the library of a great-grandson and namesake of the great Saladin, Saladin II, ruler of Aleppo and Damascus until 1260.....

Royal Treasures :

" Among the royal treasures is a unique treatise in praise of the horse and on different breeds in the Mamluk studs at Cairo, composed and written before 1329 for the Sultān an-Nāṣir of Egypt. From the library of the Ottoman Sultān, Bāyazid II, son of the conqueror of Constantinople and father of the conqueror of Jerusalem, is a manuscript elegantly illuminated in gold and colour, written for the purpose of teaching the Turkish Sultān the correct enunciation and reading of the Koran.

" Among the research projects for which scholars are now using the library are an investigation of the theory of government and constitutional law in Islam, a study of spherical geometry as preserved by the Arabs and a study of Islamic mysticism. Professor Philip K. Hitti, head of the Department of Arabic languages at Princeton, drew heavily upon the collection's source-material for his books, *History of the Arabs* and *Origin of the Druse People*."

The Arabic Press in U.S.A.

Compared to other American countries, U.S.A. is rather poor in regard to Arabic speaking communities. Yet in New York alone there exists for almost half a century an Arabic press with subscribers in every one of the 48 United States, including two dailies, *Al-Hudā* and *As-Samir*,

three bi-weeklies, *Al-Akhlāq*, *As-Sā'ih* and *Al-Iṣlāḥ* and a tri-weekly *Mar'at-ul-Gharb*. They are powerful forces for Americanizing the new immigrants. They publish articles on American history, clarify news events by giving historical backgrounds, stress American unity, encourage citizenship and explain American laws, traditions and government. Incidentally they perpetuate in U.S.A. Arabic cultural heritage, the culture of those who had first discovered America long before Columbus. Although their primary interest is U.S.A., they keep up keen interest in the politics of the lands from which their readers came.

Their total paid circulation is 16,500, and includes subscribers in Canada, Mexico, the West Indies and Central and South America. At present owing to war they have lost much of their circulation in Africa and the Near East.

Al-Hudā, the oldest Arabic newspaper in U.S.A. and the first in the world to use the Arabic linotype system, was established in 1897 by the late Naheem Mokrazel, a native Christian of Freika, Lebanon, where he was a teacher. As an immigrant in U.S.A., he taught French in the eighties of the last century until he started his newspaper. He died in 1932 and his 63 years old brother, Salloum Mokrazel, the originator of the Arabic linotype system, edits it now. Salloum Mokrazel published several Arabic magazines and edited a magazine in English, *Syrian World*, until he took over *Al-Hudā* at his brother's death.

The other daily, *As-Samir* is published by Elia D. Madey, a native of Mohaiditha, Lebanon, who went to America in 1912 after several years of writing for newspapers in Egypt. A well-known poet, Madey has published one volume of poems in Alexandria and two in America, *Al-Jadāwil*, and *Al-Khamā'il*. His poems have also appeared in translations in English publications. He worked for *Mar'at-ul-Gharb* before he started *As-Samir* 15 years ago. It is now in a flourishing condition.

The *Mar'at-ul-Gharb*, founded in 1898, is owned by the only woman publisher of an Arabic newspaper in America, Anjelina Diab, who is a native of Ṭrabulus, Lebanon. Mr. Diab is the widow of the paper's founder. She manages the business department. The editorial department is headed by Fred Ghushn of Shweir in Syria. His father was a professor in Damascus and Beirouth.

The 33-years' old *As-Sā'ih* is now edited by the poet Nadra A. Haddād who, like his brother 'Abdul-Masiḥ Haddād, founder and publisher of *As-Sā'ih*, is a native of Ḥims, Syria. Some of the poems of Nadra Haddād have been collected in his book, *Awraq-ul-Kharif*. He was working in rug, embroidery and insurance business since he went to U.S.A. forty-seven years ago, and he took over the editorship of *As-Sā'ih* about two years ago when his brother joined the U.S. Office of War Information.

Al-Akhlāq, started in 1919, is edited and published by fifty-three

years old Ya'qūb G. Rafa'il, a native of Dlehta Mount, Lebanon, who was educated in Beirut and who later taught Arabic there in a French school. He went to U.S.A. in 1914 and received his journalistic training on *Al-Hudā*.

The most recently established Arabic newspaper in New York, *Al-Is'lāh* was started in 1933 by a native of Zahle, Mount Lebanon, Fawzī Braidī whose father was a Lebanese cabinet member and whose brother Fuād Braidī is now governor of Mt. Lebanon. Now 47, Braidī wrote for *Zahlat-ul-Fatāt* before he left for U.S.A. in 1925. He was in the linen business until he founded *Al-Is'lāh*.

Despite similarities in aim and news coverage, the six newspapers vary in make-up and style. *As-Sā'ih* comes out in 12 tabloid size pages while the rest of the papers use standard size pages, the *Mar'at* 8 pages, *Al-Hudā* 6, and *As-Samir*, *Al-Is'lāh* and *Al-Akh'lāq* 4 each. All the six papers use pictures but *Al-Hudā* features a picture page and captions on photographs in English. Their bulk has been much curtailed owing to war. *As-Sā'ih* is primarily a cultural publication and devotes most of its space to poems and literary pieces.

Exhibition of Muslim Art in Cleveland Museum :

Recently the Cleveland Museum arranged a loan exhibition of Muslim art with such extensive wealth of materials that it presented the whole culture of a region which has recently attracted America because of its geographical importance in the present world conflict. Close to five hundred select objects from Egypt, Syria, Armenia, Turkey, Mesopotamia, Mughal India and especially from Irān were collected there. "The miraculous craftsmanship, which gives minor arts the importance of major arts, the mastery of colour and design and the emotional expression achieved through formal means are apparent in an assemblage which represents practically all the forms of Muslim art." In this exhibition there were over 200 miniatures, over 100 pieces of pottery, forty odd metal objects, many of which were inlaid ; about forty textiles, seven pieces of enamelled and painted glass, numerous pages of calligraphy, a number of bookbindings, an ivory box, a wooden breviary and so forth. Looking at the art from these diverse Muslim lands, Focillon's words are recalled . . . "at the same time universal yet local, monumental yet delicate, traditional yet inventive,"— words which are valid for objects large and small.

Among the earliest ceramics were several pieces of pottery from the city of Samarra (Surra Man Ra'ā) in Iraq, which was founded in the reign of Mu'tasim in 836 A.C. and abandoned as early as 883, thus establishing a landmark for dating ceramics of a certain type. The outstanding ware in the show was a large jar with handles, lent by the Art Institute of

Chicago. Other early potteries were included, such as Nishāpūr, 'Gabri, Raqqa, and lustered wares made probably in Irān, such as the bowl with camel belonging to the Detroit Institute of Arts. The craftsmen attained an effect of gold in this lustre work by using metallic salts over glaze and then refining slowly in special kiln. The enamelled and painted glass pieces were mostly of the 14th and 15th centuries made under the Mam-lūk Sultāns of Egypt.

Among the earliest miniatures are those from an Arabic translation of *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides. One of the finest of these is that representing a stag, serpent and simple, lent by William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Kansas City. It comes from a Mesopotamian book produced in 1222 A.C. Another illustrated work, probably of 14th century, is the treatise of al-Jazariy on *Automata*, or the book of the knowledge of ingenious geometrical (mechanical) devices. The group from *Shāh-Nāma* are paintings which, though small in scale, are capable of infinite enlargement—a fact which tends to prove their intrinsic greatness. Another fine group is from the *Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh* of Rashīd-ud-Dīn. The fifteenth century Weeping Man from the Worcester Art Museum, the 16th century Dragon and Phoenix from Mr. Philip Hofer and 16th century Iskandar fighting the Dragon from Piepoint Morgan Library, though so different in type, embody the dynamic movement inherent in only the finest drawings. The extraordinarily excellent 16th century portrait of the youthful Shāh Tahmāsp stands conspicuous in its field. For a somewhat later and slightly more hedonistic variety of picture, the Youthful Cupbearer from the City Art Museum of St. Louis is an outstanding example. Genuine Muslim sculpture is very rare. There were, however, a 12th century stucco figure, lent by H. Kevorkian, and a remarkable Persian stone relief from about the same period, showing two confronted lions, lent by R. Stora & Co. Most of the textiles came from the Textile Museum of the District of Columbia, and an excellent example of Persian textile was the little 17th century fabric from the Detroit Institute of Arts designed by the painter Riḍa-i-'Abbāsī.

Arab Music and Drama :

A usowi message of New York dated 30th January last announced that Miss Wadia 'Aṭiyeh, an Arab singer and dramatist, in Near-Eastern costume and stage setting, presented the song and song-stories of the Arabs at the Times Hall in New York. She was assisted by three Arabian instrumentalists playing the 'ūd, the Qānūn and Durbekki. The New York press criticism is said to have been very favourable.

The Arab World, a Quarterly; published by the Arab-American Press, 1182, Broadway, New York; subscription 7 dollars :

We have received the first issue of this nicely printed journal richly

illustrated and offering a powerful instrument for its avowed purpose of cementing Arab-American friendship. It is supervised by American citizens of Arab descent, and in the first issue there are some really very interesting articles to read.

The present war has produced an acute shortage of petrol in Europe and American oil is fast being pumped out. The *Arabian Oil* by Orlo Truesdale is a thought-provoking article for the Arabs of Arabia and other Near-Eastern countries.

The Imperative Necessity of an American Protectorate over Morocco by G. Kheirullah, the editor, is symptomatic of new trends in international politics. *Islam and Nationalism* by John G. Hazam is another objective study of the subject, with historical background, contemporary understanding and a vision for the future along with comparative study of religion and politics in Europe, particularly in the communist Russia.

Mrs. Norah Twitchell, who accompanied her husband in discovering the long forgotten gold-mines near Madina and who lived for six months as a veiled Bedouin lady along with her husband in the Desert Peninsula, describes with sympathy and affection her impressions of life in Yaman, in Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Muslim holy lands in an article entitled *Arabia*.

The editor has also contributed the *Nationalism versus French Imperialism in Morocco*, in which he brings to light the atrocious French colonial policy not in times of conflict but in peace, and shows how even the most enlightened Frenchmen tried to divide the Arab and the Berber, and the Christian missionaries wanted to fish in the troubled waters of social discord.

There is a wealth of information in the forum reserved for Palestine, which is enriched by the contributions of such well-known personalities as Prof. Khuri Hitti and Senator Josiah Bailey. American administration is notorious for its control by Jewish business, and even the general public of America does not know that "Palestine does not qualify as a country without a people ready to receive a people without country. They fail to understand why the American legislators, so solicitous for the welfare of the European Jews, should not lift the bars of immigration and admit Jewish refugees, millions of whom could be settled on the unoccupied plains of Arizona or Texas." When the whole Christianity was out to annihilate the Jews, it was the Arab Muslim who provided them with shelter. It is an irony that 'grateful' Jew now wants to oust the Arab from his home, a home which, as Prof. Hitti points out, was his centuries before the Jews first treaded Palestine.

From the Review Section of the same journal, we learn many things about Islam in America. For instance, Shaikh Khalil ar-Rawaf has recently published a "*Résumé of the Principles of al-Islam* priced at 2 dollars, a neatly printed and well-arranged booklet with 27 pages in

English, 19 in Arabic and 2 pages of illustrations, lucidly outlining the fundamentals of Islam and the correct way of congregational prayers for the beginners. Again, "*The Syrian Ark*" is an illustrated monthly published in the interests of Syrian and Lebanese Federations, societies, and communities in U.S.A. and Canada for the last eight years from "605 No. La Salle Street, Indianapolis, Ind. (America)." *Al-Hayāt* is also an illustrated monthly published in Arabic by Imām Husain Kharroub, 216 Cottage Grove Avenue, Highland Park, Mich. It is published by one who has devoted his life to the spiritual welfare of his brother Muslims in U.S.A.

Ramaḍān Annual, published by Muḥammad Makki, c/o Mercantile Printing Works, Durban (South Africa), 1944.

This annual publication has several articles of local interest. From one of the advertisements in the journal, we learn that there is an Iqbal Study Group in 141, Grey Street, Durban, where there is also a big mosque. The Group aims at publishing booklets and periodicals to expound the teachings of Islam and the life of Iqbal, celebrates Iqbāl Day each and every year, invites lecturers and enrolls a Muslim in South Africa as member. Under its auspices there is a library and a reading room. From other biographical sketches etc. we learn that there are in Durban a National Muslim Council, an Orphanage and an Asylum for the Destitute and an Oriental Islamic Institute; and that a Muslim Youth Bulletin is published from Port Louis, Mauritius. It has an article by Mr. Fathullāh Khān of Hyderabad on "*Women in Islam*." There is the report of an interview and discussion between Bernard Shaw and the Muslim missionary 'Abdul-'Alīm, on various topics of Islamic interest.

The activities of philanthropists like Ismā'il 'Uthmān and others in Natal give us the glimpse of Islam as a living force of great potentiality and of brighter promise for the future.

Dr. Paul Kraus.

We have received the sad news from Cairo of the untimely demise of Dr. Paul Kraus in his early forties. He was a Czech Jew and after a brilliant academic career took his doctorate from Berlin after which he was forthwith appointed in the junior teaching staff of the same University. Soon the Nazi acquisition of power forced him to leave Germany, and he was made chargé des conférences on Islamic philosophy at the University of Paris. After a couple of years, his services were acquired by the University of Cairo in the Department of Semitic Philology. There his second wife Dr. Bettina (née Strauss), who had earned a name

as an Arabist by editing and translating الشاناق في الترياق , died on the birth of her first child. This shocked him very much.

Dr. Paul Kraus had very wide interests and everywhere were gathered around him earnest young workers, Egyptians, Syrians, Indians, Tunisians, etc. He was a painstaking worker and a scholar of merit. He knew practically all the languages of Europe and Islamic countries: if he taught in German language in Berlin, it was in French at the Sorbonne and in Arabic in Cairo.

He had specialised in Muslim philosophy. He was an authority on Ismā'ilism and other Shi'a sects and his name has now been associated with Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, upon whom he had written voluminous books. He has also prepared the second edition of Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj's writings, first published by Massignon. His latest work to reach us was a collection of some *Rasā'il* of Jāḥiz. For the last twelve years, his contributions appeared in practically all the orientalistic journals of Europe. *The Islamic Culture* has lost in him one of its best friends.

M. H.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE METAPHYSICS OF IQBAL,
by Dr. 'Ishrat Hasan; Sh. Muhammed
Ashraf, Lahore; IX + 91; price Rs. 3.

THE great poet-philosopher of India, Dr. Sir Md. Iqbal has been a great force in India during the last quarter of a century. Dr. 'Ishrat Hasan has attempted in this monograph to present Iqbal's philosophical position "with but little reference to the Qur'an and the Islamic mystics and philosophers unless unavoidable." The author thinks that in order to present Iqbal's philosophy in relation to the Qur'an and the religious thought in Islam, it is necessary to understand first his philosophical ideas by themselves.

This may not seem quite obvious. Iqbal was a religious-minded philosopher and not a theologian. For, the difference between the philosopher and the religious-minded philosopher is merely that the former has and the latter has not his main conclusions predetermined by an alleged revelation, but that the former treats whereas the latter does not treat the same revelation as evidence as well as source. By this test Iqbal indubitably with St. Thomas and Bishop Berkely is to be judged as a philosopher. He integrates his foregone conclusions with empirical facts and rational principles or at any rate in intention with nothing else. The author, therefore, has concentrated on Iqbal's philosophical writings. Specially his lecture on *the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* and has given a short, academic presentation without any attempt at evaluation of Iqbal's philosophical ideas about Intuition, Self, world and God.

Dr. S. Z. Hasan, Chairman, Dept. of Philosophy, Muslim University, has written a foreword and thinks 'that this treatise is a genuine contribution to those who would go deep down to the bottom of his thought'

M. V.

RAJPUT STUDIES by Mr. A. C. Banerjee, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University; published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee & Bros., 2 College Square, Calcutta; 8vo; pp. 340; cloth & boards; price Rs. 7.

THIS is a collection of papers on various incidents of Rajput history. The subjects discussed are the Early History of the Guhilots, the struggle between Delhi and Mewar in the thirteenth century, Rana Sanga of Mewar, the Political and Military Organization of the Rajputs in the days of Tod and the history of the establishment of the British alliance with Mewar, Jaipur, Marwar and the Minor Rajput States. As is natural in a collection like this, the sources on which these studies are based are not uniformly informative. The author is on solid ground discussing the history of the early relations between Rajput States and the British, because he has utilised original documents available in the Imperial Records Department at New Delhi. In discussing the early history of the Guhilots, Mr. Banerjee has to depend not only on coins and inscriptions, which of course are reliable sources of history, but also on tradition and inference.

The author is not unaware of the unreliability of Tod as a source of history, but has to summon him sometimes to his help. In the essay on the Rajput policy, which deals with the political and military organization of the Rajputs in the days of Tod, the author is justified in relying upon him, because he is an eye-witness, though he has a tendency to idealize new aspects of life and ignore the weaker sides of Rajput life. In discussing the Battle of Kanwaha Mr. Banerjee is led by Tod and others into the erroneous belief commonly held by some that artillery played an important part in the victories of Bābur. This belief is based on a faulty translation of the Turkish original of Bābur's *Memoirs* as well as a misunderstanding of the nature and effect of Mughal artillery at that time.

The author has succeeded in giving us a set of interesting essays which throw some fresh light on Rajput history.

I. H. Q.

SHRIMAD BHAGWAT GITA, in *Persian Verse* by Faizi; edited by M. S. Kamboh; published by the *Parsi Gita Agency*; *Khiabistan, Lahore*.

WHENEVER the people of any part of the world go wrong extremely, God sends a special Messenger—call him Avatar, Messiah, Prophet or what you like—to bring them back to the ways of righteousness. One of several such special messengers was Sri Krishna of History and not of Mythology. His great message was: "Action is thy duty, fruit is not thy concern." That and other messages have come down to us in the form of 18 marvellous "Lessons" of the Bhagvat Gita—the Song Celestial—in Sanskrit. This Song has been translated into numerous languages in prose as well as in verse. The question whether Faizi Fiyāzi's translation in Persian was really done by the Poet-Laureate (1547-95) of the great Emperor Akbar's Durbar, is disposed of by Mr. Muhammad Shafi' Kamboh, the talented

editor of the latest edition of that translation. He shews that there is no good reason to answer the question in the negative. But the more interesting question is whether it is really a translation of the Sanskrit Gita. It is neither a verbatim translation nor a paraphrase of the original. It is in fact the essence of each "Lesson" or Chapter of the sacred book that went in and came out of the alembic of Faizi's mind and sublimated into classic Persian poetry of the Mathnavi type. It is needless to add that it brings out the spirit of the Gita as conceived by that profound scholar and poet. He wisely avoided as much as possible the use of technical words of the Sanskrit language. The result is that any Indian who can read Persian, can understand and enjoy the book easily. We congratulate the editor on publishing a good collated and corrected edition, with a fine introduction in simple Urdu. The foot-notes to the text are too brief to be very illuminative.

If a modern Sufi be asked to summarise the Bhagvat Gita in one sentence, he would say: "It is a commentary on the doctrine: God is All in All," And if a modern politician be asked to summarise it in a sentence, he would say: "It is an exposition of the maxim: Do your duty and damn the consequences." But the book is too great to be summarised in a sentence or even a dozen sentences. One should read it, if not in original, at least in translation more than once to appreciate the beauty and profundity of its thoughts and teachings.

A. H.

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA STATE MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY, Vol. I, Pt. 1, 1943-44; edited by H. Goetz.

BARODA State like Hyderabad is an enthusiastic patron of learning and cultural activities, and the present publication issued under its ægis is the first of its kind in India. Dr. H. Goetz

is a well-known authority on Indian art and the editing of the *Bulletin* by him is a sure guarantee of its success. The present issue contains three articles besides the *Introductory Note & the Report*, by Dr. Goetz, while there are three other contributions from the scholarly pen of Dr. A. S. Gadres, Dr. B. Bhattacharyar and Mr. V. L. Devkar. As the literature on Indian Museums is both scarce and unscientific at present, the *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum*, it is hoped, will be welcomed not only in India but also

abroad, and its example emulated by similar institutions in the country. We congratulate heartily Dr. Goetz and the authorities of the Baroda State upon starting this journal.

The printing and the paper of the *Bulletin* are excellent under the war conditions, but it is hoped they will be improved and brought in line with the get-up of similar journals published by the museums in United States.

G. Y.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *The Millat and the Mission*, by C. Rahmat Ali.
2. *The Millat of Islam and the Menace of 'Indianism'* by C. Rahmat Ali.
3. *The Founder of Pakistan*, by C. Rahmat Ali.
4. *Presidential Address*, by L. K. Hyder.
5. *The Polish Tatars*, by L. Bohdanowicz.
6. جرم و سزا by Bāri.
7. پیام اقبال by 'Andaleeb Shadani.
8. *University of Ceylon Review*, editor Prof. G. P. Malalasekera.
9. *Islamic Culture*, by A. A. A. Fyzee.
10. *Hindustani*.
11. *Souvenir of the Iranian Cultural Mission's Visit to India, 1944*.
12. روزگار نو

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All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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Ed., I. C.

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[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. THE ARABS' KNOWLEDGE OF CEYLON	
—PROF. NAFIS AHMAD.	223
II. A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE VARIOUS VERSIONS OF SHUJĀ'-UD-DAWLAH'S DEATH	
—DR. A. L. SRIVASTAVA.	242
III. POETRY AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE TIME OF 'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN KHILJĪ	
—DHARM PAL, Esq.	245
IV. TWO FARMĀNS OF AURANGZĒB	
—DR. P. SARAN.	261
V. A NOTE ON THE ALWAR MS. OF <i>Wāq'āt-i-Bābarī</i>	
—DR. S. N. SEN.	270
VI. DEVIL'S DELUSION	
—(Late) DR. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH	272
VII. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	290
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
DELHI	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA	
FOREIGN	
VIII. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	316

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THE ARABS' KNOWLEDGE OF CEYLON

CEYLON occupies a unique position among the islands of the world in that it has been the object of unceasing attraction to outsiders from time immemorial. References to its immense fertility and resplendent beauty are found in the literature of many peoples from far and near. The Brahmins called it 'the resplendent' and the region of mystery and sublimity, and the island figures prominently in their most cherished mythological lore. To the Buddhist poets it was 'a pearl upon the brow of India.' The Chinese called it the 'island of jewels,' and the Greeks the 'land of the hyacinth and the ruby.' The Muslims regarded it as the place where landed the first apostle of Allāh and the ancestor of all humanity. And the European navigators later knew it as the island from which came the smell of perfume and 'spicy breezes.'

Among the peoples who came from other lands and made this island paradise their home, apart from those who crossed over from India at various periods, the Muslims constitute a very important element, viz. 356,888 in number and 7 per cent. of the total population.¹ They are found in every province and revenue district and nearly every town of any note in the island. Next to the western province they are most numerous in the eastern, especially south of Batticalca. They figure in all professions pedlars, coolies, masons, fishers, cultivators, contractors, gem-pit owners, planters and elephant hunters. An overwhelming majority of them are descended from generations of Arab traders and navigators who visited the island long ago. They quickly spread in the island and were the only traders in the Indian Ocean, as well as Ceylon, when the Portuguese arrived. They had a large fleet of sailing vessels of their own. It is on the basis of this importance that some Europeans² visualise them as the possible rulers of the whole island had not the Portuguese arrived on the scene. But the facts of history do not bear out this contention, as will be shown presently. The Sinhālese name for them, 'Marak-kala-minissu,' meaning mariners or boatmen, throws an important light on their origin and activity.

1. H. A. J. Hulugalle: *Ceylon*, p. 10, (Oxford Pamphlet, 1944).

2. Emerson Tennent: *Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 582 and Ferguson: *Mohammedanism in Ceylon*, p. 4.

How did this contact of the island with the Arabs come about? That the Arabians were the first navigators of the Indian Ocean and the first carriers of Indian produce is evident from all history, as far as history goes back. Long before anybody else—Persians, Indians, Chinese, Egyptians, Greeks or Romans—became navigators in the Southern seas, the Arabs were the only nation which furnished mariners, carriers and merchants in the Indian Ocean.¹ The Arabs occupied this position primarily by virtue of the geographical location of their land. Their peninsula (Jazīrat-al-‘Arab) was surrounded by water on three sides. The Red Sea, Arabian Sea and the Persian Gulf inter-communicated and the Indian Ocean gave Arabia a water connection with the Indian shores. On the landward side one arm of the crescent of better lands across the northern desert held Iraq and Mesopotamia, while the other was formed by the rich Syrian lands ending in the Mediterranean littoral and had access to the lower Nile region through the narrow neck of the Sinai peninsula.

Naturally the maritime regions of Arabia—Hijāz, Yaman, Hadramaut, ‘Umān and the neighbouring Bahrayn islands—shared most in the fruits of maritime contact. They were the places of residence of navigators in all ages, from the time that history begins to speak of them; and, “there is every reason to imagine that they were equally so, before the historians acquired a knowledge of them.”² Thus the sea route between the eastern and the western world of that day inevitably touched the Peninsula at many points. The usual procedure was that ships from the Indian shores and the adjoining islands reached the coast of Yaman (Saba), and from there merchandise was transferred to the caravans which traversed Hijāz from South to North to reach Egypt. The other route went up the (Persian Gulf and up the Shaṭṭ-al-‘Arb to Uballah, and thence the route ran across ‘Irāq and the Syrian desert to the Mediterranean sea-board in Syria. Thus the sea-route from Europe to India and farther east, past the Makrān, Malabar and Coromandel coasts and touching the islands of Lacadive and Maldive and Ceylon, was of great consequence in these voyages to the golden East.

When the first Arabs visited Java and the nearby islands is not known, but it is more or less certain that the Moluccas or Spice Islands were not unknown to them centuries before the Christian era. It is thought that an Arab colony was established on the west coast of Sumatra between Padang and Benkoelen about the time of the commencement of the Christian era, and an important trade was kept up between Ceylon and Arabia in pepper, gold and silver and tin. Arabs also carried on trade between Sumatra and Madagascar, probably *via* Ceylon, near about 310 B.C.³ According to Pliny⁴ Arabs had settled in Ceylon about 100

1. Vincent, W.: *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, Vol. II, p. 62.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

3. Campbell: *Java Past and Present*, Vol. I, pp. 86-87.

4. Tennant: *Ceylon*, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

A.D. Obviously such extensive maritime activity over the open waters of the Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal and Indian Ocean proper implies a knowledge of the monsoons and the attendant wind and weather conditions on the part of Arab sailors.

When about 300 B.C. the Greeks acquired the lower Nile area, they temporarily took possession of the Western arm of this trading traffic ; yet they could not completely oust the Arabs from their maritime dominance over the Indian Ocean.¹

There is reason to suspect that the fleets of the Ptolemies of Egypt went no farther than the neighbouring waters of Arabia and that their voyages were not very frequent in those times. Indian commodities were chiefly purchased in Arabia in order to avoid the hazards of sailing over the open water.² The earliest reference to Greek activity in these waters does not go back farther than the journey of Admiral Nearchus who sailed from the mouth of the Indus to the Euphrates, and he also speaks of Arabian navigators previous to him along the Makrān coast. The accounts of Hippalus, the writer of *Periplus*, Agatharchides the president of the Alexandrian library, and the fabulous descriptions of the voyage of Lambulus do reveal the Western interest in Indian, Ceylonese and Far Eastern waters, but none of them fails to mention the Arabs as the carriers of the Indian Ocean. According to Pliny (23-79 A.D.) the number of the Arabs was large on the Malabar coast, and in Ceylon they were so numerous that they could be regarded as the masters of the coast. At least up to Ceylon in these remote times they were supreme over the waters of the Indian Ocean. That island was probably the point of contact between them and the Malays, the Chinese or even the Indian navigators, sailing eastward to the Straits of Malacca. The extent and accuracy of Ptolemy's (circa 150 A.D.) information about Ceylon and the neighbouring parts of India, in spite of its wild guesses and exaggerations, is surprising indeed. One wonders what were the sources used by him sitting so far away in Alexandria. It is surmised by many painstaking investigators³ that on the basis of the abundance of material regarding the sea-board of India and Ceylon, it can safely be said that he was indebted to the adventurous merchants of Egypt and Arabia, especially those of the latter country, whose maritime activity extended in that age even beyond the island. Much later Cosmas Indicopleustes (547 A.D.) and his Greek informant Sopatrus once more show the Arabs to have been the most active elements in the commerce passing *via* Ceylon.

The advent of Buddhism in China marked the beginning of their interest in India, Burma and Ceylon. Priests and pilgrims began to visit these countries by land as well as by sea. It is, however, only from

1. S. Nadir: *The Relations between Arabia and India*, p. 46.

2. Vincent, W: *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, Vol. I, p. 48.

3. Tennant: *Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 561.

the 3rd century of the Christian era that authoritative records of Ceylon are found in Chinese literature. Two important Chinese travellers, Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.) and Huiien Tsiang (629-45 A.D.) have left records of their journeys. The return journey of Fa-hsien *via* Ceylon and across the Indian Ocean proves the existence of the maritime connection with China, but there is little evidence of their trading activity by sea. They were mainly engaged in exchanging goods with the Arabs who had founded settlements of their own all around the shores of Southern Asia and S.E. Asia waters up to Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas.

Persian navigators of the Arabian Sea and the expedition against Ceylon belong to the times of Noushîrwân, about early 6th century A.D.

Then towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. dawned a new day for the Arabs with the rise of Islam as a great spiritual, social and political force. Within a hundred years of the death of the Prophet they became the masters of a mighty empire greater than that of Rome. Their domination of the seas extended from the two basins of the Mediterranean, down the Red Sea to the known lengths of the Indian Ocean. Here history presents us some strange and interesting facts. In the West the Muslims held sway along the western, southern and the eastern regions of the Mediterranean and had possession of several islands there. The Red Sea was virtually an 'Arabian Lake.' In the Indian Ocean, however, their direct political control did not extend in the east beyond the coastal areas of the lower Indus. Yet we find the strange spectacle of numerous Arab settlements with the full enjoyment of their religious and social practices, along the Konkan, Malabar and Coromandel coasts, in the Maldives and Ceylon, and their commercial activity extended to the Andamans, the Nicobars, the Arakan coast, Malaya, Sumatra and Java. Islam had come to these regions without any political help whatsoever and remained rooted in the soil for centuries away from the turmoils of Mahmūd's invasions of India and the struggle between Cross and Crescent in the world of the West. Here trade or religion did not follow the flag, as they most certainly did a few centuries later with the rise of European commercialism. The Arab's predominance in the trade of these waters was based upon their sense of adventure and capacity to sail over the seas. This along with the simplicity of their religious belief earned for them the amiable and friendly treatment of vast non-Muslim elements in this eastern world. The extensive Arab historicogeographical literature dealing with this corner of the world gives us a revealing picture of these peaceful commercial relations. There is not a single instance of discord between the Muslims and the non-Muslim rulers or peoples culminating in war. Then appeared the Portuguese, heralding the advent of European commercialism in the Indian Ocean. History tells us of the bitter struggle that these Westerners had to wage not only against the Arab and Muslim elements but against

1. See Shaikh Zainuddin's *Tuhfat-ul Mujâhidîn*, for a detailed picture of this protracted struggle.

the common hostility of Muslim and non-Muslim alike. The peoples of Malabar, the Maldives and Ceylon with their Muslim friends offered the utmost though unavailing resistance.

Thus from early times the beautiful island of Ceylon lay athwart the Arab sea-lanes and they must have possessed a good deal of knowledge about it. We have no pre-Islamic Arab sources of information, but soon after the advent of Islam we begin to hear about Ceylon in many connections. The advent of Islam into Ceylon is another example of the complex ways in which human communities cherish certain ideas. It was not only the attraction of trade which brought the Muslims to the shores of Ceylon, but the proverbial veneration for Adam's footprint high-up on its lofty mountain proved no less a stimulus for this contact. The veneration of this so-called footprint by the followers of no less than three great religions of mankind is one of the strangest things in the world. Among the Hindus the Siva worshippers ascended the top of Adam's Peak to adore the footprint of their phallic god, the Sivapada; the Buddhists repaired to the spot to revere the same symbol as the footmark of Buddha; and the Muslims venerated it as a relic of Adam, the Semitic father of mankind.¹ Even the Portuguese Christians were divided between the conflicting claims of St. Thomas and the eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia.

The reference to the earliest Arab contact with Ceylon is found in the writings of the historian Farishtah, who says that Muslim contact with the island started as early as the days of the Pious Caliphs. This 16th century writer² has not mentioned his source of information, but there is a similar reference in the '*Ajā'ib-ul-Hind*' (Wonders of India) of Buzurg Ibn Shahryār³ who wrote about 300 A.H. He relates, "When the peoples of Ceylon and the surrounding area came to know of the Prophet of Islam's message, then they selected an able person from among themselves and sent him to Arabia to get information at first-hand. When the messenger reached Madīnah after a long journey, the Prophet had died and Abū-Bakr's Khilāfat had also ended and 'Umar was the Khalīfah. The messenger met the Caliph and heard in detail all about the Prophet from him. However, on his return journey he died on the Makrān coast (Baluchistan). But his Hindu servant who had accompanied him succeeded in returning to Ceylon." According to this writer this servant related to the peoples of the island the simple and generous life of the Prophet and gave them the contents of the new faith, and it was chiefly due to this information and good impression that the Ceylonese began to welcome the Muslims to their island. Another important reference⁴ to the early establishment of Muslim settlements in Ceylon is

1. *Imp. Gazt.*, Vol. VI, p. 203.

2. Farishtah: *Tārīkh*, (8th Maqālah).

3. Buzurg Ibn Shahryār: '*Ajā'ib-ul-Hind*', pp. 156-1567.

4. Balādhurī tr. Hiiti, pp. 215-216.

found in Balādhurī's *Futūḥ-ul-Buldān*. It is interesting to note that it is in connection with the first Muslim advance into India¹ Balādhurī says that prior to the conquest of Sind by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and during the administration of the frontier regions, by Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Dhirā'ah-Namarī, the King of the 'Island of Rubies' (Ceylon) sent to al-Ḥajjāj some women who were born in his country as Muslims, their fathers, who had been merchants, having died. The king wanted to court favour with the powerful Iraqi viceroy. But their ship was attacked by mid of ad-Daibul (near modern Karachi) in barges (Bawārij) and was captured. One of the captured women from the tribe of Banū-Yarbū' cried out, 'Oh, Hajjāj.' Thus, the historian says, by way of reprisal, a series of actions started against the lower Indus region, which culminated in the successful operations of Ibn Qāsim. Proceeding, Balādhurī remarks that this island was associated with rubies because of the faces of its women!

Local tradition² represents the first Muslim settlement to have been made by some Arabs who were sent into banishment by the Prophet as a punishment for their cowardice at the battle of Uhud. But there does not seem to be any historical basis for this legend. Whatever may be the truth of these statements, it is certain that they point to the fact that in these waters one of the earliest scenes of Muslim settlements was Ceylon, towards the end of the first century A.H. After the advent of Islam the Arabs continued commercial contact with these parts of the world. However fervently they were attached to the new religion, they were not interested in carrying on religious propaganda at the expense of cordial commercial relations with the peoples of south and south-east Asia.

From the 7th century of the Christian era to the 15th, Muslims were the chief carriers by land as well as by sea in the south and the east. And there is an extensive historical as well as geographical literature dealing with kingdoms, peoples, social habits, land routes, seaways and products and trade of the Indian Ocean mainlands as well as the important islands. Historians commonly agree that the Greek and Roman accounts are full of attempts to make a colourless story bright by mixing the fantastic with the real in an amazing manner. The Arabs on the contrary, with sounder discretion, generally kept their travellers' stories distinct from their sober narratives, and whilst the marvellous incidents related by adventurous seamen were received as materials for the story-tellers and romancers, the staple of their geographical works consisted of truthful descriptions of countries visited, their forms of government, their institutions, their productions and their trade."³ Thus for the mention of Ceylon also the Arab writings provide the only extensive source during

1. Mir Ma'sūm differs from Balādhurī, *Chach Nāmāh* and Faristah and calls these women female slaves from India bought for Caliph 'Abdul-Malik by his agents. Elliot, op. cit., p. 113.

2. Fergusson: *Muhammadanism in Ceylon*, pp. 3-4. Also *Encyclop.; Islām*, Vol. I, p. 839.

3. Tennant: *Ceylon*, Vol. I, p. 583.

a period of over seven hundred years. Marco Polo's description is a single outstanding instance of later Western interest during the Middle Ages. The travels of the friar Odoric who set out from the Black Sea area in 1318 and traversed the Asiatic Continent to China and returned to Italy after 12 years *via* Ceylon, show once again the liking of the mediæval European mind for the fantastic. He does not provide any account of the island which may add to our knowledge of it during this time.

Thus there begins to be piled up a many-sided store of information from Arab sources. Some is provided by noted travellers who visited the island, men like Sulaimān Tājir (merchant), Mas'ūdī, Ibn-Shahryār and Ibn-Battūta. Others were geographers who wrote about the island on the basis of information obtained from contemporaries and reliable authors before them, e.g., Ibn-Khurdādhbih, Abū-Zayd, Abū'l-Faraj, Iṣṭakhri, Ibn-Hawqal, Maqdisī, writer of *Ḥudūd-al-'Ālam*, al-Bīrūnī, Idrīsī, Abū'l-Fidā and Qazvinī. In addition to these are experienced sailors and navigators who know every inch of these waters, noted among whom are Sulaimān Tājir, Buzurg ibn-Shahryār, Aḥmad ibn Mājīd and Sulaimān al-Mahrī. The tales of the exploits of Sindbād the Sailor also throw an interesting light on Ceylon's products and resources. The information thus obtained and pieced together can be classified under the following headings:—(a) Geographical—name, location, seas, mountains and rivers, products and minerals, ports and towns; (b) Human and sociological—peoples, manners, customs, religion, etc.

Let us view the picture in detail:—

NAME

A STRANGE yet interesting feature of the historical geography of Ceylon is the fact that the island as a whole has never been known to the Arab and Western world by the name used by the chief inhabitants, the Sinhalese, in their own language, i.e., "Lanka."¹ The only Muslim writer who used the name "Lanka" was al-Bīrūnī², who obtained the idea of Lanka as the name of some central place in Ceylon from the Indian astronomical and mathematical writings of Āryabhatta, Vasistha, Lata, Pulisa and Brahmagupta, etc. His "Lanka" was taken to be situated on the conventional prime meridian (*via* Ujjani) and on the equator. Amongst the Hindus the most familiar name was Lanka-dwipa, which is also mentioned in the *Mahawanso* under the Pali form of Lank-dipa. Another ancient name was Salabha-dwipa (meaning the island of true or real profit). After the expedition of Alexander it became known as Taprobana, probably from Tape (island) and Rāvana (legendary king of Ceylon), or Tapravan.³ Ptolemy called it Salike and also mentioned

1. E. Cook: *A Geography of Ceylon*, p. 1.

2. Sachau: *Al-Biruni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 301-303.

3. Vincent, W: *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*, Vol. II, pp. 637-30.

an earlier name Simoondū. Salike may be a corruption of Sinhalaka, Śihalaka or Silaka. Ammianus called it Serendivis, which may be derived from Singala-dwipa (Selendive). Cosmas referred to it as Sieladiba. According to Cunningham,¹ it seems that 7th century Ceylon was known by the name of Seng-kia-lo, or Sinhala, which was said to be derived from the hero Sinhala, whose son Vijaya landed in the island in 543 B.C. and laid the foundation of the Sinhalese dynasty. Another Sanskrit name was Ratna-dwipa (Isle of Gems).

Among the Arabic writers the most common name by which Ceylon is known is Sarandīb, which seems to be derived from Serendivis. Buzurg ibn Shahryār gives the name as Sahilān along with Sarandīb. Another name which occurs in some works, including that of Ibn-Battūta, is Saylan, which Gibb² suggests is derived from the Pali form of Sinhala-dwipa, i.e. Sihalam. It is from this Arabic form Saylān that the English form Ceylon is derived. However, sundry variations of Sarandīb occur in the writings of Muslim geographers. Al-Bīrūnī gives the form Singal-dīb or Sarandīb. The writer of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (late 10th century A.D., written in Persian) calls it Tabarnā. Earlier Khwārizmī had called it Siyalān, and Ibn Rustah along with Sarandīb also mentioned the Greek name Tabrobanī. Yāqūt calls it Sarandīb as well as Saylān. Rashīd-ud-Dīn and Abū'l-Fidā mention such variations as Samkā-dīb and Sankā-dīb respectively. With writers in Persian Sarandīb becomes Sarandīp. Many writers connect the name Sarandīb with the central mountain system.

POSITION AND SIZE

THE largest of the indentations of the Indian Ocean is the Arabian Sea, bounded on its landward side by Arabia to the west, by Persia and Baluchistan to the north, and India to the east. At its northern part it is nearly 1500 miles across, on a line from Cape Comorin to Guardafri in Africa. Except for the Laccadives and Socotra, it is unbroken by islands. The big island of Ceylon hangs like a pendulum from peninsular India, lying between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal and S. E. Asia waters. It is situated between 5 degrees 55' and 9 degrees 51' N. Lat. and 79 degrees 41' and 81 degrees 54' E. Long., and has an area of 25,332 sq. miles. It is 271 miles long from north to south and 137 miles from east to west. It is interesting to note that the island's dimensions have been almost uniformly exaggerated by classical authors.³ Pliny mentions the length as 1149 English miles, Ptolemy assigns nearly 1000 miles, Marcianus makes it 1091½ miles. In classical maps Taprobane

1. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 637-39. Also *Encyclop. Brit.*, 13th Ed., Vols. V-VI, p. 783.

2. Gibb: *Ibn-Battūta*, p. 365.

3. Cunningham: *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 640.

(Ceylon) is shown occupying a vast area in comparison with the tiny prolongation of the Indian peninsula (vide map of Ptolemy). Marco Polo's estimate of its circuit was 2400 miles, in spite of an inundation prior to which, he says, it was 3600 miles!

So with regard to size some of the Arab writers also fall victims to exaggeration, but many had on the whole a more approximately correct idea. Arab settlements and trading centres were mainly along the coast and very few travellers had occasion to go into the interior. They had a plentiful knowledge of the coasts of Ceylon and possessed navigation charts of the littoral areas. Such a view is justified by Marco Polo's remark when he says that he derived his knowledge of the coast of Ceylon from the charts of the mariners of those seas. Ibn-Battūta is one of the rare exceptions and he has provided us with a detailed account of his sojourn. As to situation, most writers describe the island as an important one in the Indian Ocean, situated close to the southern tip of the Indian peninsula and separated from it by a series of islands. But they point out Ceylon's location on the equator, and al-Bīrūnī's reference to Lanka as the centre of the world (mentioned above) is interesting enough. The following is a summary of the information given by some of these writers.

Maqdisī.—"The sea of Harkand (Indian Ocean) is an immense expanse of water in which is Sarnadīb. The island extends to about 80 Farsakhs (about 320 miles) in both its length and breadth"¹

Hudūd al-'Ālam.—"Another island in this sea (Indian Ocean) is called Tabarnā (Ceylon). Its periphery is 1000 farsangs. Round it are 59 large islands both cultivated and desolate."²

Al-Bīrūnī.—"Speaking of the coast of southernmost India—"Next follows a great bay in which Singaldīb lies, i.e. the island of Sarandīb." Then he says that "opposite Sarandīb lies Ramsher (Rameshwaram). The distance of the sea between them is 12 Farsakhs" (48 miles). Situbandha he calls the bridge of the ocean.... "It is the dike of Rāmā....at present it consists of isolated mountains (islands) between which the ocean flows."³

Buzurg Ibn Shahryār.—"The length of the island is 100 Farsakhs and the circumference 300 Farsakhs."⁴

Yāqūt.—"The island is situated in Baḥr Harkand at the further extremity of India, its length and breadth are both 80 Farsakhs."⁵

Mustawfī.—"The Indian Sea, otherwise called the Green Sea, has nearly 2300 islands.... The island of Saylān is 80 leagues both long and across, and in it is the mountain of Sarandīb." Also, "The distance from Makkah to Saylān is 300 leagues."⁶

1. *Maqdisī*: *Taqdīm*, p. 20

3. *Al-Bīrūnī*: *Kitāb-ul-Hind*, p.

5. *Yāqūt*: *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. III, p. 218.

2. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*: tr. Minorovsky, p. 57.

4. *'Ajā'ib-ul-Hind*, p. 173.

6. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, p. 11. also p.224.

Ibn-Baṭṭūta.—After leaving Mahal (Maldives)—“I emerged on the 9th day at the island of Saylān.”

MOUNTAINS AND RIVERS

THE most commonly noted feature of the island is the central mountain knot with Adam's Peak, the veneration for which had a stronghold on the minds of all Arabs whether traders, travellers or geographers. By a strange law of common acceptance it was regarded as the highest peak of the island, though the geographers of today know that it is not so, e.g. Pidurutalagala is 8296 ft., Kirigalpota 7836 ft., Totapelakanda 7746 ft., and Adam's Peak only 7353 ft. above sea-level. But their remarks are very interesting and do tell the truth in pointing out the mountain as an outstanding feature for men on the sea and the adjoining coast. Sometimes by Sarandīb was also meant the central mountain system, which was classed among the important mountains in the world. Some writers have also given the name of the mountain as Rahūn and Ar-Ruhn. Very little is said about the rivers of the island. Ibn-Baṭṭūta in the course of the description of his journey into the interior mentions a few crossings.

Ibn-Khurdādhbih.—The Adam's mountain was so high that it could be seen by sailors several days' sail away from the island.¹

Maqdisī.—In Sarandīb “there is Adam's Peak... it is called ar-Ruhn and it is visible from a distance of several days.”²

Hudūd al-'Ālam.—“The other mountain is that of Sarandīb the length of which is 100 farsangs... from its top to the foot is a distance of two days.”³

Mustawfī.—“This is the most famous of the mountains. It is on the island of Sarandīb in the Indian Sea and Qazvinī states that it was the place where Adam fell. In the Indian tongue it is called Dihū (Yāqūt calls it Wasīm) and it is the highest of the mountains of that region, being visible many days' sail distant to the sea. Everyday here without fail, there being either storm or thunder-clouds, the rain falls.”⁴

Ibn-Baṭṭūta.—“The mountain of Sarandīb is one of the highest in the world... on it there are many ever-green trees and flowers of various colours, including a red rose, as big as the palm of a hand. . . . The Bābā track (while going up) is stiff climbing. Former generations cut a sort of a stairway on the mountain and fixed iron stanchions on it, to which they attached chains for climbers to hold on by. There

1. *Ibn-Khurdādhbih*, p. 63.

2. *Maqdisī*, p. 20.

3. *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 61.

4. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, p. 224.

are ten such chains The blessed footprint is on a lofty black rock in a wide plateau. It is eleven spans long. In ancient days Chinese came here."¹ Here are the words of a modern writer describing Adam's Peak, which so impressed the Arabs with its majesty.² "Seen at a distance from the sea this utmost Indian Isle of the old geographers wears a truly beautiful appearance. The remarkable elevation known as Adam's Peak, the most prominent, though not the loftiest, of the hilly ranges of the interior, towers like a mountain monarch amongst an assemblage of picturesque hills, and is a sure land-mark for the navigators when as yet the Colombo lighthouse is hidden from sight amid the green groves of palms that seem to be springing from the waters of the ocean."

PRODUCTS (MINERALS AND OTHERS)

THE island has always been famous for its minerals, especially rubies, sapphires and corundum. In fact for the production of such precious stones it was so well known to the Arab world that they called it the Isle of Rubies. The pearl fisheries of Ceylon also did not escape their notice and such precious things formed one of the chief items of trade between the island and the world of Islam in the West. No wonder that even today many of the descendants of the Arab settlers of those times continue to follow the occupation of their forefathers.

Among the vegetable products rice, bananas, cocoa-nut, cloves, pepper, cinnamon and odoriferous plants, aloes, cardamum, nutmegs, other spices, and Brazil-wood and bamboos find a mention in various writers. Some writers like Ibn-Khurdādhbih, Idrīsī and the writer of *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* speak of the importation of rice into Ceylon from Malabar, which is an interesting parallel with modern times. The Ceylonese aromatics acquired a wide popularity in the Arab world. Nuwairī in his *Nihāyat al-'Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* provides a long list of such articles.

Sulaimān Tājir.—"In this big island one finds aloes, gold and precious stones and in the sea which washes the island pearls and 'sankh' shells are found. This is a big shell used as a trumpet by blowing and is preserved as a precious thing."³

Ibn-Khurdādhbih.—"At the mountain are found corundums and sapphires of all variety. There are also other precious stones and diamonds are found in the valley below. Other articles obtained include aloes, pepper, aromatics, cocoa-nut, rock crystal, pearls and emery, which is used for working on gems. The musk deer and the civet-cat are also found."⁴

1. Ibn-Battūta, pp. 258-260.

2. *Encyclop. Brit.*, 13th edition, Vol. VI, p. 778.

3. *Voyage du marchand Arabe*, p. 33

4. Ibn-Khurdādhbih, p. 64.

Ābū-Zaid Sirāfi.—"The island of Sarandīb contains the mountain of precious stones. These—red, green and yellow—are obtained from the mountain which rises over the island. The greater part of the stones that are found are brought up by the tide. The water carries them into caverns and grottoes and into the places where torrents descend. There are men appointed by the king for the gathering of these stones. Sometimes precious stones are dug from the depths of the earth, as in mines; these stones are accompanied by earthy matter, which has to be separated from them."¹

Buzurg ibn Shahryār.—Says that the pearl fisheries are high-class but their extent is small and the big pearls are inferior.² The mountain has rubies and corundum. There is a kind of red clay which is used in making glass smooth. Speaks of cinnamon. A kind of grass is used in dying cloth and it is better than saffron. Notes luxuriant tropical vegetation.

Hudūd al-Ālam.—"The mountain of Sarandīb possesses mines of corundum of many colours. In its river-beds diamonds are found. . . . Its soil is of emery. In Sarandīb there are costly pearls which are extracted from the sea near it. It produces plenty of spikenard سنبل cloves (Qaranfal) cardamum (Qāqūla), nutmegs جوز بوا, and all kinds of spices. It has numerous cocoa-nut trees, Brazil-wood دار پر نیان and bamboos."³

Maqdisi.—"The ruby is found on this mountain, the finest being that carried down by the wind. There is also an odoriferous plant resembling musk." He also mentions the camphor tree and explains the method of extracting camphor by making incisions on the trunk."⁴

Al-Bīrūnī.—"In former times there were pearl-banks in the bay of Sarandīb, but at present they have been abandoned. Since the Sarandīb pearls have disappeared other pearls have been found at Sufālah" (Mozambique and Zamzibar area). This probably refers to a lean period in the pearl fisheries of Ceylon in al-Bīrūnī's times.⁵

Mustawfi.—"In this mountain and around it are mines of various coloured corundums (sapphires and rubies), also of diamond smyris (emery) and rock-crystal. Further, aloes-wood is found here with aromatics. In the sea round this island they dive for pearls." He also speaks of many medicinal herbs which grow on the mountain side.⁶

Ibn-Battūṭa.—This great traveller not only speaks of the presence of many precious stones, but also gives us an idea of the manner of

1. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 10 (quoting from *Silsilat at-Twārikh*, pt. II).

2. 'Aja'ib-ul-Hind, p.173. (carried forward from previous page).

3. *Hudūd al-Ālam*, p. 61.

4. *Maqdisi*, p. 20.

5. *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, Vol. I, p. 211.

6. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, p. 224.

exploitation of these mines or surface collections in relation to State authority. In the course of his journey into the interior, on arriving at *Kunākār* (Kurnnegala) north-west of Kandy, he says, "The marvellous rubies called *bahraman* (carbuncles) are found only in this town. Some are taken from the lake and these are regarded by the people as most valuable, and some are obtained by digging. In the island of *Saylān* rubies are found in all parts. Some of them are red, some yellow (topazes) and some blue (sapphires). The land is private property and a man buys a parcel of it and digs for rubies. The custom is that all rubies of a value of a hundred fanams belong to the *Sultān* (*Rājah*), who pays their price and takes them; those of the lesser value belong to finders. A hundred fanams is equal in value to six gold dinars."¹

Among the animals mentioned is the elephant, and *Ibn-Battūta* speaks of a white elephant with the *Rājah* of Kurunegala. The musk-deer, the civet-cat, and vipers and scorpions are mentioned by *Mustawfi*, and the writer of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* mentions the rhinoceros in addition to the civet-cat and musk-deer.

Qazwīnī dwells on the productions of the island and speaks of its spices, its aromatic plants, precious woods, and useful medical drugs. He mentions its profusion of gems, gold and silver work and inlaying of pearl. Among the products of Ceylon which were exported cinnamon has always been counted as an important item. But no one with the exception of *Buzurg ibn Shahryār* spoke of its production as being indigenous to the island prior to the 14th century. Earlier it was supposed that *Ibn-Battūta* was the first to make mention of its production in the island, and on the basis of this view it was believed that cinnamon was earlier indigenous to N. E. Africa and was taken from there to Ceylon by the Arabs, where it thrived well and was found growing in the island after the 12th century. This opinion led some authorities, including *Schumann*, to consider that the mention of cinnamon in *'Ajā'ib-ul-Hind* proves the date of the book to be later than *Battūta's* times, which view is certainly erroneous.²

TOWNS, ETC.

Idrīsī particularly mentions³ twelve cities, viz. *Marnaba* (Manar?) *Aghna*, *Perescuri* (Periatorre?) *Aide*, *Mahulun* (Putlam?) *Hamri*, *Talmadi* (Talmanaar?) *Lenduma*, *Sedi*, *Hesli*, *Bresli*, and *Meduna* (Matura?). *Aghna* or *A'na* he mentions as the residence of the king. The place may be identifiable with *Anarajapura*. From *Ibn-Battūta's* graphic account of his journey into the interior of Ceylon we get an idea of the existence of *Colombo* as a fairly important place. Other coastal towns

1. *Ibn-Battūta*, pp. 256-57.

2. See *'Ajā'ib-ul-Hind*, p. 265 et seq. Also *Tennant: Ceylon, op. cit.*, pp. 600-604.

3. *Ibid.* p. 598.

mentioned by him are Puttelam and Galle. In the interior he gives the names of Minneri-Mandel, Chilav and Dewandera. The writer of *Hudūd al-'Ālam* mentions as the capital of a Rājah the town of 'Azr or Ghazr. He also speaks of a city by the name of Muvas (موص) which was situated on the extremity lying towards Hindustān, and says that whatever the island produced was carried to that city and therefrom to the cities of the world. It has been difficult so far to identify these two places. A much later writer on nautical matters, Sulaimān al-Mahrī (early 16th century), in connection with the latitudinal location of places mentions two towns in Ceylon, namely Aitam on the east coast and Tutagam on the west coast. As a matter of fact practically all the Arab activity, as it seems, centred round the west and north-west of Ceylon, and there are very few instances of penetration into the interior. It is also evident that their contact with the Hindu communities of the north and the north-west was the most frequent though they did not fail to observe the presence of Buddhists in the island.

SOCIOLOGICAL

THE Arabs' impressions of the general appearance of the people of Ceylon depended upon the individual writers as well as on the particular parts of the island visited. Some have expressed a high opinion of the charms of the Ceylonese women (vide Balādhurī), and others noted their fondness of the foreign traders (vide Abū-Zaid Širāfi).

As far as food is concerned, rice is spoken of as the staple and it was served on banana leaves. Beef was not eaten and therefore the killing of cows was a sin (vide Battūta). The people did not eat with the Muslims but otherwise had friendly intercourse with them.

It seems that there was perfect religious toleration, both among the native population and in their attitude towards the foreigners. There were Buddhist religious conferences from time to time, and some Arab writers from Abū-Zaid onward spoke of them with admiration. The events, in fact, are recorded in the *Mahawanso*.

There were large temples with costly images, sometimes of pure gold. To some temples 'devadāsīs' (unmarried girls dedicated to the temples) were also attached. There was also among the foreigners a number of Jews (vide Širāfi). There seems to have been no prejudice against the language of foreigners and many people understood Arabic and Persian.

The whole of Ceylon did not recognise a single political authority and there were several Rājas who ruled over various parts. The centre and the south seem specially to have been a Buddhist stronghold.

Many Arab writers speak of the realms of two Rājahs in the island (vide Sulaimān, Mas'ūdī and others). About the time when Ibn-Battūta visited Ceylon, an invasion followed by the occupation of the N. W.

parts of the island by the Malabar elements had taken place. He first landed in the territories of the Hindu Rājah and on his way to Adam's Peak passed through Gampola (Kunākar), the capital of the Buddhist monarch Bhuwaneka Bahu IV. But there is no evidence that the Arabs ever took sides with contending powers in the island. They had a continuity of amiable relations with all.

Ibn-Shahryār throws an interesting light on the ways of the rich, when he speaks about the custom of palanquin rides by kings, nobles and the well-to-do. These gentry and aristocracy were used to chewing "pan" which was carried in gold boxes, and spittoons were carried inside the palanquins. He notices the snake-charmers as well as 'Sanyasis' who ate out of human skulls.¹

Abū-Zaid Širāfi.—"The kingdom of Sarandīb has a law and its doctors (of law) assemble from time to time to deliberate. . . . There is in the island an idol of pure gold, the size of which has been exaggerated by travellers. There are also temples which must have cost considerable sums of money. There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandīb and peoples of other religions, especially Manicheans. The king allows each sect to follow its religion.

"Great licentiousness prevails in this country among both men and women. Sometimes a newly arrived merchant will make advances to a daughter of a king, and she with the knowledge of her father will go to meet him. . . . The more serious of the merchants of Širāf avoid sending their ships here, especially if there are young men on board."²

The above observation of Širāfi may be an exaggeration. But it proves firstly that perfectly free intercourse took place between native men and women and Arab merchants, and secondly that many a trader had settled down in the island, captivated by the friendliness of its people. That is why Abū-Zaid says that the wise men of Širāf sometimes forbade the landing of ships on the island coast if there were young men on board.³

Ibn Battūta.—"Its people live in idolatry, yet they show respect for Muslim Darwishes—lodge them in their houses and give them to eat, and they live in their houses amidst their wives and children. This is contrary to the usage of other Indian idolaters (probably Hindus, more especially the Brahmins) who never make friends with Muslims and never give them to eat or drink out of their vessels, although at the same time they neither act nor speak offensively to them. . . . They would also serve us with rice, which is their principal food. . . . it is served on banana leaves."⁴ But he says that they ate separately from their Muslim guests. Ibn-Battūta also emphasises the importance of

1. 'Aja'ibul-Hind, p. 118. also pp. 155-56.

2. *Voyage du marchand arabe*, p. 119.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

4. Ibn-Battūta, p. 96.

rice as the only staple food when he observes: "I lived also in the Maldiv Islands, Ceylon, and on the Coromandal and Malabar coast for three years eating nothing but rice, until I could not swallow it except by taking water with it."¹

On landing on Ceylonese soil Ibn-Battūta was summoned by the king and says, "I visited him in the town of Battala (Puttelam) which is the capital. It is a small and pretty town, surrounded by a wooden wall and wooden towers." Recording the cordial treatment which was meted out to him by the king (Ayri Shakarwati=Chakravarti) and his conversation with him he says, "He understood Persian and was delighted with the tales I told him of kings and countries."²

An account of his journey into the interior of Ceylon for the primary purpose of visiting Adam's Peak is full of interest and useful information. Not only is mention made of the important town on the route, but the account also reveals how Muslim divines (Shaikhs) had reached the remoter parts of the island and had succeeded in earning the veneration of the natives. Mosques existed here and there. Temples were full of wealth and devotees.

"The Sultān gave me a palanquin which was carried by his slaves . . . water is plentiful along that route. On the first day we encamped beside a river, which we crossed on a raft, made of bamboo canes. Thence we journeyed to Manar Mandali (Minneri-Mandel) a fine town . . . after passing the small town of Bandar Salawat (Chillaw) our way lay through rugged country, intersected with streams. In this part there are many elephants who do no harm to strangers through the blessed favour of Shaikh Abū-'Abdullāh . . . who is called by the inhabitants 'the Great Shaikh.'

"After this we came to the town of Kunākar (Kurunegala)³ which is the capital of the principal Sultān in this land. It lies near the lake of rubies. Outside the town is the mosque of Shaikh 'Uthmān of Shīrāz, known as the Shāwūsh. The king and inhabitants visit his tomb and venerate him. His hands and feet were cut because he had killed a cow. The Sultān of Kunākar is called the Kunar (Kunwar) and possesses a white elephant, the only white elephant I have seen in the whole world. He rides on it at festivals and puts great rubies on its forehead."⁴

From Kunākar onward he halted at a cave called after Usta Mahmūd Lūrī, a pious man. Then he travelled to the lake of monkeys and apes and noticed flying leeches. After completing the visit to the blessed footprint, he continues, "We travelled thence to Dināwar,"⁵

1. Ibn-Battūta, p. 231.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

3. Kurunegala was about this time the residence of the old dynasty of Sinhalese kings.

4. Ibn-Battūta, pp. 256-57.

5. Probably Dewandera, the site of a famous temple of Vishnu, which was destroyed by the Portuguese in 1587 near Dondra Head, the southernmost point of Ceylon.

a large town on the coast, inhabited by merchants. In this town there is an idol known as Dināwar, in a vast temple, in which there are about a thousand Brahmins and Yogis and about 500 women, daughters of infidels, who sing and dance every night in front of the idol. The city and all its revenues form an endowment belonging to the idol, from which all who live in the temple and who visit it are supplied with food. The idol is of gold, about a man's height, and in the place of its eyes it has two great rubies, which I was told shine at night like lamps."

He adds, "We went on to the town of Qali (Point de Galle), a small place 18 miles from Dināwar, and journeyed thence to the town of Kalanbū (Colombo), which is one of the finest and largest towns in Ceylon. In it resides the Wazīr and ruler of the sea Jalasti, who has with him about 500 Abyssinians. Three days after leaving Kalanbū we reached Battala again and visited the Sultān of whom we have spoken above. I found the Captain Ibrāhīm awaiting me and we set sail for the land of Ma'bar¹ (Coromandel Coast)."

CONDITIONS OF NAVIGATION IN SURROUNDING WATERS

IN the days of Arab navigation the wind and weather were a much more important factor and the accompanying cyclones a greater menace than in our days of steam. The sailings were directly influenced by the change of seasons. The monsoon brings with it the rainy season with frequent squalls and dirty weather. There is a succession of cyclones following the trend of the monsoon, and therefore sailings over the Arabian Sea and the surrounding waters, northward or southward, depended on the direction of the monsoon. The uncertainty of weather associated with cyclones and their great speed,² especially north of the equator, averaging 5 to 9 miles per hour between 11 degrees N. to 200 N. Lat., made the sailings round Ceylon no holiday cruise for generations of those brave Arab sailors. The invention of the compass by them³ was of tremendous importance, and the compass remained the guide of navigators whose destination was Ceylon, the Sunda Islands, or the China Seas. The perfection of the astrolabe was also put to common use in sailing. The lack of other precise instruments such as we possess today was made up for by long experience of wind and weather handed down from generation to generation. Many Arab writers like Sulaimān Tājir, Abū-Zaid, Buzurg ibn-Shaharyār and Mas'ūdi have spoken about these conditions.

1. Ibn-Battūta, p. 258-60.

2. S. Rogers: *The Indian Ocean*, p. 169.

3. Regarding the controversy about the invention of the compass, see by the present writer: *Muslim Contribution to Astronomical and Mathematical Geography*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, April 1944.

But the peak of Arab knowledge of these waters was reached on the eve of the advent of the Portuguese. To this period belong the valuable works of men like Ahmad ibn-Mājid (*Kitāb al-Fawā'id*—1489-90) and Sulaimān al-Mahri (*'Ulūm al-Bahriyah*—early 16th century). It is a legacy of this knowledge that many of the commonest terms in modern meteorological terminology are of Arabic origin, e.g. typhoon for *Tūfān طوفان*, monsoon from *Mausim موسم*, etc.

Ceylon lay athwart the Arab sea-lanes to China and even Japan, and was inevitably touched. The Arabs used to cover 4,500 Farsakhs, i.e. nearly, 13,500 miles to reach the Wāq islands (Japan), according to their estimates.¹ Much has been written about the possible routes by sea along the Ceylonese coast, which these sailors followed. The accounts of most Arab writers on this point indicate that the N.W., Western and S. W. coast was touched to round off the island on the way to the Langābalūs (Nicobars) and Andamans in order to reach Kalah (Malaya). Ibn-Khurdādhbih² is very clear on the point and says that going past Ballin in Malabar they used to proceed south and would leave the island of Sarandīb on the left, reaching Langābalūs in 10 to 15 days. Besides, most of the Arab ships were big, accommodating up to a thousand people, and the shallow passage of the Palk Strait would not seem to facilitate such sailings. The descriptions of big ships used in these waters provided by many writers, e.g. Ibn-Wahhāb (Abū-Zaid Sirāfis' informant), Buzurg ibn Shahryār, Mas'ūdi and Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, all indicate the most frequented route as the one via the S. W. of the island past the position of Galle. Abū-Zaid and Ibn-Shahryār describe the Aghbāb *اغاب* of Ceylon (remarkable still-water channels on the sea-board of Ceylon) and speak about the flora and fauna of the northern part of the country, which shows that perhaps some ships took that route also, but certainly the most frequented direction was elsewhere, and Colombo and Galle were more often touched than Manar and Montotta.

Ceylon occupied a pivotal position in the rich trade and commerce that passed between S. E. Asia and the Arab world. The island supplied a variety of spices, precious stones, pearls, dye-woods and aromatic plants, perfumes and silks, which constituted the exports. The Arabs also brought many valuable imports including steel goods, cloth and noted wines of Irāq, as well as rice and other foodstuffs from Malabar. The Ceylonese kings controlling the northern and western shores derived huge benefits from this commerce and had their warehouses by the seaside in which to store these goods. They visited these houses personally to inspect the goods.³ There are many accounts revealing the exceptionally lucrative side of this trade, which was so profitable indeed that to many a modern mind it may sound fantastic. Ibn-Shahryār says that

1. Ibn-Khurdādhbih, p. 71.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

3. 'Aja'ib-ul-Hind, p. 119. Also Idrisi, vide Tennant : Ceylon, pp. 598-99.

in 317 A.H. when a ship returned to 'Umān from the east *via* Ceylon laden with precious cargo, a duty of 600,000 dinars was levied!¹ Ceylon was a sort of half-way house for the Arab traders. After hundreds of miles of sea they were invariably thankful to reach this tropical paradise, where they rested for a while amidst the plenty of nature and the hospitality of lazy yet friendly inhabitants. They whiled away their time in cock-fighting, refreshing themselves with draughts of 'Araq' and cups of honey, making appointments with attractive maidens under the shade of coconut palms by the seaside, and the rich merchant and the ordinary sailor alike played games of chance, one wagering with gold, silver, precious stones and plantations, and the other to the last joint of his fingers.²

The shyness of the Sinhalese with regard to commercial intercourse with foreigners may be regarded as an explanation of the fact that though the Arabs possessed such extensive and detailed information about the coasts of the island and knew so much about its products, etc., the accounts of the interior are scanty and little is said about the social and historical life of the Sinhalese communities.

But when we compare the Arab knowledge with that of the Greeks and Romans, we find that the former shows sounder discretion and generally the travellers' stories are distinct from sober narratives. While the marvellous tales of sailors and seamen provided material for story-tellers and romances, as has always been the case, the staple of the Arab geographical accounts of Ceylon is based upon keen observation and the truthful description.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that there are only few parts of the world today the Muslim inhabitants of which are still called Moors. The Arab and Berber Muslims of French N. Africa and the Senegal territory as well as the Muslims of far-away Ceylon have that distinction. The overwhelming majority of the nearly 400,000 Muslims of the island are descended from Arab settlers who intermarried with the women of the country and made converts from among the inhabitants. But the Portuguese first called them Moors, perhaps because of the similarity of religion and some racial traits with those of their old enemies in the Iberian Peninsula. The Portuguese came as the deadliest enemies of Islam and the Arab, and it is a fact of history that the Ceylonese Muslims were forbidden by them to hold lands and attempts were made to suppress the public exercise of their religion.³ The British who occupied the island in 1796 were slow to abandon this restrictive policy of their predecessors, and it was not until 1832 that the Moors of Ceylon were allowed to hold lands in Colombo.

NAFIS AHMAD.

1. 'Ajā'ib-ul-Hind, p. 133.

2. *Voyage du Marchand*, p. 121.

3. T. W. Arnold: *Encyclop., Islam*, Vol. I, p. 839.

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE VARIOUS VERSIONS OF SHUJĀ'-UD-DAWLĀH'S DEATH

TWO different versions are on record regarding the origin of the complaint that hastened the end of Shujā'-ud-Dawlah on the 26th January, 1775, in the prime of his life. The first story is that after the occupation of Pilibhit the Wazir had Hāfiz's daughter brought to him one night to satisfy his lust, and as he uncovered himself the proud and brave girl stabbed him in the thigh with a poisoned dagger which she had concealed under her garments, for the double purpose of saving herself from molestation and avenging her father.¹ This wound is said to have degenerated so much as to have become the cause of the Wazir's death. The other version says that about the middle of March, 1774, a little more than a month before the battle of Miranpūr Katra, a very small syphilitic tumour had appeared on one of the Wazir's thighs, which, owing to the exertion of the campaign and want of proper care and treatment, gradually degenerated into a cancer to which he eventually succumbed after ten months' suffering.² The first story stands discredited not only because it is denied by most of the well-informed and impartial contemporary authorities, but also because the three different versions into which it resolves itself differ so materially as to contradict one another and throw doubt on its authenticity. According to one version of this story the scene of the outrage was Pilibhit and the victim of Shujā's lust was Hāfiz's daughter;³ according to the second, the place was Bisauli and the victim the daughter of Muhibullāh Khān;⁴ while the third is silent about the place, but mentions the victim as the daughter of Dundē Khān.⁵ If the first version of this story is to be believed, the date of the

1. The only contemporary Persian authorities who seemed to have believed this story are two, *D.C.*, 290; *M.L.*, 161. But even they only say that the news reached the Emperor that it had happened.

2. *Harcharan*, 514 b; *Siyar*, III 939; *G. 'Ali*, III. 64; *C.M.*, 226; *Maadam*, IV. 252a; *Mulkharin*, 251; *Kalyan*, 187a.

3. *Siyar*, III. 939. The author says it was a strong rumour, yet it was wrong; *Mustafa*, the translator, believed the above version. See *Siyar*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, 60-61.

4. *Soldiering in India*, 222.

5. Col. Thomas Deane Pearse to General Pattison, Feb. 23, 1775. Vide *British Indian Military Repository*, Vol. I, 29-30.

occurrence must have been either the 28th or 29th of April, when the Wazir's wound was already more than a month old, for Harcharan Dās, who was present at Faizābād at the time of Shujā's return from Ruhelkhand, mentions in clear words that his wound was *then nine months old* زخم مذکور که از مدت نه ماه بود.¹ According to the second version the date was the 29th of May,² when the Wazir was altogether incapable of committing such an outrage owing to the advanced state of his illness;³ whereas the third version makes it happen four months before his death,⁴ that is, sometime about the 26th of September, 1774, which is on the very face of it absurd. It was further maintained by the circulators of the story that the girl was stabbed to death by the Wazir's orders, according to Thomas Deane Pearse just before his death and according to the French renegade Mustafa (Raymond) immediately after she had wounded Shujā', while in the English camp at Bisauli the rumour was circulated (29th May) that she had committed suicide "to testify her own innocence and redeem the honour of her family." Middleton, who was then present with the Wazir and who possessed unique opportunities of knowing the facts, investigated the allegations as he heard the story, and he found them to be a malicious fabrication by an important personage in the English camp, outside the reach of the Wazir's just wrath, and the supposed victim of his lust to be alive and hale and hearty. He informed Hastings that the Wazir's physical condition was then (29th of May) such—of course owing to the wound in the thigh—as to incapacitate him for any sexual indulgence.⁵ It may be argued that these versions of the story refer to two different events, namely, the outrage committed on Hāfiz's daughter and another on Muhibullāh's daughter, and that if the latter was found by Middleton to be devoid of any foundation, it did not follow that the former too was untrue. Obviously such a contention cannot be maintained, for none of the authorities, contemporary or of later date—not even Macpherson, who kept a regular diary of events and rumours—refers to two incidents, and every writer who has mentioned one story has betrayed a complete ignorance of the other, showing thereby that all of them were narrating different versions of one and the same tale. The version that makes Hāfiz's daughter the tragic heroine is less plausible than the one proved by Middleton to be a malicious fabrication. It is described by the author of the *Siyar* as a mere rumour which neither he nor any other contemporary authority considered it worth his while to examine and which he rejected as absolutely false.⁶ It is worthy

1. Harcharan, §14b.

2. *Soldiering in India*, 222.

3. Middleton to Hastings, June 17, 1774.

4. Pearse's letter of 23rd Feb. 1775, referred to above.

5. Middleton to Hastings, June 17, 1774, quoted in Strachey; *Hastings and the Rohilla War*, 208-210.

6. *Siyar* writes as follows:—

با آنکه این سخن مطلقاً اصلی نداشت و محض غلط بود. اما بجز به شهرت یافت که الی الان بعض کسان همین می دانند و علت مردنش می شناسند.

of note that it was not mentioned by Champion, who was anxious to seize every opportunity of blackening the Wazir's character, in any of his letters and despatches, nor even by his A.D.C., whose diary abounds in unbecoming remarks and reflections on Shujā', no less than in rumours and bazaar gossips. Had any such rumour spread either at Pilibhīt or on the way from the latter town to Bisauli, Macpherson at least, who recorded the equally baseless rumour of the outrage committed on Muhibullāh's daughter, could not have failed to give it a place in his journal. And we have it on the testimony of Mustāfa (Raymond), the translator of the *Siyar*, that the English surgeon who treated the Wazir and dressed his wound "affirmed it to be a bubo"¹ (tumour) and not wound caused by a dagger. The irresistible conclusion is that Middleton's finding was beyond doubt correct, and that the story had its origin in the English camp at Bisauli where it was deliberately concocted by an important officer with the definite object of injuring Shujā'-ud-Dawlah's reputation, and though in the course of transmission from person to person and place to place it departed from the original in some important details, its framework remained the same. The story gained credence in some circles, because it was known that the Wazir was suffering from a wound and had died of it. Some individual Englishmen were primarily responsible for its wide circulation, but it was the French renegade Mustāfa, the translator of the *Siyar*, who, accustomed to the love of romance in his own life as well as in thought and expression, preferred the tale of an unknown gossipy woman supposed to have been in the Wazir's harem to the sober testimony of the English surgeon and the author of the book he was translating, and transmitted the story to posterity in a highly coloured and romantic garb, which would have amused even Macpherson and Pearse.²

A. L. SRIVASTAVA.

1. Eng. tr. of the *Siyar*, Vol. IV., p. 6-61.

2. In order to make the story as romantic as possible Mustāfa translated the word *جہالت* ascribed by the author of the *Siyar* to Afghan girls in general and Hāfiz's daughter in particular, as "ferocity," though it really means ignorance or rusticity." See *Siyar*, Eng. tr., Vol. IV, p. 60.

POETRY AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE TIME OF 'ALĀ'-UD-DĪN KHILJĪ

POETRY

THERE were many accomplished poets in the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī. Amīr Khusrau takes high rank in the history of Persian literature. He was a man of culture, a great poet and a musician of no mean ability. His versatility is amazing; there is scarcely any side of poetic craftsmanship which he did not tackle with success—Ghazals, Qasidas, Mathnavis, etc. He touches every mood of graceful sentiment as in *'Ashiqā*, of delicate fantasy as in *Hasht Bahisht*, and of poignant passion as in *Majnūn-o-Leyla*. Khusrau gives us interesting glimpses of his chequered career in the Introduction to *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*. His first patron was Khushilo Khān, popularly known as Malik Chajjū, a powerful noble and a nephew of Balban.¹ Khusrau wrote some Qasidas in his praise, e.g.

صبح چون از سوسه شرق رو نمود صحن مینا روضه مینو نمود
صبح را گفتم که خورشیدت کجاست آسمان روی ملک چه جو نمود²

At one of the festive assemblies of Malik Chajjū, where Balban's second son Naṣir-ud-Dīn Bughrā Khān was also present, Khusrau recited his poems, which were highly appreciated.³ Impressed by the lyrical genius of Khusrau, Bughrā Khān invited him to Lakhnauti when he was appointed governor of that province.⁴ Then the poet adorned the court of Sultān Muḥammad, the Martyr Prince.⁵ When the prince was defeated and killed by the Mongols under the leadership of Tamar, Khusrau fell into the hands of the enemy but managed to escape, and retired to his native place, Patiali.⁶ He wrote his famous elegy on the death of the prince:—

واقعہ است این یا بلا از آسمان آمد پدید آفت است این یا قیامت در جهان آمد پدید⁷

1. Introduction to *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*, 70-71.

2. *Diwān-i-Khusrau* (Nawalkishore edition) 32-33.

3. Introduction to *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*, 71.

4. *Ibid.*, 72.

5. *Ibid.*, 73.

6. *Ibid.*, 73.

7. Quoted by Badā'ūnī in *Muntakhabut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. I, 138-150.

Khusrau then sought the service of an influential noble Hātim Khān,¹ and after some time he gained the royal patronage of Mu'iz-ud-Dīn Kaiqubād.² He wrote a historical Mathnavī—the *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*—which describes the meeting which took place between Kaiqubād and his father, Naṣir-ud-Dīn, governor of Bengal.³ Khusrau continued to enjoy royal favour in the time of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī and wrote an account of his campaigns in *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*. It was however, in the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī that Khusrau wrote his most famous Mathnavis. 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's long reign in fact "coincided with the most productive period of Khusrau's life."⁴

A.—KHAMSA.

The more mature genius of Khusrau manifests itself in the *Khamṣa*. He was a poet of high accomplishment who could not only depict the various phases of love but was able also to present the deeper issues of life. He was 48 years of age when he commenced the writing of the *Khamṣa*. He had developed a rich ornate style and had gained reputation. So he decided to rival the brilliant achievements of Nizāmī by writing the *Khamṣa* :—

دیده خسروم شد بلند زلزله درگور نظامی نگند

Khusrau was quite confident of succeeding in this venture :⁵

نور که از خواجه نظام رسید کار ازان رو بنظام رسید
گرچه برو سهر سخن ختم بست سکه من سهر زرش را شکست

The speed with which he composed the *Khamṣa* testifies to the fertility of his muse and the ease and grace of his lyricism. It was completed in three years' time.⁷

Khusrau's great predecessor in the Mathnavī was Nizāmī of Ganja, who with the *Khamṣa*, gave a lead that influenced the whole of Persian literature. Although Nizāmī chose Firdausī as his model, yet he treated the Mathnavī in quite a different manner. He introduced in the Mathnavī more of pathos and idealism. In the whole range of Persian literature, with the exception of Firdausī and Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jurjānī, the famous author of *وہس ورامین*, no one can rival Nizāmī in the wonderful delineation of character and the brilliant painting of human passions. Khusrau's verses lack Nizāmī's

1. Introduction to *Ghurraṭ-ul-Kamāl*, 74.

2. *Ibid.*,

3. Badā'ūni, 159-160.

4. *Life of Khusrau* by Prof. Habib, 24.

5. *Maṭla'-ul-Anwār* (Aligarh edition), 32.

6. *Ibid.*, 32.

7. *Hasht Bahisht* (Aligarh edition), 224.

charming grace. It is however universally admitted that though Khusrau's romantic *Mathnavī*s failed to reach the high standard of excellence of Nizāmī's *Khamṣa*, yet they are the best of all other imitations of Nizāmī in Persian literature. The reasons for Khusrau's failure are obvious. Whereas the *Pan̄j Ganj* was Nizāmī's lifework, Khusrau finished his *Khamṣa* in three years only.¹ *Maṭla'-ul-Anwār*, *Shirīn-o-Khusrau* and *Majnūn-o-Leyla* were finished in six weeks' time.² Of these, *Maṭla'-ul-Anwār* was finished in two weeks only.³ Thus Khusrau's *Khamṣa* was not given the careful labour which alone ensures perfection. That Khusrau was not unaware of this shortcoming is clear from the following verses :—

شغل بہر حادثہ بسیار شد نیمدہی بر سر این کار شد
صرف ہمہ عمر گراہن جا شدی قطرہ عجب نیست کہ دریا شدی⁴

Moreover Khusrau had to cover practically the same ground as had already been so well covered by Nizāmī. Khusrau's achievement would have been certainly greater if he had tried to open out for poetry a wider world, as yet untouched, of character and situation ; to present the charming Indian legends in a new garb (instead of relating well-known Persian legends). With a little effort he could have discovered a rich storehouse of ancient legends which would have given freshness and vitality to his subjects. But he preferred to follow the beaten track ; he wrote the *Khamṣa* which, though it attained a high level of excellence, could never rival the brilliant masterpiece of Nizāmī. That Khusrau was not ignorant of this shortcoming is clear from the following verses :—

زندہ است بمعنی اوستادم ورنہ نیست منش حیات دادم
میداد چون نظم نامہ را پیچ باقی نگذاشت بہر ما ہیچ⁵

Khusrau's *Khamṣa* consists of the following five poems :—

a. *Maṭla'-ul-Anwār*.—It is a didactic poem containing moral maxims and platitudes ; it also gives expression to Ṣūfī doctrines. It reveals to us Khusrau's philosophy of life. Khusrau had a robust faith in man's higher nature and destiny, e.g.

اے ز ازل گوہر پاک آمدہ گوہر تو زیور خاک آمدہ
چہر نہ چرخ بسی بیخت خاک تاتو برون آمدی ای در پاک
نور تو ہنگامہ انجم شکست دست تو تسبیح ملائک گست

1. *Hasht Bahisht* (Aligarh edition), 224.

2. *Shirīn-o-Khusrau*, 284, *Matla*, 237.

3. *Maṭla'-ul-Anwār* (Aligarh edition), 237.

4. *Ibid.*, 238.

5. *Majnūn-o-Leyla* (Aligarh edition), 169.

گنج خدا را ترکلید آمدی نژ پئی بازپچه پدید آمدی
چرخ که از گوهر احسانت ساخت آئنه صورت رحانت ساخت
آئنه زینگونه که داری بچنگ آه و هزار آه که دادی بزنگه

These verses remind us of the famous lines of Shakespeare :—

“ What a piece of work is man ! How noble in reason ! how infinite in faculty ! in form and moving how express and admirable ! in action how like an angel ! in apprehension, how like a god ! the beauty of the world ! the paragon of animals ! ”

The following verses illustrate Khusrau's conception of the moral qualities which are necessary for making people lead good moral lives :—

High ideals and firm will :—

پری دل سوی بلندی کشد پستی همت به نژندی کشد²

Self-reliance :

تکیه چرا آری بعصای کسی زنده نشد کس ببقای کسی³

Chastity :

رسم سگان است بهر سو نگاه شیر سر افکنده خرامد براه⁴

True penitence :

تادلت از ترس نه لرزد چو یید مغفرت امید مدار از امید⁵

Good conduct :

نیکوئی از نفس نه از نام رست زیور طاوس ز اندام رست⁶

Knowledge and action :—

ور بودت علم و عمل هر دو خویش پرتویک شمع زد و شعله بیش⁷

But more than anything else, Khusrau impresses upon his readers the necessity of a loving heart that feels for the sufferings of the people and throbs with the passion of divine love :—

چوتن آدم ز گل آراستند خانه جان بهر دل آراستند
آدمی آن است که دروی دلست ورنه علف خانه آب و گل است
زندگی دل چو بود سوز و داغ مرده بود هر که نسوزد چراغ
موم بود دل که ز عشق ست زار گو بگداز او فتد از یک شرار⁸

b. *Shirīn-o-Khusrau*.—The old romantic story is related in a highly artistic style. Khusrau depicts the play of human passions with

1. *Maṭlā'*, 53-54.

2. *Ibid.*, 56.

3. *Ibid.*, 56.

4. *Ibid.*, 93.

5. *Maṭlā'*, 95.

6. *Ibid.*, 94.

7. *Ibid.*, 95.

8. *Ibid.*, 116-117.

much force and freedom. Every emotion of love is touched upon—longing, jealousy, hope, disappointment, reconciliation and fruition. In this poem there is a note of deep and persistent emotion.

When Khusrau meets Shīrīn in the hunting field, he gets down from his horse :

فرو د آمد ز پشت اسب چون باد چو سبزہ بوسہ زد بر پائے شمشاد¹

and Shīrīn addresses him sweetly thus :

کہ یارب این چہ دولت بود مارا کہ ابرے چون تو سہان شد گیارا
مگیں جلاب شیرین را بود قید چہ شیرنیم کہ عنقا کردہ ام صید
بقطرہ کے رسد دریائے ہر شور سلیان کے خزد در خانہ مور²

Shīrīn invites Khusrau to her palace but does not yield to his passionate love :

نہ من آن آہوم کز راہ مستی چو خوک و سگ کم شہوت پرستی³

Thus repulsed, Khusrau weds Maryam, the Roman princess. Barbad sings an impassioned song at the festive assembly :—

دو چیز افزون کند در عشق آتش شراب جان نواز و نغمہ خوش
ساع و عاشقی و مے پرستی سبب شد ہر سہ چیز از ہر مستی⁴

Maryam dies of jealousy ; she cannot bear the idea of Khusrau's loving Shīrīn. Then Khusrau again meets Shīrīn. Khusrau speaks about his heroic exploits and Shīrīn about her graces, and then the latter adds :

امید نام نیک از عشق خامیست چو عشق آمد چہ جامے نیک نامیست⁵

Pretty indeed is the picture of the two young lovers, lost in the ecstasy of love :

دو یار نازنین در بادہ ہم دست جوان و عاشق و دیوانہ و مست⁶

But Shīrīn again proves whimsical and does not yield to the passionate love of Khusrau. So Khusrau weds Shakar, the princess of Isfahan. Then Shīrīn feels the pangs of separation. She meets Farhād in a desert, enslaves him to her youthful beauty, and orders him to dig a canal. Khusrau becomes aware of Farhād's great love for Shīrīn and meets him in the

1. *Shīrīn-o-Khusrau* (Aligarh Edition), 50.

2. *Ibid.*, 50.

3. *Ibid.*, 59.

4. *Ibid.*, 73.

5. *Ibid.*, 86.

6. *Ibid.*, 88.

desert. An interesting dialogue takes place between them, revealing to us the characteristics of true love.

بگفتش کبستی و درجه سازی	بگفتا عاشقم در جان گدازی
بگفتش عشق بازان را نشان چیست	بگفتا آن که باید در بلا زیست
بگفتش عاشقان زین رهمه پویند	بگفتا دل دهند و درد جویند
بگفتش دل چرا با خود نداردند	بگفتا خویرویان کے گذارند
بگفتش مذهب خوبان کدامست	بگفتا کش فریب و عشوه نامست
بگفتش پیشه دیگر چه دانند	بگفتا غم دهند و جان ستانند
بگفتش بر تو اندازد گهے نور	بگفتا آری و لیکن چون مه از دور
بگفتش از خون تو ریزد جفايش	بگفتا هم بمیرم در وفايش
بگفتا اربینش در خواب قامت	بگفتا بر نخیزم تا قیامت ¹

Khusrau ultimately gains the love of Shirin—that beautiful damsel whose charming graces the poet thus describes :

زستی زلف او در هم شکسته	هزاران توبه در هر خم شکسته
بے کز دیدن آن شکل و رفتار	به بستی زاهد صد ساله زتار ²

Amir Khusrau's love scenes are glowing and seductive. There is a voluptuousness akin to Keats in the following lines which describe the passionate love of Shirin and Khusrau.

گرفته دست یکدیگر جوستان	شدند از بزمگه سوے شبستان
نخست آن تشنه لب خشک بے تاب	دهن از آب حیوان کرد سیراب
چو فارغ شد ز شربت های چون نوش	کشید آن سرو را چون گل در آغوش
دهانش برده ان و دوش بر دوش	میانش بر میان و نوش بر نوش
چنان باد جوانی در سر آورد	که شور از چشمه شیرین بر آورد ³

c. *Majnūn-o-Leyla*.—The poem is written in a simple, chaste and elegant style. The tragedy is unfolded with poignant force. Khusrau expresses the rapture and the melancholy of love with an intensity of feeling and a fullness of emotion that are really admirable. He succeeds in capturing the supremely spontaneous melody as well as the agony of the loving soul in its moments of emotion. We are impressed with the excessive ardour of the youthful passion of Leyla and Majnūn. Here is a

1. *Shirin-o-Khusrau*, 146-147.

2. *Ibid.*, 240.

3. *Ibid.*, 240.

fine specimen of the way in which Khusrau describes the feelings of Leyla when she hears of Majnūn's betrothal to the daughter of Naufil :

او خود غم عشق داشت بر کار / شد باغم عشق غیرتش یار
لبیکی که شکسته بال باشد / شاهین زنده چه حال باشد¹

She writes to him a letter expressive of her great love for him,

چون عشق دلم ز دست بر بود / دل دادن کس کجا کند سود
چون ز آتش تیز پرنیان سوخت / از سوزن ورشته که توان دوخت
بکداخت ز سوز دل وجودم / و ز اوج فلک گذشت دودم²

and then she taunts him :

گر یار نو آمدت در آغوش / از یار کهن مکن فراموش
گیرم نه ترا ست لعل در چنگ / مکن بدکان شیشه گر سنگ³

and yet she feels for him :

برسنگ نه پهلوی تو خسته است / اینک تن من از آن شکسته است⁴

Indeed in this *Mathnavi* the lyrical note is uppermost, and it is rather as a singer than as a teller of stories in action that Khusrau appeals to us. The poem is a masterpiece of description of the deepest, yet most tender affection. Khusrau's style is worthy of high praise ; the poem brings home in a series of brilliant pictures the emotions it seeks to describe.

d. *Ā'ina-i-Sikandari*.—The poem opens with a description of Alexander's preparations for the invasion of China. Alexander urges the ruler of China to submit to him and thus boasts of his exploits:—

بهر سوخته تومن برانگیختم / ز بد خواه خون بر زمین ریختم
و گرسوی ایران فرس تاختم / ز دارای دولت سر انداختم
در افتاد رغبت بهندوستان / گل فتح چیدم ازین بوستان⁵

Then follows the description of the battle which was fought between the rival forces of Alexander and the ruler of China. The battle scene is graphically described in a powerful and spirited style. The verses have an animated flow that is skilfully sustained. We admire the buoyant rush of the lines and the brilliancy of the pictures, e.g., the following verses

1. *Majnūn-o-Leyla* (Aligarh edition), 85.

2. *Ibid.*, 88.

3. *Ibid.*, 90.

4. *Ibid.*, 89.

5. *Ā'ina-i-Sikandari* (Aligarh edition) 49.

which are full of vitality :—

زمین سلاح و زگرد زمین گلین آسان شد زمین آهین
غبار زمین کله بر ماه بست نفس را درون گلو راه بست
شاره که زد نعل هنگام رو ستاره برون ریخت از ماه نو¹

In this battle a fair Chinese damsel who has been fighting disguised as a warrior is captured. She soon enslaves Alexander with her youthful beauty. Khusrau describes her graces in an highly artistic manner.

چو باغ شگفته فصل بهار پر از لاله سوسن و سیب و انار²

Khusrau is never more eloquent than when he describes convivial scenes. Here is a fine specimen of such a scene ; Khusrau sings of glorious summer, sweet music, fair maidens, and the charming graces of the Chinese damsel.

First we have a description of Spring,

بساط گل از سبزه گلشن شده چراغ گل از باده روشن شده
بنفشه سر زلف را خم زده گره در دل غنچه محکم زده³

and then of fair maidens,

ز خوبان زمین جنت آباد گشت گلستان پر از سرو آزاد گشت⁴

and then of sweet music.

بر آئین خوبان ز شوخی و ناز سرودی بر آورد عاشق نواز⁵

Then follows the description of the Chinese damsel in the full bloom of youth, and conscious of her power to subdue the hearts of men.

چوشانه ز تم زلف آشفته را برقص آورم فتنه خفته را
بهار را کند عالمی مشکبوی دو عالم کم من بیک تار موی
بهشتی است این قامت چون نگار پر از سیب و بادام و نارنج و نار⁶

Charming indeed is the manner in which the Chinese damsel compares her graces with the exploits of Alexander.

گراوست کیخسرو جام جوی مرا جام گیتی نمایست روی
گر از مجلس اوسمن میدمد مرا لاله و گل ز تن میدمد

1. *A'ina-i-Sikandari.*, 63-64.

2. *Ibid.*, 82.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, 131.

5. *Ibid.*, 131.

6. *Ibid.*, 134-135.

گراو پیل بندد بغم کمند من از تار موئے کم پیل بند
گراوهست بر تخت زربایه بست مرا در دل اوست جائے نشست¹

e. *Hasht Bahisht*.—This poem deals with Behrām's love for Dīlārām, a beautiful Chinese damsel. The main theme of the poem is concerned with the seven stories related by the seven princesses. Pretty indeed is the picture of Hasan standing on the top of a high tower and his wife placing a silk thread covered with sugar near an ant, which slowly takes it along with her to the top and thus helps Hasan gradually to secure a strong rope by means of which he descends from the tower.² The *Hasht Bahisht* is indeed a lovely fabric of verse into which Khusrau has woven seven enchanting stories—graceful fancies, gay romances and romantic legends. The poem is rich in emotional fire, and the verses are characterised by fluent sweetness and gracious charm.

B.—THE HISTORICAL MATHNAVĪS

Khusrau wrote the following *Mathnavīs* :—

(a) *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*.—The poem describes the historic meeting which took place between Qaiqubād and Naṣīr-ud-Dīn. It has "all the colourless insipidity of a government publication." Indeed in this poem, despite the brilliancy of certain details, there reigns a monotonous tedium. But in this *Mathnavī* are to be found some impassioned lyrics which stir the heart.

آمد بهار و شد چمن و لاله زار خوش	وقت نیست خوش بهار که وقت بهار خوش
در باغ با ترانه بلبل درین هوا	مستی خوش ست و یاده خوش ست و خار خوش
مائیم و مطرب و شرابی و محرمی	جائی بزیر سایه شاخ چنار خوش ³
خرم آن لحظه که مشتاق یاری برسد	آرزو مند نگاری به نگاری برسد
لذت وصل نداند مگر آن سوخته	که پس از دوری بسیار یاری برسد
قیمت گل نشاند مگر آن مرغ اسیر	که خزان دیده بود پس بهاری برسد ⁴

(b) *Miftāḥ-ul-Futūḥ*.—This work describes the expeditions of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khiljī and is of great help to students of the military history of India.

(c) *Āshīqa*.—This is decidedly the best of Khusrau's historical *Mathnavīs*. The poem vividly describes the capture of Devaldi, the

1. *Ā'ina-i-Sikandari*, 136-138.

2. *Hasht Bahisht* (Aligarh edition), 88.

3. *Qirān-us-Sa'dain* (Aligarh edition), 72-73.

4. *Ibid.*, 152.

beautiful Deogari princess, by the Muslims, the romantic love of Prince Khidr Khān for Devaldi, the marriage of Khidr Khān arranged by his mother with the daughter of Alp Khān, followed by the marriage of Khidr Khān with Devaldi, the blinding of Khidr Khān and finally his murder by the orders of Mubārak Shāh. "The facts of history narrated with great fidelity have been woven round with such a rich mass of fresh fancies and variegated imagery that the whole forms a peerless specimen of the masterpieces of romantic literature."¹

The poem must rank among the best of Khusrau's *Mathnavis* because here we breathe the very atmosphere of India's greatness. Khusrau strikes a patriotic note when he sings of the glory of India—of the beauty of her flowers, the splendour of her silk and brocade cloths, the sweetness of the Hindi language and the charming grace of her fair maidens. Khusrau after describing the chief characteristics of Indian flowers expresses his opinion that they excel Persian flowers :

چو بینی ارغوان و لاله خندان که رنگی هست و بوی نیست چندان
کل مارا بهندی نام زشت است و گرنه هرکلی باغ بهشت است²

Khusrau praises the Hindi language and considers it to be better than other languages, including Persian—Arabic only excepted.

غلط کردم گر از دانش زنی دم نه لفظ هندیست از پارسی کم
بجز تازی که میر هر زبانست که بر جمله زبانها کامرانست
و گر غالب زبانها در ری و روم کم از هندیست شد از اندیشه معلوم³

Khusrau then tries to prove the superiority of the rich silk and brocaded Deogari cloth over the cloths of other countries :

نکو داندند خوبان پری کیش که لطف دیوگری از کتان بیش
ز لطف آن جامه گونی آفتابی است و یا خود سایه یا ماهتابی است⁴

Khusrau then waxes lyrical about the graces of fair Indian maidens :

لب تاتار خود خندان نباشد ختن را خود بمک چندان نباشد
سمرقندی و آنچه از قندهارند بجز نامی ز شیرینی ندارند
بمصر و روم هم سیمین قدانند ولی چستی و چالاکي ندانند⁵

1. *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* by Dr. Muḥammad Wahid, 176.

2. *Āshiqā* (Aligarh edition), 132.

3. *Ibid.*, 41-42.

4. *Ibid.*, 42-43.

5. *Ibid.*, 133.

Khusrau sings of the glory of India and thus strikes the first patriotic note in Persian literature :

بهشتی فرض کن هندوستان را نرآنجانست است این بوستان را
و گر نه آدم و طاوس ز آنجائی کجا اینجا شدندى منزل آرائی¹

The pictures of Nature which Khusrau gives are quite charming and delicate. He invests his impressions of Nature with an extraordinary freshness and splendour. Thus Khusrau gives us a lovely picture of spring, fragrant with flowers.

چو گل در جلو نار آمد از شاخ کشاد از گوشه نوگس چشم گستاخ
هوای شد چو آغاز جوانی سزاوار نشاط و کامرائی
نسیم صبح چون نشاط پرکار بزیور بستن خوبان گلزار
بسرخ و سبز نو روز طرب زائی عروسان چمن را پیکر آرائی
بهار از لاله و سوری بگلشن حنا بسته بیاض سرو و سوسن²

When Devaldī hears of Khidr Khān's marriage with the daughter of Alp Khān, she writes to him :

مرا گویند کاین زاری و فریاد مکن کز پرده بیرون خواهی افتاد
چو جام سوخت از خامی چه ترسم شدم رسوا ز بدنامی چه ترسم³

Khidr assures her of his deep abiding love :

چو سوزد بهر هندو خویش را زن ز سغز خود زند بر شعله روغن
کم از هندو ست آنکس وز زن هم که در عشق آید از هندو زن کم⁴

(d) *Nuh Sipahr*.—It describes the main events of the reign of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh.

(e) *Tughluq Nāma*.—This historical *Mathnavī* is of invaluable help to students of the mediæval history of India. Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn Khiljī was addicted to base pleasures. Khusrau therefore admonishes kings to avoid such conduct, which spells ruin for the empire :

شراب و عشق و سستی و جوانی نشاط و عیش و ملک و کامرائی
کسی کین باد هاش افتاد در خویش که اندیشه کند از اندیشه پیش

1. *Āshiqā*, 44.

2. *Ibid.*, 166-167.

3. *Ibid.*, 188.

4. *Ibid.*, 95.

نشاید پادشاه رامست بودن نه در عشق و هوس پیوست بودن
بود شه پاسبان خلق پیوست خطا باشد که باشد پاسبان مست¹

Qutb-ud-Din Khilji's favourite Hasan Khusrau Khān, organised a successful conspiracy as a result of which the Sultān was murdered. Then two brothers of the Sultān were put to death and three others blinded. Ghāzī Malik Tughluq made up his mind to break up the power of this upstart. He was ably helped by Behrām, governor of Uch. The governor of Samāna, who was hostile, was defeated by Ghāzī Malik; the same fate overtook the governor of Multan. 'Ain-ul-Mulk Multāni, the capable Vizier of the Sultān, secretly promised his support to Ghāzī Malik, who was thus successful in defeating the upstart. The Mathnavī thus supplies us with many a missing link in the mediæval history of India.

E.—GHAZALS

Khusrau wrote five *Diwāns*—*Tuhfat-uş-Sighār*, *Wast-ul-Hayāt*, *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl*, *Baqiya Naqiya* and *Nishāt-ul-Kamāl*. Dr. Muhammad Wahid has bestowed high praise on Khusrau's Ghazals:—"Khusrau's lyrics have a peculiar finesse and subtlety of ideas that most of the Persian poets lack."¹ There is no doubt that some of the Ghazals are quite charming and graceful. Khusrau shows an outstanding gift of lyricism. Here are a few examples :

دیوانه شدم در آرزویت	ای چشم همه جهان بسویت
خسرو بکمند تو اسیر است	بیچاره کجا رود ز رویت ²
سبزه ها نو دمید و یار نیامد	تازه شد باغ و آن بهار نیامد
خوبرویان بس بدیدم ولیکن	دل کم گشته برقرار نیامد ³
مستی و شوخی و عاشق کشی و شیوه ناز	هر چه گویند از آن تنگ دهن می آید ⁴
عمری شد و با عاشق و دیوانه بماندم	در دام چو مرغ از هوس دانه بماندم
وقتی دل و جان و خردی همه را بود	عشق آمد و زیشان همه بیگانه بماندم ⁵
آمد بهار شک دم سبیل دمید و لاله هم	سبزه بصحرا زد قدم سرو روان من کجا ⁶

1. *Tughlaq Nāma* (Aligarh edition), 16.
2. *Life and Works of Amir Khusrau* by Dr. Wahid, 206.
3. *Diwān-i-Khusrau* (Nawalkishore edition), 86.
4. *Ibid.*, 220-21.
5. *Ibid.*, 226.
6. *Ibid.*, 321.

تاگل از شرم رویت آب شود یک زمان برفکن ز چهره نقار

The verse of the following Ghazal, supple and modelled on the undulated flow of the sentiment, is of a very rhythmic quality.

سرمه چو تو در اچه و در تته نباشد گل شکل رخ خوب تو البته نباشد
این حسن و لطافت که تو کار پیچه داری در چین و خطا و ختن و خته نباشد²

The Qaṣidas of *Ghurrat-ul-Kamāl* are some of the finest poems of Khusrau, especially the two Qaṣidas written in praise of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khiljī.

کجاخیزد چو تو سرو جوان و نازک و نویر شکر گفتار و شیرین کار و گل رخسار و مه پیکر
نباشد چون لب و اندام و کیسو و رخت هرگز شکر شیرین و گل رنگین و شب مشکین و صبح آذر³
ز زیبائی و لطف و نازی و تازگی پیشتر چه ریحان و چه نسرين و چه شمشاد و چه نیافر
ز عکس عارض و جمعد و بنا گوش و دو چشم تو دم دلاله چمد سنبل فتد نسرين برد عہر
ز گلگشت و بوی افشان نسیم و عطر توجوید چمن روح و سمن طیب و صبا مشک و گیاعنبر⁴

And yet after a careful study of Khusrau's *Diwān* one is inclined to agree with the opinion of Prof. Ḥabīb that most of Khusrau's Ghazals were written not from the fullness of the heart, but from the emptiness of the pocket, and that "three-fourths of the mass is pure hack-work, a useless versification of commonplace ideas."⁵ But the achievement of a great poet is to be measured by his best poetry, and according to this test Khusrau certainly succeeds in establishing his reputation as a supreme artist who can express admirably the hunger of the human heart for love and beauty. Some of Khusrau's Ghazals are finely wrought and are of distinct merit; they are spontaneous, a cry from the heart.

F.—PROSE WORKS

(a) *Khazā'in-ul-Futūh*.—It gives us detailed and valuable information about the various aspects of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's reign—his buildings, his campaigns against the Mongols and his conquest of Gujrat, Malwa, Chitor, Deogir, Talingana and Ma'bar. Prof. Ḥabīb's translation of this useful work has made accessible to students of history a very useful source of information for the history of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's reign.

1. *Diwān-i-Khusrau*, 43.

2. *Hasht Bahisht* (Editor's Note), 88-89.

3. *Diwān-i-Khusrau*, 24.

4. *Ibid.*, 22.

5. *Life of Khusrau* by Prof. Ḥabīb, 88-90.

(b) *I'Jāz-i-Khusrawī*.—Contains a number of letters written in different styles.

(c) *Afdal-ul-Fawā'id*.—A collection of the sayings of Nizām-ud-Dīn Auliya'.

Another gifted poet was Amīr Ḥasan, whom Baranī has styled the Sa'di of India. Other poets of lesser note, such as Ṣadr-ud-Dīn, Maulānā 'Arif, 'Abid Ḥakīm, and Shaikh Anṣārī kept the flame of poetry alive.¹

ARCHITECTURE

ARCHITECTURE too made tremendous progress during this period. Baranī considered it to be one of the wonders of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's reign that such a large number of famous mosques, minarets, forts and tanks were built.² According to Sir John Marshall, 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was "the author of buildings of unexampled grace and nobility." The only building of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's time that was completed and exists to this day in fair order is the 'Alā'ī Darwāza. This gateway is in the south cloister of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's extension of Qutb-ud-Dīn's Great Mosque in Delhi; it was built in 1310 A.D. Critics of art are unanimously of the opinion that it is the most beautiful and perfect specimen of early Muslim architecture. According to Sir John Marshall 'Alā'ī Darwāza is one of the most treasured gems of Islamic architecture."³ Ferguson remarks that "it displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection, when the Hindu masons had learned to fit their exquisite style of decoration to the forms of their foreign masters."⁴ General Cunningham writes :—

"I consider that the Gateway of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn is the most beautiful specimen of Pathan architecture that I have seen."⁵ The gateway consists of a square hall roofed by a single dome, with arched entrances piercing each of its four walls; it is of red sandstone relieved by white marble.⁶ The mode in which the square plan of the building is changed into an octagon which supports the dome "is more simply elegant and appropriate," says Ferguson, "than any other example I am acquainted with in India."⁷ The interior walls of the gateway are profusely decorated with the most perfect specimens of elaborate carvings; the chequered pattern is simply elegant, or as Ferguson calls it "of unrivalled excellence."⁸

1. Baranī, 360.

2. *Ibid.*, 341.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 583.

4. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Ferguson, 210.

5. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, 1862-623, Vol. I, by Cunningham.

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 583.

7. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* by Ferguson, 210.

8. *Archæology and Monummental Remains of Delhi* by Carr Stephen, 55.

Beglar explains the chief features of this monument as follows :—

" In the whole series of Pathan buildings in Delhi none equals it in beauty. It is the first undoubted Mohammadan structure of any pretensions in Delhi and the finest ; but I wish to point out that its beauty is due not to any harmony or appropriateness of its parts, or of its ornamentation, but to the unrivalled execution of the carvings that adorn it, to the strong contrast of the minute carvings with the wide bare expanse of its dome, a contrast that, while it exaggerates the apparent size of the dome, brings into strong relief at the same time the delicacy of the carvings, making them look more delicate than they actually are, and to the great doorways combining majesty of size and delicacy of execution, preventing the strong contrast of bare dome to elaborately carved walls from becoming offensively harsh."¹

Sir John Marshall's description of the gateway is as masterly as it is poetic and graceful :—

" Seen at a distance its well-proportioned lineaments are accentuated by the alternating red and white colour of its walls, and an added dignity is given by the high plinth on which it stands. At closer range, the harmony of form and colour is enhanced by the wealth of lace-like decorations graven on every square foot of its exterior walls. Then, as one passes into the hall, this effect of warm sumptuous beauty, gives place to one of quiet solemnity, to which every feature of the interior seems to contribute—the subdued red of the sandstone, the stateliness of the portals, the plain expanse of the dome, the shapely horse-shoe arches that support it, and the bold geometric patterning of walls and window screens. The key-notes of this building are its perfect symmetry and the structural propriety of all its parts."²

The second great architectural achievement of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was the extension of Qutb-ud-Dīn's Great Mosque in Delhi. The Mosque was built by Qutb-ud-Dīn and is unrivalled for its grand line of gigantic arches and the graceful beauty of the flowered tracery which carves its walls.³ During the reign of Iltutmish, the mosque was much enlarged by the addition of the two wings to the north and south, and by the erection of a new cloistered court on the north, east, and south sides, so as to include the Qutb Mīnār in the South-east corner of the enclosure.⁴ The court was still further enlarged by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, by the addition of a large cloistered enclosure on the east side, equal in size to more than one half of the court of Iltutmish.⁵ Remains of walls of great thickness (15 feet) have been found in prolongation of the great front wall of Qutb and Iltutmish's

1. *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, 1871-72, Vo. IV, by J. D. Beglar.

2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 583.

3. *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, 1862-63, Vol. I, by Cunningham, 186.

4. *Ibid.*, 187.

5. *Ibid.*, 188.

Masjids on the north side, which show that 'Alā'-ud-Dīn intended to extend the Masjid in that direction. From the remains that yet exist, it appears that this extension was intended to exactly double the length of the Masjid as it existed, including Iltutmish's extensions.¹ Opposite the centre opening of this great extension stands the remnant of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's Minār. Remains of a gateway exist, showing that he intended to build a gate in the outer north wall of his extension, in a line with the outer south gateway of Iltutmish's extension, and the inner north and south gateways; in addition to this gateway, he contemplated the erection of a second gateway on the north to correspond with his existing 'Alā'i Darwāza on the south; of this only a mound of ruins marks the site.² To the east, his additions extended to a line represented by the existing east end of what is known as the 'Alā'i colonnade, and the eastern boundary wall forming the back wall of the eastern-most colonnade, of which a few pillars at the south-east corner are still standing, can be traced with breaks all the way from the south-east to the north-east corner of his extension.³ The magnificent design of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, like his other great designs in public works, was begun but never completed."⁴ Had these vast structures been completed we may well believe that they would have transcended the other monuments of Delhi as much in beauty as in size.⁵ The fort of Siri, with 'Alā'-ud-Dīn's celebrated palace of "the Thousand Pillars," was identified by Lt. Burgess with the citadel of Rai Pathora's fort, in the midst of which stands the Quṭb Minār.⁶ General Cunningham, however, tried to show that it was the ancient Lalkot of Anangpal, and that the true site of Siri was the old ruined fort to the north of Rai Pathora's fort, which is at present called Shāhpūr.⁷ The walls of Siri were built of stone and masonry; it was a place not only of military but probably of architectural importance.⁸ Hauz 'Alā'i or Hauz Khās, a magnificent tank covering over 70 acres of land, was built by 'Alā'-ud-Dīn in 1295 A.D. and was enclosed by a stone and masonry wall.⁹

DHARM PAL.

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, 1871-72, Vol. IV, by J. D. Beglar.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, 577.

6. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, 1862-63, Vol. I, by Cunningham.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, by Carr Stephen, 84.

9. *Ibid.*, 83.

TWO FARMĀNS OF AURANGZĒB

INTRODUCTORY

THE two Farmāns of Aurangzēb transcribed, translated, and annotated hereunder belong to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. They were acquired by the Museum last year from a local Ṣarrāf (gold and silver merchant). Farmān No. I is of the ordinary size but is of considerable importance, as I have shown in the note thereon which follows the texts of the two Farmāns. But Farmān No. II is a very rare one, both in form and substance. In size it is nearly $5\frac{1}{2}' \times 1\frac{1}{2}'$, i.e. nearly double the length of the ordinary Farmāns. The text of the Farmān, however, is no less than about four times the bulk of the texts of the ordinary Farmāns of that time. Farmāns of this character, and of this size and substance, must be extremely rare. I for one have never seen any other like it. But its chief importance lies in the fact that it contains extremely illuminating and useful information concerning the details of day-to-day local administration, the duties and functions of several local officers, and kindred matters.

Both the Farmāns are in quite a sound condition except for a few words which are missing in the larger one (No. II), because in a few places a small part of the paper has crumbled away owing to careless folding by the former owner. These lacunæ, however, are not so big as to confuse the sense of the text.

I give below a transcript of the text of both the Farmāns, and a translation followed by a comment thereon.

I

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

مهر بادشاه اورنگ زیب عالمگیر

سیادت مآب لایق الرحمت مجاهد خان بغایت پادشاهی امید وار بوده بدانند که چون درینولاخدمت فوجداری سرکار خیراباد از تغیرمعمورخان ضمیمه بندوبست بیسواره که از سابق تا آن شجاعت شعارتعلق دارد نموده از راه عنایت باینخدمت یکصدی یکصد سوار سه اسبه دو اسبه بر منصب او افزوده ایم تا منصبش

از اصل و اضافه یکمزاری یکمزار سوار سه اسبه دو اسبه باشد حکم جهانمطاع عالم مطیع صادر میشود که بعد وصول این فرمان عالیشان دور ضبط و ربط سرکار مذکور کاینبی کوشیده در تسلیه واستاله مالی گذاران و قلع قمع مفسدان و امنیت طرق و شوارع دقیقه از دقائق نا مرعی ندارد آنچنان نماید که متمردین و مسافرین بفراغ مال و رفاه حال تردد نمایند و از قوی برضعیف میل و حیفی نرود. چهارم شهر ربیع الاول سال هفدهم جلوس مبارک نوشته شد.

II

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

درینوقت فرمان عالیشان سعادت عنوان کرامت صدور یافت که خدمت فوجداری و دیوانی وامینی پرگنه حویلی شاه آباد عرف قنوج و دیگر محال خالصه شریفه مسطور در ضمن از تغییر رای مکرند داس من ابتداء فصل خریف تخاقوئیل بسیادت و جلادت ماب لائق العنایه سید نور مقرر و مقوض باشد. باید که بلوازم و مراسم اینخدمات کاینبی پرداخته آنرا از روی راستی و درستی و دیانت و امانت بتقدیم سازند و در بندوبست و ضبط و ربط و تنبیه و تادیب مفسدان نکوهیده امور و تسلیه واستاله رعایای مالکزار و امنیت طرق و شوارع و تشخیص جمع بوقت و گردآوری مال بهنگام و وفور زراعت محال مزبوره کوشیده آنچنان نماید که احدی از محال در اخذ خراج زیاده از نصف با اندازه و طریقت که در شرع انور و ملت هنیفه اطهر مقرر گشته از رعایا طلب نه کنند تا نقصان و ضرر به رعایا نه رسد و گنجایش اهدار متعلقات زمینداران متغلب نه گذارد و از عمل کروریان و فوطه داران خبردار بوده دست تغلب و تصرف آنها کوتاه دارد و قدغن نماید که هیچ یکه از محال بصیغه بیعت و بالادستی و تحصیلداری و پنه داری و خرج صادر و وارد دیگر ابواب مبله که بمقتضای رعیت پروری از پیشگاه کرم گستری معاف شده از رعایا طمع و توقع نکند. نسخه دیوانی و طولامیز جمع و دیگر کاغذ ها فصل بفصل و سال بسال بقاعده معین بدقتر خانه معلی میفرستاده باشد و احدی از عاملان بدون تقصیر و وقوع خیانت تغییر نماید تا پریشانی محال رعایا نه باعث خرابی پرگنات است راه نیابد و برین تقدیر اگر نقصان بمال واجب برسد جواب آن به ذمه اوست و اگر شخصی از محال مرتکب دزدی و تقصیری شود عمل او را از روی حق و نفس الا مربوبی ثانی الحال اگر تفتیش آن بمیان آید خلاف ظاهر نشود و بمحمول بر اغراض نفسانی که در کارها مذموم است نگردد معروض دارد و از راه احتیاط بر فصل از پرگنه کاغذ خام چنده گرفته بفارسی ترجمه کند و اگر از روی آن ظاهر شود که محال زری با بواب مزبوره متصرف شدند زور و بازخواست نماید و ترجمه را بمحضور انور بفرستد که بجای او، عامل دیگر معین شود و او در حبس میوید باشد دیگر متغلبان عبرت فرا گیرند و در صورت عدم ظهور تصرف عامل راسرگرم خدمت دارد و از چودر یان وقانونگو یان چلکا بگیرد که بر تقدیر تصرف عاملان در ابواب مرقومه حقیقت حال ظاهر سازند و اگر در اظهار مداهنه مساهله کنند عرضه داشت نماید که آنها از خدمت معزول گردند و از موطن و مسکن اخراج شوند و چون معروض اقدس گردیده که سلفی کلی به ذمه اکبری و محال بحال خالصه شریفه بدین سبب که دیوانیان و اماء عزل و نصب عامه (worm-eaten) ها نجاموده و بازخواست آن وقت نکرده محاملا (torn) ملتوی گذاشته اند طلب است و جمعی که ازان فریق بعد مدتی بمحضور انور رسیده سر انجام و جه مزبوره

از آنها نمیشود (torn) ازعال منصوب خالصه والا بایدند (؟) یافتی با صیغه . . . فت نکند (illegible) و هرگاه عاملی تغیر شود وجوه مطالبات رابوقت ازو بعرض (torn) است دارد اگر در سر انجام لوازم خدمات مابوره دقیقه از دقائک مهمل ونا مرعی خواهد گذاشت باز پرس و بازخواست آنرا خواهد شد - بیستم ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۲ جلوس والا نوشته شد.

TRANSLATION

FARMĀN No. I

IN the name of God, the Merciful,

O ye believers, obey the Lord, his Prophet, and your ruler.

(Seal of Abū-Zafar Muḥammad Muḥiy-ud-dīn, 'Ālamgīr, Bādshāh Ghāzī, 1079 A.H.).

Be it known to Mujāhid Khān, who is deserving of honour and kindness and who should always expect the favour of his sovereign, that at this time the post of Faujdār of Sarkār of Khairābād has fallen vacant, owing to the transfer of Ma'mūr Khān, who had been hitherto in charge of the supplementary settlement of Baswarah¹ and has discharged his duties courageously and efficiently, because the said Ma'mūr Khān has been promoted to the rank of 1000 *Dhāt* (personal) plus 1000 *Sawār* (horse) *Dū-aspah*, *Sih-aspah* (i.e. some horsemen maintaining two horses each and some three), by the addition of one hundred personal and one hundred horse (*Dū-aspah*, *Sih-aspah*) to his former rank.

The order of the Subduer of the world is hereby issued that, on the receipt of this glorious Farmān you should do your best to carry on the administration of this Sarkār, and you should create confidence in the minds of the payers of revenue and destroy the oppressors and disturbers of the peace. You should leave no stone unturned to keep the main and branch roads safe and well-protected, so that the travellers may use these routes happily and without any risk to their persons or property, and also that the tyrannical and strong may not oppress the weak and humble in any way.

Issued on the 4th Shahr Rabi'-ul-Awwal, in the 17th year of the blessed reign.²

On the back : Seal of Muḥammad Mu'azzam in the right hand corner at the top, on which is recorded the name of Prince Mu'azzam with all his titles.

1. This word probably refers to a Mahāl in the Sarkār of Khairābād, and indicates any one of the following Mahals which were included in that Sarkār :—Baswāh, Basrāh, Sharwārāh, and Bassārā, the last one being most probable. See *Ā'in*, II, (Jarret's Translation), pp. 176-177.

2. The 17th regnal year of Aurangzēb corresponds to the year 1086 Hijri, but the year given in the seal at the top is clearly 1079 Hijri, corresponding to the 10th regnal year, so that "17th" seems to be a mistake of the scribe.

FARMĀN No. II

Seal of the Emperor

O ye believers, obey the Lord, his Prophet, and your ruler.

THIS glorious Farmān is being issued at this auspicious hour, that the post of Faujdārī, Dīwānī, and Amīnī of Parganah Shāhābād, *alias* Qannauj, and other Mahāls included in the *roll* of the Khālīṣā Sharīfa (Royal Domains) which has fallen vacant on account of the transference of Rai Makrand Das from the commencement of the Kharif harvest of the year Takha Qu'iel (name of a Turkish year), is conferred on Sayyid Munawwar, who is worthy of Royal favours. He (the said S. Munawwar) ought to carry out his duties and trust with truthfulness, righteousness, honesty, and responsibility, and further he should, in the administration of his charge, exert himself in issuing strict warnings to the miscreants to bring them to the right path, and in providing peace and security to the peasantry and securing the safety of the goods, as also in assessing the revenue correctly as well as realising and depositing the same in the government treasury at the proper time, and further he should make full efforts to encourage and enhance cultivation. Moreover he should see to it that no one from amongst the 'Āmils extracts from the peasantry (دبت) more than 50% of the crops, as is fixed by the Illuminating Scripture (Sharī'at) and expounded in the Hanāfī code, so that the peasantry may not suffer any loss or harm, and that no loophole is given to the influential Zamindars (assignees) to oppress the cultivators. He should further keep himself fully informed of the activities of the Karōris and Fotāhdārs so that the latter may restrain their hands from tyranny and oppression. He should also proclaim that none of the appointed 'Āmils should covet or expect to receive from the peasantry by force or terrorising any such cesses or perquisites as the allowances of the Ṭahsildārs or Pattadārs or the expenses of coming and going of these officials and similar other impositions, all of which have been remitted by the kindness and mercy of His Majesty the Emperor.

He should, besides, send to the Imperial Record Office a copy of the revenue records (Nuskha Dīwānī) and all the files containing statements of revenue realisations and other cognate papers, every harvest and every year, in accordance with the regulations. He should not transfer any of the 'Āmils unless he is guilty of embezzlement or fraud or any other grave fault, so that the peasantry be not put to unnecessary inconvenience and vexation, which results in maladministration and injury to the parganahs. Should any realisations of revenue be less than the fixed assessment, the 'Āmils shall be held responsible for it. Should any 'Āmil be guilty of misappropriation, he (the said Sayyid Munawwar) should investigate the case so carefully and accurately that in case of re-investigation nothing contrary to the previous enquiry should be revealed nor should it appear

that in carrying out the enquiry he has made any private or personal gains, which is improper in the performance of public duties. As a further precaution he should translate into Persian the rough drafts of the records of a few villages of the Parganah, and should it be revealed that the 'Āmil has extracted and spent any money out of the above-mentioned cesses (Abwābs), then he should question him (i.e. the 'Āmil concerned) and forward the said translation to His Majesty, so that another 'Āmil may be appointed in his place and he may be imprisoned, and that the others who are in the habit of cheating may take warning from him. But if the guilt of the man is not proved, he should be retained in his office. He should also take securities from the Chowdhries and Qānūngos that they will state the true and real facts in the event of the 'Āmils having unduly extracted and expended any of the above-mentioned cesses. And if these people try to delay or evade giving correct information, then he should, after duly informing the Imperial Government, discharge them and expel them from their homes. Further, when the report has reached His Majesty that the whole revenue of the royal domains is due from any 'Āmil, on account of the fact that the Dīwāns and Āmins made undue interference in the appointment and dismissal of that 'Āmil, and without making proper enquiries postponed the decision of the case, then such people ('Āmils) should not be removed from service until their whole case has been reported to His Majesty.

The appointed 'Āmils of the Royal Domains (Khālṣā Sharīfa) should realise and deposit the fixed revenue at the proper time, and whenever any 'Āmil is transferred, they should then and there take a full account of the moneys due from him. Should any one be found remiss in the acquittal of his duties and obligations, he shall be asked to explain his conduct.

Recorded this 20th day of Rabi'-ul-Awwal, of the 12th year of reign.

On the reverse :—

Two seals :—One at the top and another near the middle portion both of Ja'far Khān, bearing the inscription. (جعفر خان بندہ بادشاہ عالمگیر) i.e. Ja'far Khān, slave of Emperor 'Ālamgīr. Above the upper seal there is the following inscription :—

Translation.—Issued by this humble servant, devotee of the said Pīr (i.e. the Emperor 'Ālamgīr). Endorsement of the appointment of Sayyid Munawwar, as stated in the body of the Farmān, to the office formerly occupied by Rāi Makrand Dās.

Below this, details of the various Maḥāls and their revenue figures are given, for the guidance of the newly appointed Faujdār.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE TWO FARMĀNS

I

THIS Farmān is of much value inasmuch as it affords clear evidence of (1) the duties and functions of the Faujdār, (2) the nature of the Sarkār

as an administrative division, and (3) the status of the office of Faujdār, under Mughal Government. This question has come into prominence since the late Mr. W. H. Moreland, in a learned paper contributed to the *Journal of Indian History* (1927), Vol. VI, Pt. II, argued that in all probability the Sarkars were merely *fiscal divisions*, while for purposes of general administration there were a number of parallel and entirely distinct divisions called 'Faujdāris' of which the heads were Faujdārs. I have elsewhere shown the utter baselessness of Moreland's hypothesis and have adduced evidence from contemporary records to prove that there were no other political divisions under the Šūbah except the Sarkārs and that the head of the Sarkār was called Faujdār. (See my *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 77-78 and pp. 88 *et seq.*) Besides this, I have elsewhere described the duties and powers of the Faujdār, which pertained broadly to three branches of administration: revenue, police, and the army. He was to assist the 'Amalguzārs in the realisation of revenue if the cultivators turned contumacious. But his main function was guarding the countryside and the rural areas of the Sarkār in his charge, and keeping the roads and high ways safe and secure from brigands. In the army he had regularly to inspect the local militia and keep it well-equipped and in good trim. If any thefts or robberies took place the Faujdār was answerable for them and all such mishaps (*op. cit.* pp. 208-209).

Now the Farmān under review affords an illustration from actual administration to confirm exactly the views I have held concerning the duties, functions, and status of the Office of the Faujdār.

Mujāhid Khān, on whom the post of Faujdār of the Sarkār of Khairabad¹ was bestowed, is therein instructed (1) to protect the loyal peasants (revenue-payers) from oppression and to destroy the oppressors and miscreants, (2) to protect the main and branch roads so that the travellers and way-farers may move freely and happily, (3) and to see that the strong and the mighty do not tyrannise over the feeble and weak in anyway.

It is to be noted in this connection that no judicial or magisterial duties or powers of any sort are herein entrusted to the Faujdār. This further supports my view that the Faujdār had no judicial functions, which in the Sarkar were shared between the Kotwāl and the Qāḍī, the former being a criminal magistrate, above the Shiqqḍār of the Parganah.

Farmāns like this, of which a considerable number are still extant in public and private collections, serve to show that the Mughal government down to the time of Aurangzēb at any rate, was quite alive to its obligations to provide security, peace, and justice for its subjects.

II

THIS Farmān pertains to the revenue department, and affords detailed information about the officials of the revenue administration and their

1. Khairābād was an important Sarkār in the province of Awadh and almost coincided with the present district of Sitapur-Biswan, north of Lucknow. It comprised twenty-two Mahāls.

functions and powers in a Khālṣa district (*i.e.* Imperial or Reserved Territory as I prefer to render it).¹ It gives us the names of all the important officials connected with revenue administration in a Khālṣa Division, and incidentally their respective official status. The names of the following officers are mentioned in the Farmān: Divān, Āmin, 'Āmil, Krori, Fotah-dār, Tahsildār, Pattadār, Chowdhry, and Qānūngo. It is clear that all these officers were mainly connected with the administration of the revenue, although some of them had certain other duties and powers also. For instance, the Divāns and Āmins were enjoined to keep the countryside safe and to provide peace and security for the peasantry. For this purpose they had the right to requisition and from the Faujdār and Shiqq-dār where and when they found it necessary for the unhampered performance of their public duty.²

The use of the terms Divānī and Āminī calls for some explanation. It is well known that for purposes of revenue collection and disbursement of remunerations of Maṣabbdārs a considerable part of the Imperial territory was assigned to the various Maṣabbdārs. These assignments were called Jāgīrs and the land that was retained by the government was known as Khālṣa. The assignees (*i.e.* the Maṣabbdārs who held Jāgīrs) used to appoint their own Divāns and Āmins³ (*i.e.* trustees) to realise the revenues of their assignments. It would appear from the Farmān under notice that like the Maṣabbdārs the Imperial Governments also used to appoint Divāns and Āmins to collect the revenues from the Khālṣa (reserved) lands. It is clearly stated here that the two offices of Divānī or Āminī were conferred on one and the same person. The Divān and Āmin, it will be observed, held a different position from the rest of the revenue officers mentioned above, *viz.* the 'Āmil, Karori, Fotahdār, etc., who constituted what I shall, for the sake of convenience, call the regular officers of the various districts. As distinguished from these the Divān and Āmin, whether of the assignees or of the Emperor, may be placed under the category of irregular officers. In order to make this distinction intelligible we may take a concrete example from the territory of Qannauj itself, with which this Farmān deals. Qannauj was a Sarkār in the province of Agra, comprising 30 Maḥāls and an area of 2776673 Bigahs. It is stated in the Farmān that out of this the Parganah of Qannauj and several other Maḥāls were Khālṣa land, obviously showing that the rest of the Sarkār was Jāgīr, *i.e.* assigned or transferred land.

Now all over the empire every Sarkār and Parganah had its regular officers, including the revenue officers referred to above. The land under their charge was either Khālṣa or Jāgīr or of both kinds as in the case of the Sarkār of Qannauj. Both the Emperor and the Jāgīrdārs used to

1. See the author's *Provincial Govt. of the Mughals*, pp. 78-79.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Both the offices were usually vested in the same person. Indeed the two terms were used more or less as synonyms.

appoint their own Trustees (Amīns) or Divāns to their respective lands to supervise and realise the revenues on their behalf. It frequently happened that a Khālṣa territory might be given away as Jāgīr or a Jāgīr might be reserved and made Khālṣa; and such changes would naturally involve the withdrawal of the Trustees and Divāns of one party and the posting of those of the other party, while the regular local officers would not be affected by such changes, although in the natural course they were liable to be transferred. It should also be remembered that the Divāns and Amīrs representing their respective chiefs were also liable to be transferred like the other officers even when there was no change in the nature of the territory in their charge, just as, in the case under notice, Rai Makrand Das was transferred and was succeeded by Sayyid Munawwar.

Further, we learn from this Farmān that His Majesty's Divān was charged not merely with the realisation of revenue but with the duty of protecting the peasantry, of assisting in the maintenance of peace and security, and, of using all his resources to enhance and encourage cultivation and to promote the interests both of the king and the ryot. Besides, it was also his duty to see that the local officers who actually made the assessment and collection did not collect more than the fixed amount, and also, if there happened to be any hereditary landlords, to see that these did not oppress their ryots by excessive collections. *En passant* it may be observed that the rate of revenue realisation seems to have been raised under Aurangzēb to 50% of the produce, in conformity with the maximum demand allowed by the Hanafite law.¹ This is an important piece of information, coming as it does from such an unmistakable source.

Among other duties of the Divān, one was to keep an eye on the activities of all the local revenue officers so that they might not tyrannise over the cultivators. In the event of discovering any embezzlement or defalcation, the Amīn (Divān) had also the authority to transfer the 'Āmil. In case he has grounds to suspect any misappropriation on the part of the 'Āmil, the Divān is enjoined to investigate the case very carefully, so that any subsequent reinvestigation should not reveal either that his enquiry was wrong or that he had received any illegal gratification. Incidentally, we also learn that if the guilt of an 'Āmil was established his case was reported to the government and the man was sacked and incarcerated. But if his guilt was not proved he was restored to his office. One striking instruction given to the Divān is that in case the non-payment of revenues by an 'Āmil (because the 'Āmil was responsible for all realisations and arrears thereof) is found to be due to the mismanagement or undue interference of previous Divāns and Amīns, then such a person should not be removed from office before his case has been reported to His Majesty and a full enquiry carried out. In order to ensure accurate and full realisations and to avoid cheating on the part of the 'Āmil, the

1. The usual rate of land revenue in the previous reigns was one-third of the produce.

Dīvān should personally inspect the records of villages and send Persian translations of some of them to His Majesty.

Another well-known duty of the Dīvān was to send to the Imperial Secretariat copies of all the local records of harvests, etc., each year.

Finally, perhaps the most interesting and significant point which this Farmān brings to light is that the presence of the Imperial Dīvāns in the different districts, wherever there were any Khālṣa lands (and these must have been scattered all over), serve to exercise a great check upon the local officers and gave the central government a means of regular supervision of their activities.

Thus this Farmān is an extremely valuable document. It helps to elucidate some very important and rather knotty points in the complicated mechanism of the revenue administration of the Mughal empire.

P. SARAN.

A NOTE ON THE ALWAR MANUSCRIPT OF WĀQI'AT-I-BĀBARĪ

A BEAUTIFUL manuscript of *Wāqī'āt-i-Bābarī* from the Alwar State Museum was exhibited at Udaipur last December. It is a good specimen of Persian calligraphy, with lovely illustrations. The binding is a real work of art and goes far to show what an indigenous craftsman could achieve under congenial conditions. The date of the manuscript however offers a puzzle that baffles me though scholars familiar with Persian historical works may find an easy solution.

So far as we know, Bābar's *Memoir* was rendered into Persian by Khān-i-Khānān 'Abdur-Rahīm Khān during the reign of Akbar, and was presented to his imperial patron some time in November 1589 (13th Azur approximated to 24th November). But according to the scribe's note the Alwar manuscript was completed by the order of Prince Humāyūn in 937 A.H. or 1531 A.D., while Bābar was still alive. The note runs as follows :

هذا الكتاب المسمى به تزك واقعات بابرى بحسب فرمان واجب الاذعان شاهزاده عالم وعالميان
مرشدزاده جهان و جهانيان محمد همايون طلع الله نير اقباله وشوكته في يوم السلخ من شهر
جمادى الثانى سنة ٩٣٧ سيع وثلاثون وتسعمائة من الهجرة بفضلله وحسن توفيقه بيد العبد
الضعيف على الكاتب غفر الله ذنوبه صورت اتمام وطريق اختتام يافت

which in plain English means : "The transcription of this book, called *Tuzuk Wāqī'āt-i-Bābarī* by order of His Royal Highness Muḥammad Humāyūn (may the sun of his good fortune and glory be in the ascendant !) was, by the grace of God, completed on the last day of the month of Jumādi-uth-Thānī 937 A.H. by the hand of His weak slave 'Alī, the scribe, may Allāh forgive his sins !"

I am indebted for a transcription of the above note to Mr. Chunni Lal, Curator, State Museum, Alwar. The date is given both in figures and in words, and there is a discrepancy of ten years between the two

1. *Akbar Nāma*, tr. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 862.

which may be attributed to a clerical error. Even if the later date of A.H. 937 given in words is accepted, our difficulty is not obviated. For 'Abdur Raḥīm was born in 1556¹ while 'Alī claims that his transcription was completed as early as 1531.

The title of the manuscript as given by the scribe is also not without peculiarity. The original Turki memoir usually goes by the name of *Tuzuk-i-Bābarī* while 'Abdur-Raḥīm's Persian version is known as *Wāqī'āt-i-Bābarī*. The Alwar manuscript however is called *Tuzuk Wāqī'āt-i-Bābarī* by 'Alī the scribe, a clumsy title in any case.

Where the manuscript originally came from we do not know. Presumably it formed part of the splendid collection of Banni Singh, the third ruler of the reigning house, and if this surmise is correct, the manuscript could have found its way into the fortress palace of Alwar only during the first half of the nineteenth century. On the other hand it may have been a family heirloom, but it should be remembered that Rao Kalyan Singh obtained the Jagir of Macheri about 1671. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the manuscript may have come to Alwar from some other locality.

It is difficult to fix the date of this manuscript correctly. The copyist's note is obviously based on a misapprehension. The only explanation that occurs to me is not free from objection. Probably the scribe had before him Humāyūn's copy of *Tuzuk* and inadvertently added the concluding sentence (after translating it into Persian, of course) of the original Turki to his transcription of *Wāqī'āt*. That may explain the curious combination of *Tuzuk* and *Wāqī'āt* in the title.

Among the illustrations is one of the Qutb Minār as Bābar saw it. The lofty minar is depicted with the cupola that once surmounted it, but the cupola was intact till 1794 and does not therefore offer any certain clue to the age of the Alwar manuscript of *Wāqī'āt-i-Bābarī*. An examination of the other illustrations may however prove more fruitful, but I had not time to undertake it. Nor has the text so far been scrutinised with a view to ascertaining the antiquity of the manuscript.

How are we to treat the scribe 'Alī's statement? There is no doubt about the era, for it is specifically mentioned. Both 927 and 937 A.H. are too early for 'Abdur-Raḥīm Khān-i-Khānān but the figures cannot be manipulated in view of 'Abdur-Raḥīm's authorship, since we are confronted with another definite statement that the manuscript was completed before Humāyūn's accession to the throne. The only possible alternatives are that the date of a Turki manuscript has been inadvertently inserted or that the concluding sentence was deliberately added by a person unacquainted with the actual date.²

S. N. SEN.

1. Akbar Nāma tr. Beveridge, Index p. 2; Beale's Oriental Biography.

2. Vide Cultural Activities, p. 300 [Alwar MS.]—Ed. I. C.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

TALBĪS IBLĪS OF ABU'L-FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ

(Continued from *Islamic Culture* April 1945)¹

Section dealing with the Evidences which show that Singing and Wailing should be disapproved and forbidden.

OUR colleagues argue from the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, and the import of the practice.

1. Three texts are cited from the Qur'ān :

(a) xxxi. 5, *And of mankind is he who payeth for mere pastime of discourse.* We have been told by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak and Yaḥya b. 'Alī a Tradition going back to Abu's-Sahba,² according to which the latter said : I asked Ibn Mas'ūd the meaning of this text, and he said : It assuredly means singing.—Other authorities took the same view.

(b) liii. 61, *While ye amuse yourselves.* We have been told by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī a Tradition going back to 'Ikrimah, according to which Ibn 'Abbās said the word in the text was Ḥimyarī for "singing."—Mujāhid said the word was Yemenite, with the same sense.

(c) xvii. 64, (addressed to Satan), *And excite any of them whom thou canst with thy voice and urge thy horse against them.* We have been told by Mauhūb b. Aḥmad a Tradition according to which Mujāhid said : This means singing and instrumental music.

2. As for the Sunnah : we have been informed by Ibn al-Ḥasīn in a Tradition going back to Nāfi' that Ibn-'Umar, hearing a shepherd's pipe, put his fingers in his ears, and turned his mount away from the road. He said to me repeatedly : Nāfi', do you hear it ?—Each time I said, Yes, he went on. When at last I said, No, he lowered his hands, and brought his mount back to the road. He said : I saw the Prophet do as I have been doing when he heard a shepherd's pipe.

I would observe : If that was how they acted in the case of a sound which did not exceed moderation, what would they have done with the singing and piping of our contemporaries ?

We have been informed by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir in a Tradition going back to Abū-Umamah³ that the latter said : The Prophet forbade the

1. An instalment comprising pp. 246-266 of the Arabic text.

2. Of Kufah.

3. His name is given as Iyās or 'Abdallāh b. Tha'labah.

purchase, sale, and instruction of singing-girls, and declared their price unlawful, reciting the text xxxi. 5 quoted above. The same Tradition is quoted with another chain of transmitters, adding to the Prophet's words: No man raises his voice in singing but God sends two demons to pursue him, one on one side and the other on the other, who keep on kicking his chest till he is the one who is silent.—A Tradition similar to the former is also given on the authority of 'Ā'ishah. 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Auf recorded that the Prophet said: I have only forbidden two foolish and wicked sounds, one which goes with a tune and one which goes with calamity.

We have been given by Zafar b. 'Alī a Tradition going back to Ibn 'Umar, according to which the latter said: I went in with the Prophet when his son Ibrāhīm was dying. The Prophet took him up and placed him in his bosom, his eyes streaming. I said: O Apostle of God, dost thou weep, whereas thou forbiddest us to weep?—He said: I forbid not weeping; I only forbid two silly wicked sounds, that which accompanies frivolous music, sport, and the devil's pipes, and that made at the time of calamity, beating the face, rending the garments, and diabolic tunes.

We have been told by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, teacher of the Qur'ān in a Tradition going back to 'Ikrimah after Ibn 'Abbās, that the Prophet said: I have been sent to destroy the pipe and the drum.—The same Tradition is cited by another chain of transmitters.

We have been given by Abu'l-Faḥ al-Karukhi¹ a Tradition going back to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib according to which the Prophet said: When my community practises fifteen proceedings, misfortune will overtake it. One of those which he enumerated was the employment of singing-girls and musical instruments.

At-Tirmidhi² produces a Tradition going back to Abū-Hurairah according to which the Prophet said: 'When (1) booty is bandied about,³ and (2) deposits are treated as loot, and (3) the alms as a fine, and (4) men study for a non-religious purpose, and (5) a man obeys his wife, and (6) is unfilial to his mother, and (7) keeps his friend near, and (8) his father at a distance, and (9) tunes are heard in the mosques, and (10) the tribe is governed by a criminal, and (11) the leader of the people is the vilest of them, and (12) a man is honoured for fear of the mischief he may wreak, and (13) singing-girls and musical instruments are paraded, and (14) wines are drunk, and (15) the last of the community curse the first, then let them expect a red wind, an earthquake, swallowing by the ground, transformation, casting forth, and a series of signs, like a worn-out necklace of which the string breaks, and the beads follow each other.

There is also a Tradition going back to Sahl b. Sa'd⁴ that the Prophet

1. 462-548. Karukh was ten leagues from Herat.

2. Cairo, 1292, II, 33.

3. This is Ibn al-Athīr's interpretation of the phrase.

4. Died 88 or 91, said to be the last of the "Companions" who died in Madinah.

said : There shall be in my community swallowing by the earth, casting forth, and transformation.—He was asked when these things would come about. He replied : When singing-girls and musical instruments are paraded and wines are allowed to be drunk.

We have also been told by Abu'l-Hasan Sa'd al-Khair b. Muhammad al-Ansāri a Tradition given by Ibn-Mājah in his *Sunan*¹ according to which Ṣafwāh b. Umayyah² said : We were with the Prophet when 'Amr b. Qurrah came in, and said : O Apostle of God, misery is my appointed lot, and I can only maintain myself by playing the tambourine ; so give me permission to sing without impropriety.—The Prophet said : No permission shall you have nor honour nor comfort. You lie, enemy of God that you are ! God has given you lawful and fair means of subsistence, and you have chosen unlawful means instead of the lawful which he has bestowed on you. Had I previously given an order, I should have done something terrible to you. Begone, and offer repentance to God. If you speak in this style after my order, I shall have you severely scourged, your head shaven as an example to others, and banish you from your family, and allow the lads of Madinah to plunder your goods.—'Amr rose up in distress and shame of which God only knows the amount. When he had retreated the Prophet said : Any one of these rebels who dies unrepentant shall be raised by God naked without a shred to cover him, and each time he tries to rise he shall be thrown down again.

As for the records³ Ibn Mas'ūd said : Singing causes hypocrisy to thrive in the heart even as water makes vegetables grow. If a man mount a steed without saying *In the name of God*, Satan rides behind him, and bids him sing ; if he has no aptitude for it, Satan bids him wish for it.

Ibn 'Umar passing by some men in pilgrim attire, among whom one was singing, said : May God not listen to you !—Passing by a little girl who was singing, he said : If Satan would leave anyone alone, he would have spared this child.

Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad⁴ was asked by some one about singing, and said : I forbid it and disapprove of your practising it.—The man asked whether it was unlawful. Al-Qāsim replied : Think, my nephew, when God separates truth from falsehood, with which will He place singing ?

Ash-Sha'bi is said to have cursed both the singer and his audience.

We have been told by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī, the Qur'ān teacher, and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a Tradition according to which 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz⁵ wrote to his sons' tutor as follows : Get the first precept with which you impress their minds be detestation of playing, which begins with

1. Cairo 1313, II, 69.

2. Died 41 or 42. " One of the nobles of Quraish both in Pagon Times and in Islam " (Dhahabi).

3. i.e., sayings of early saints.

4. Grandson of the Caliph Abū-Bakr, died 106.

5. Umayyad Caliph.

Satan and ends in the wrath of the Almighty. For I have been told by learned and trustworthy persons that presence at concerts and listening to singing with partiality causes hypocrisy to thrive in the heart even as water makes grass grow. Assuredly avoiding that by keeping away from such scenes is easier for a sensible person than letting hypocrisy take root in his heart.

Fuḍail b. 'Iyād¹ said : Singing is a spell for immorality.

Yazīd b. al-Walīd² said : Beware, O ye Umayyads, of singing, which encourages lust, destroys manliness, is a substitute for wine, and operates like intoxication. If you must practise it, still keep it away from women, for it incites to immorality.

I would observe that many a devotee and ascetic has been seduced by chanting ; we have mentioned a number of such cases in our book *Censure of Passion*. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a Tradition going back to Abu'z-Zinād³ according to which one night Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik⁴ had company in a country seat of his, on the roof ; when his guests had departed, he called for water to wash with, which was brought by a slave-girl. While she was pouring it on him, and he made a sign with his hand indicating that he wanted more, she took no notice, as she was listening intently with her whole body turned towards some singing which she was hearing from the direction of the camp. Sulaimān dismissed her and himself listened to the music which was a male singer's. He attended to it till he had made out the words of the song. He then called for another of his slave-girls, washed, and next morning gave a public audience. When the people were seated, he started the subject of singing and singers ; and his language was so gentle that the people supposed he fancied it himself, and began to use language of similar moderation and approval about it. The Caliph then asked whether there was any one left who performed. One of the people said : Prince of Believers, there are staying with me two skilful performers from Ailah.—The Caliph asked the man where his lodging in the camp was, and the latter pointed to the place whence the singing had been heard. Sulaimān sent for the performers ; his messenger found one of them and brought him into Sulaimān's presence. Sulaimān asked the man his name, and he replied, Sāmīr. The Caliph then asked him what sort of a performer he was, and the man claimed consummate skill. Asked when he had last performed he replied : Last night ; and being further asked in what part of the camp he had been he mentioned the quarter whence the singing had been heard. Being next asked what ode he had sung he mentioned that which had been heard by Sulaimān. Sulaimān then said :

1. The *Tahdhīb* mentions two persons of this name, one of whom died 120.

2. Umayyad Caliph, third of the name, reigned 126.

3. His name was 'Abdullāh b. Dhakwān, died about 130. Famous traditionalist.

4. Umayyad Caliph, 96-99.

When the male camel makes a certain noise, the she-camel becomes lustful;¹ and the noises made by the he-goat and the male-dove have a corresponding effect on the females. Similarly when a man sings, a woman becomes affected thereby.—He then ordered the man to be castrated. He proceeded to ask where singing had started, and was most cultivated. He was told in Madīnah and chiefly by the impotent, who were masters of the art. He wrote to the governor of Madīnah, Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm, ordering him to castrate all the impotent singers there.

3. The import. We have already shown how singing destroys a man's balance, and affects his reason; the explanation of this is that when a man experiences emotion he performs acts which in the sober state he disapproves of in others, such as shaking the head, clapping the hands, beating the ground with the feet, etc., all of them actions performed by persons of weak intellect. Such however are induced by singing, the effect of which is similar to that of wine in clouding the intellect. Hence it ought certainly to be forbidden. We have been told by 'Umar b. Zafar a Tradition going back to Abū Sa'id al-Kharraz² according to which the latter said: The composers of odes were mentioned in the presence of Muḥammad b. Mansūr,³ who said: If these people who flee from God were to be true to and believing in God and His Apostle, this would put into their minds what would leave no time for their frequent gatherings.

We have been told by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir a Tradition going back to Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Abbadi according to which Abū-'Abdallāh b. Baṭṭāh al-'Ukbari⁴ said: Being asked by someone about listening to singing, I forbade him to do so, telling him that it was a practice disapproved by the learned, approved of by fools; only practised by a party called Ṣūfis, but more accurately Determinists, people with base aspirations, and new-fangled ordinances, who make a display of asceticism, all whose associates are evil-doers; they make profession of "desire" and "love," casting out fear and hope; they listen to the singing of lads and women, are deeply affected, faint away, or rather pretend to faint and to expire, asserting that this is caused by their love for their Lord and their desire for Him. God is far above what the ignorant pretend!

Section dealing with the Fallacies relied upon by those who permit listening to Singing.

One of these is the Tradition that two slave-girls used to beat drums before 'Ā'ishah. In one form of the Tradition she says: Abū-Bakr came

1. In the original there are technical words appropriate to the creatures mentioned.

2. Died 277 (other dates are given). Called "the Moon of the Sufis."

3. At-Tūsi, died 254. See *Kitāb Baghdād*, no. 1338.

4. Died 387, a Ḥanbalite jurist of repute. Account of him in Sam'ānī's *Ansāb*.

to see me when there were with me two slave-girls belonging to certain of the Helpers, who were singing odes which the Madinese had performed on the Day of Bu'āth. Abū-Bakr said : What, the melody of Satan in the house of God's Prophet !—The Prophet however said : Leave them alone, Abū-Bakr ; every community has its feast, and this is ours. (This Tradition has been mentioned above). Another is the Tradition that when 'Ā'ishah was once bringing a bride to one of the Helpers, the Prophet asked her what entertainment they had ; for, said he, the Helpers like to be entertained. (This Tradition also was mentioned above).

Another is the Tradition of Fuḍalah b. 'Ubaid according to whom the Prophet said : God listens more attentively to a man who recites the Qur'ān with a fine voice than the master of a songstress to his songstress.—Ibn Ṭāhir observes that the argument drawn from this Tradition is that it confirms the legality of listening to singing, since no analogy taken from what was unlawful might be employed.

Another is the Tradition of Abū-Hurairah according to which the Prophet said : God listens to nothing as He listens to a prophet chanting the Qur'ān. Another that of Hatib that the Prophet said : The distinction between the lawful and the unlawful is the playing of the tambour.¹

Reply. As for the two Traditions of 'Ā'ishah, we have already discussed them, and shown that people used to recite poetry, and the term "singing" was applied to a certain intonation employed in recitation with repetition of sounds ; now this sort of thing does not disturb the mental balance. What argument can be drawn from such sounds, falling in a healthy age on pure hearts, in favour of these emotional notes, falling in a turbid age on minds enslaved by passion ? This is merely misleading the intelligence. Is there not a genuine Tradition that 'Ā'ishah said : If the Prophet had seen the women's innovations, he would have forbidden them the mosques ?—The jurist who gives a legal opinion ought to weigh the conditions just as a physician weighs time, the patient's age, and locality, and prescribes accordingly. What relation has the singing of the Helpers on the Day of Bu'āth to that of some handsome beardless boys accompanied by melodious instruments and performed with attractive skill, and erotic odes with mention of the gazelle and the sun, the moon, the well-proportioned form ? Will nature there keep steady ? Will it not rather be distraught with desire for what pleases it ? No one can claim that he does not feel such emotion save a liar, or a superman. Whoever claims to find reference therein to the Creator is employing what is unbecoming concerning Him. Moreover nature will forestall such reference by the emotion which it will feel.

Abu'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī furnished another reply to this Tradition. We have been told by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī that he said : This Tradition favours our view ; for Abū-Bakr called it the melody of Satan and the

1. This is explained below.

Prophet made no objection to that phrase; he only forbade him to be over-strict in his censure, out of good nature, especially on a feast-day. Moreover 'A'ishah was very young at the time, and only censure of singing is recorded of her when she was grown up and acquired knowledge. Further her brother's son al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad used to censure singing and forbid it, having obtained his knowledge from her.

As for the entertainment mentioned in the other Tradition, it is not clear that singing is what is meant, and it may be the recitation of poetry or something else. As for the comparison with listening to a singing-girl, the illustration may well be drawn from something that is unlawful. Thus if a man were to say that he found honey more delicious than wine, such an assertion would be harmless. The comparison is to listening in the two cases, and the fact that one of the cases is lawful or unlawful does not make comparison improper. The Prophet said: Verily ye shall see your Lord as ye see the full moon, and here too he compares the former vision with the clearness of the latter, although there is the difference that the full moon is a region which the beholder comprehends, whereas God Almighty is removed from the like. Jurists say that the water of purification should not be dried off the members of the body because it is the vestige of a devotional act, but the application of such water to the body¹ is not in accordance with the Sunnah, as is the case with the blood of a martyr.² The two are coupled as being both vestiges of devotional acts, but separated as being respectively pure and impure. Ibn Tāhir's reasoning that analogy can only be drawn from something licit is Sufi jurisprudence, not jurists' doctrine. The phrase rendered "chants the Qur'ān" was interpreted by Sufyān b. 'Uyainah as meaning "finds the Qur'ān all-sufficient;" by ash-Shāfi'i "moans and groans over it;" others "make it take the place of singing by camel-riders." As for playing the tambour, a number of the epigoni used to break such instruments though they were unlike those now in use: what would the epigoni have done had they seen these! Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said that the tambour has no connexion with Muslim practice. Abū-'Ubaid al-Qāsim b. Salām said: To interpret the tambour-playing, mentioned in the Tradition, of the Sufi practice is giving a wrong interpretation to the Prophet's words. His meaning in our opinion is advertising a marriage, noising it abroad and talking about it.

I would observe that if the words be taken to refer to an actual tambour, Aḥmad b. Hanbal said: I should hope that there was no harm in a tambour at a wedding or the like, but I disapprove of a drum.

We have been told by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī al-Muqri a Tradition going back to 'Āmir b. Sa'd al-Bajali who said: I sought Thābit b. Sa'd, a hero of Badr, and found him at a wedding which he was celebrating. There were slave-girls singing and playing the tambour.—I said to him: Do

1. i.e. of lustral water which has been used.

2. It might be expected that such blood would have a *barakah*.

not you forbid this?—He said No : for the Prophet gave us permission for it.

We have been told by 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī a Tradition going back to al-Qāsim according to whom 'Ā'ishah said : The Prophet said, Advertise a marriage, and play the tambour for one (the word employed meaning literally "sieve").

I would observe that all these arguments furnish no proof of the legitimacy of the singing which we know, is emotional. Certain persons have been misled by their attachment to Sufism to employ arguments which are ineffective ; among such is Abū-Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī,¹ who asserted that al-Bara' b. Malik² was partial to music and enjoyed chanting. He only stated this about al-Bara' because it is recorded that one day he lay on his back, chanting. Just consider how feeble this reasoning is. Almost every one occasionally hums a tune, but what relation does this bear to listening to erotic singing ? Muḥammad b. Tāhir also adduced arguments in their favour which would not deserve mention were it not that some ignorant person might come across the like and be misled thereby, since they are worthless. One of them is a heading in his book : *Section on the demand to be made on the chanter and the Sunnah on the subject*, wherein he makes the demand on the chanter a Sunnah, alleging a Tradition of 'Amr b. aṣh-Sharīd whose father according to him said : The Prophet bade me recite the poetry of Umayyah³ and continued calling for more till I had recited a hundred verses.—Ibn Tāhir proceeds : *Section on the Evidence for listening to Erotic Verse*. Al-'Ajjāj said : I asked Abū-Hurairah about the ode commencing

Haunted my dreams two wraiths and woke my pain

and he said that such verses had been recited in the presence of the Prophet.

Just consider how remarkable Ibn-Tāhir's reasoning is. How can he infer the legitimacy of singing from the recitation of poetry ? It is like saying that since it is lawful to strike the back of the lute with the hand it is lawful to strike the strings, or that since it is lawful to squeeze grapes and drink the juice the same day it is lawful to do the like after many days. He forgets that the recitation of poetry does not produce the emotion produced by singing.

We have been told by Abū-Zur'ah b. Muḥammad b. Tāhir after his father that the latter said : We were told by Abū-Muḥammad at-Tamīmī that he had asked the Sharīf Abū 'Alī b. Abī Mūsā al-Hāshimī about music, and that the latter had replied : I do not know what to say about it, except that one day in the year 370, I was present at a party given by our Shaikh Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Hārith at-Tamīmī to his

1. *Hilyat al-Awliya* I, 350.

2. Brother of Anas b. Mālik, ob. 20.

3. Ibn Abī'q-Salt.

friends, where there were Abū-Bakr al-Abhari, head of the Malikites, Abū'l-Qāsim ad-Dariki, head of the Shafī'ites, Abū'l-Jaish Ṭāhir b. al-Husain, head of the Traditionalists, Abū'l-Husain b. Sam'un, head of the preachers and ascetics, Abū-'Abdallāh b. Mujāhid, head of the metaphysicians, and his friend Abū-Bakr b. al-Baqillani; it was in the house of our Shaikh Abū'l-Hasan at-Tamimī, head of the Hanbalites. Abū'Alī said: Had the roof fallen on them, no one would have been left in 'Iraq capable of giving a legal opinion in accordance with a Sunnah, about any matter which cropped up. With them was a lad Abū-'Abdallāh, who read the Qur'ān with a fine voice. He was asked to say something and repeated while they listened:

A message her fingers inscribed on a leaf
In perfume, not ink, and the message was brief;
Come visit me, dear one, it said, and be bold;
For fame far and wide that you love me has told.
"Right willingly" was the reply that I made
To the envoy who from her this message conveyed.

Abū-'Alī said: After witnessing this scene I cannot pronounce on this question, either to forbid or to permit.

I would observe that supposing Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir to have reported this correctly (and our Shaikh the Ḥāfiẓ Ibn-Nāṣir used to say that Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was untrustworthy) I should assume that the verses were recited, not chanted with rod and magadis,¹ since had this been so, he would have mentioned it. Then his language in what follows is obscure: "I cannot pronounce on this matter either to forbid or to permit." If he merely followed them, he must have pronounced it lawful; if he studied the evidence he must in spite of their presence have pronounced it unlawful. Supposing the story to be true, surely it would have been more correct to follow the systems than the representatives of the systems. We have sufficiently recorded the opinions of Abū-Ḥanīfah, Mālik, Shāfi'i, and Aḥmad, and supported them by proofs.

Ibn-Ṭāhir proceeds in his book: *Section on the honour paid by them to the singer and the special place which they assigned him.* He alleges that the Prophet threw a cloak he was wearing on Ka'b b. Zuhair when he recited the poem *Bānat Su'ād*. I only mention this to show the amount of this person's legal knowledge and power of deduction; time is really too precious to be wasted on such absurdities.

We have been told by Abū-Zur'ah after his father Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir a Tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh, a man thought to bring luck, who said he had been told by al-Muzani as follows:—We were passing by some people's dwelling in the company of ash-Shāfi'i and Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il when a singing-girl was singing to them.:

These mounts what doth ail
That they seem to turn tail?

1. A stringed instrument known to the Greeks; the Arabic form is not found in the lexicon.

Shāfi'i bade us turn aside to listen. When she had finished, he asked Ibrāhīm whether he enjoyed it. When he said : No, ash-Shāfi'i told him he had no sense.

I would observe that this is incredible about ash-Shāfi'i. Moreover the chain of transmitters contains two unknown persons, and Ibn Ṭāhir is untrustworthy. Ash-Shāfi'i was above such things. That my view is correct is shown by something told us by Abū'l-Qāsim al-Harīrī on the authority of Abū'ṭ-Tayyib at-Ṭabarī. He said : With regard to listening to singing of a woman with whom marriage is lawful, the followers of Shāfi'i forbid it whether the woman be free or a slave. The master of a singing-girl who gathers his friends to hear her is a fool whose evidence should be rejected ; he even used a coarser expression, saying that such a man was a cuckold.—I would observe that he called the girl's master a fool because he invites people to do wrong ; and one who does so is a fool and a sinner.

I may add that we have been told by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Baghdādī after Abū-Muḥammad at-Tamīmī after Abū-'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulami that Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh ad-Dimishqī purchased a singing-girl for the poor, to whom he used to chant poems.

Further Abū-Ṭalīb al-Makki says in his book, " Among our contemporaries was the Qāḍī Marwān, who had singing-girls who intoned, whom he had procured for the Sufis ; 'Aṭā also had two singing girls who intoned, and to whom his associates used to listen."

I would observe that Sa'd ad-Dimishqī was an ignorant man ; that the story about 'Aṭā is an absurd lie ; and that if the story about Marwān is true, then he was an evil-doer. Evidence of this is in what we have recorded of ash-Shāfi'i.¹ These people have no sound knowledge and incline after their passion.

We have been told by Zāhir b. Ṭāhir that it was stated by Abū-'Uthmān as-Sābūni and Abū-Bakr al-Baihaqī that the following had been told them by al-Ḥākim Abū 'Abdallāh An-Nisābūrī : The occasions (he said) on which I most often met Fāris b. 'Isa the Ṣūfī were in the house of Abū-Bakr al-Ibrīsāmi, to hear Hazarah (on whom may God have mercy), a virtuous singing-woman.

" Disgraceful " is my comment on this action of such a man as al-Ḥākim, who ought to have known that it was unlawful for him to hear a woman whom it would have been permissible for him to marry, and on his mentioning it in his *History of Nisābūr*, a learned treatise, without compunction. This is quite sufficient to discredit him as a witness.

If it be said : What say you of the story told you by Ismā'il b. Aḥmad as-Samarqandī with a chain of transmitters going back to Mughīrah, according to whom 'Aun b. 'Abdallāh used to narrate, and when he had

1. i.e. where a story about him was shown to be a fabrication.

finished would order a slave-girl of his to narrate and entertain ? Al-Mughīrah said : I sent to him (or wanted to send to him) to say : You belong to a veracious family, and God did not commission His prophet with folly, whereas this conduct of yours is foolish.

Our reply would be that we do not suppose 'Aun to have ordered the slave-girl to narrate before men, but wanted to hear her by himself, she being his property ; and that the objection of the jurist al-Mughīrah was to her entertaining him. What would he have said of those who make them perform before men, make them dance, and entertain them ?

Abū-Ṭālib al-Makki further states that 'Abdullāh b. Ja'far used to listen to singing. My observation is that he used to hear his own slave-girls reciting. Ibn-Ṭāhir appends to his story about ash-Shafī'i, which we have dealt with above, one about Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, which he records after 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sulami with a chain of transmitters going up to Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. According to this Ṣāliḥ said : I was fond of music, but my father disapproved of it ; I made an appointment one night with Ibn al-Khabbāzah, who stopped with me till I was sure that my father was asleep, when he started singing. I heard my father moving about on the roof, so I went up to it, and found my father there listening, with the skirt of his robe under his arm-pit, and strutting about the roof as though he were dancing.

I would observe that this story has come to us through several channels one of them from Ṣāliḥ, according to which he said : I used to invite Ibn al-Khabbāzah the minstrel, who used to chant. My father, who was going backwards and forwards in the street, would listen to him. There was a door between us, and he would stand behind the door to listen.—The same story was told us by Abū Maṣṣūr al-Qazzāz with a chain of transmitters going back to Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Qawwās, who said : I heard Abū-Bakr al-Qaṭī'i narrate, I fancy after 'Abdallāh b. Aḥmad, who said : I used to invite Ibn al-Khabbāzah, the minstrel, who would chant. My father forbade singing, so when Ibn al-Khabbāzah was with me, I used to conceal his presence from my father for fear he might hear. One night he was with me and singing ; my father happened to want something which was with us, we living in a street. He came, heard the singing and listened. Hearing him say something¹ I went out to see, and there was my father walking backwards and forwards. So I went in again, closing the door. Next morning he said to me : My son, when it is like that, all right.—This was substantially the story.

I would observe that this Ibn al-Khabbāzah used to recite ascetic odes, dealing with the future world, and for this reason Aḥmad listened. If it be said that he displayed emotion, such emotion is occasioned by pleasure, causing a man to sway right and left. As for Ibn-Ṭāhir's story "I saw him with the skirt of his robe under his armpit, strutting about

1. The text has been corrected.

the roof as though he were dancing," this must owe its origin to some reporter's alteration, not to be regarded as giving the true sense, but intended to justify their own view of dancing.

We have already mentioned that as-Sulami and Ibn-Ṭāhir, who have transmitted these words, are not regarded as trustworthy.

Abū-Ṭālib alleged certain dreams in favour of the legitimacy of listening to music, which he divided into categories; the division is however Sūfic and baseless. We have already observed that any one who claims that he can listen to singing without its stirring his passion, lies.

We have been told by Abu'l-Qāsim al-Harīrī after Abū-Ṭālib at-Ṭabari that one of them said: The nature with which we hear singing is not that wherein the privileged class and the common herd participate.—This is a terrible profession of ignorance on two points: one, that it follows from this that he permits the lute, the tambour and other instruments, since he hears them with the nature wherein no other human being participates. If he does not permit these instruments, he contradicts himself; if he does permit them, he is a malefactor. The second, that one who makes this claim must either claim to have put off human nature and become like an angel—and if he makes this assertion he misrepresents his nature and every sensible person is aware that he is lying, when he reflects. Further, such a person would have no need to exercise self-control or to resist his passion, neither would he earn any reward by eschewing pleasures and desires; no sensible person would say this.

If on the other hand he admits that he is of human nature, which has innate passions and lusts, we ask him how he can listen to emotional singing except with his nature; or enjoy such listening otherwise than by reason of what is implanted in his soul.

We have been told by Ibn-Nāṣir a Tradition going back to Abu'l-Qāsim ad-Dimishqī according to which Abū-'Alī ar-Rudhbari, being asked about a man who listened to singing and said, It is lawful for me, since I have attained to a stage wherein I am not affected by variation of states, replied: Yes; the man doubtless has attained, only to Hell.

If it be said: We have been told of many people who listened to a reciter of odes, took it according to their intention, and profited thereby: we answer that we do not deny that a man may hear a verse of poetry or an adage and regard it as an allusion to something, so that it moves him by its import not by the charm of the music, as was the case of the neophyte who, hearing a songstress chant

Every day thy fashion varies
Something else for thee more fair is

screamed and expired. This person did not intend to listen to the woman or attend to the chanting. It was the import which killed him. Further, listening to a phrase or a verse unintentionally is a different thing from being prepared to listen to a whole number of the emotional verses

which have been described, accompanied by striking the rod, clapping, etc. The listener in the case quoted had not intended to listen. Had he asked us whether he might lawfully intend to listen, we should have forbidden him.

Abū-Ḥāmid aṭ-Ṭūsī¹ has further alleged in their favour certain arguments, wherein he descends from his intellectual eminence. They come to this, that listening to music is not shown to be unlawful by either text or analogy. To this we have replied above. Further he says: There is no ground for prohibiting listening to a sweet sound nor is it forbidden if it be metrical; and if the units are not forbidden, then a number of them together is not forbidden. A collection of permissible units will be permissible. He adds: Only attention should be paid to the import, and if this contain anything that is illicit, then it is forbidden whether it be prose or verse, and the chanting of it is forbidden.

I would observe that I marvel at this language. If a string by itself or a lute without strings were to be struck this would neither be unlawful nor occasion pleasure; when they are combined and struck in a particular manner this proceeding is unlawful and emotional. Similarly it is permissible to drink grape-juice; only when emotional force arises in it, it is forbidden. Similarly this combination causes excitement which disturbs the equilibrium and in consequence is forbidden.

Ibn 'Uqail states that sounds are of three sorts, forbidden, objectionable, and permissible. The forbidden are the vertical flute, the reed pipe, the variety of the same called *Suryanai*, the tambour, the rebec and the psaltery.² The Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal has distinctly forbidden these. To them must be added the form of harp called *jank* and the *jarafah*,³ which cause emotion and disturb equilibrium, having with most men an effect similar to that of intoxicating liquor. It makes no difference whether they are employed for arousing grief or joy. For the Prophet forbade two foolish noises, that made over good fortune and that made over disaster. There is objection to the rod because it gives no pleasure of itself, but only through that which it accompanies, *viz.*, the singing voice, to which there is objection.

Some members of our school condemn the rod as they condemn instruments of entertainment. There are therefore two views on the subject, as is the case with the lute itself. The instrument that is allowed is the tambourine. We have already quoted a saying ascribed to Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) that he hoped there was no harm in the tambourine at weddings or similar occasions, but he disapproved of the drum. Abū-Ḥāmid (al-Ghazzālī) says: If a man loves God and is enamoured of Him, and desires to meet Him, then in his case listening to music strengthens his attachment.

1. Ghazzālī.

2. The names of the instruments are translated according to H. G. Farmer *History of Arabian Music*, 1929.

3. Not identified.

I would observe that it is improper to use the expression enamoured in relation to God; the impropriety of the phrase has been explained above. And what strengthening of the attachment is there in such a song as

Golden-coloured fire would seem
Brightly from his cheeks to gleam?

Ibn 'Uqail heard a Šūfi say: Whenever the natures of the Shaikhs of this community come to a standstill, the musician by his lays sends them on to God.—Ibn 'Uqail observed: No respect is due to the person who says this. The hearts can only be urged on by God's promises and threats in the Qur'an and the Sunnah of His Apostle. For God says (viii. 2), *And when His texts are recited to them, they increase their faith.* He does not say: When odes are recited to them, they feel pleasure. The stirring up of nature by tunes diverts from God. Poetry contains such descriptions of creatures and objects of affection as renew temptation. Whoever supposes that he can derive lessons from the beauties of human beings and pleasant sounds is misled. Nay rather we should look at the manifestations to which we are directed¹ by camels, horses, winds, and the like; for such are objects of contemplation which stir no nature, but only cause admiration of the Creator. You have been cajoled by Satan, and become slaves of your passions, and have even gone on to assert that what you say is the truth;² being atheists in the guise of devotees, gluttons in the guise of ascetics, anthropomorphists, believing that one can be passionately enamoured of God, and that He can be associated with on familiar terms. A mischievous fancy, since God created the substances in uniformity, inasmuch as their elements are uniform, so that they associate with each other and combine with one another in accordance with their elementary constituents, and their similar compositions in the new shapes; whence come concord and attachment and mutual affection, familiarity being strengthened in proportion to similarity in form. Thus one of us takes pleasure in water because water is one of his constituents, but more in vegetation, since that approaches the nature of animals in the faculty of growth, and yet more in animals, owing to the animal's sharing with him the specific character and approaching him most nearly. Where then is there such association between the Creator and the creature as can produce attachment, affection, and desire? What relation is there between clay and water and the Creator of the heavens? These people imagine the Almighty as a form presenting itself to the mind; but that is not God, nay rather it is an image, fashioned by nature and Satan. God has no description such as attracts attachment, or excites desire in the mind; the distance between Deity and the creature necessitates awe and reverence. The professions made by the Sufi "lovers" concerning love of God are a mere fancy that has occurred to them, a form that has taken shape in their minds and screened them from the worship of the Eternal.

1. This seems to be the sense; the phrase in the text is obscure

2. Tentative rendering.

To that form they become attached, and when it disappears in accordance with the requirements of the reason, they are troubled by the desire for it, and suffer the pain, emotion, and distraction which befall the distracted lover. We ask God's protection from those evil fancies and natural emotions which, in accordance with the Code, ought to be banished from the mind, just as images ought to be smashed.

Some of the earlier Sufis, I would observe, disapproved of listening to music in the case of the neophyte, knowing the sentiments it arouses in the heart.

We have been told by 'Umar b. Zafar al-Muqri in a Tradition going back to 'Abdallāh b. Šālih, who said : Junaid said to me : If you see a neophyte listening to music, you may be sure that there are in him the remains of frivolity. We have been given by Abū-Bakr b. Ḥabīb a Tradition going back to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Bardā'i, who said : I heard Abū'l-Ḥusain an-Nūrī say to one of his associates : If you see a neophyte listening to odes and inclined to comfort, hope for no good from him.

Such, I would observe, is the view of the Shaikhs of the community ; later members of it have permitted themselves the love of amusement, and the mischief has spread from them in two directions ; one being the discrediting of the ancients in the eyes of the populace, who suppose that all were like these ; the second their encouragement of the populace in frivolity, their sole plea being that so-and-so acts in this way.

The taste for music has got so firmly fixed in the hearts of some of them that they prefer it to recitation of the Qur'ān, and it works on their feelings more than the Qur'ān. This is because of the dominance of secret passion, the sway of natural inclination, though such persons think otherwise. We have been told by Abū-Manšūr al-Qazzāz a Tradition going back to Abū-Ḥātim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as-Sijistānī,¹ who said : I heard Abū-Naṣr as-Sarrāj² say : I was told by one of my brethren the following, as coming from Abū'l-Ḥusain ad-Darrāj³ : I went, he said, from Baghdad to visit Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain ar-Rāzī.⁴ When I entered Rayy, I asked for his house. Every one whom I asked said : What do you want with that atheist ? They distressed me so much that I decided to go away ; however, I passed the night in a mosque, and then said to myself : Having come to this town the least that I can do is to pay him a visit. So I went on asking about him till I was directed to a mosque, where I found him seated in the sanctuary, with a man in front of him who had a Qur'ān in his hand, out of which he was reading. I approached and saluted him ; he returned the salutation and asked me whence I came. I replied : From Baghdad, on a visit to the Shaikh. Can you, he asked, say anything

1. Not the famous Abū-Ḥātim as-Sijistānī, whose name was Sahl b. Muḥammad.

2. Died 378, author of the *Luma'a*.

3. Died about 320 ; his name was Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusain.

4. Disciple of Dhu'n-Nūn. See Nicholson's *Kashf-al-Mahjūb*, p. 136.

of 'beauty ? I said, Yes :

I see thee ever building on my ground ;
To raze that building would be counsel sound.¹

He closed the Qur'ān and wept on and on till his beard and his garment were wet. He said : My son, you are censuring the people of Rayy for calling Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusain atheist. Now since prayer-time I have been reading the Qur'ān, and not a drop fell from my eye. But the verse which you recited aroused my deepest emotion.

We have also been told by 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin, after his father, that the latter had heard Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī say : I went to Marv in the lifetime of the Ustādh Abū Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī,² who before my arrival had held on Friday mornings meetings for the study of the Qur'ān and readings of the whole Book. I found when I arrived that he had put an end to these meetings and instituted a meeting for singing by Ibn al-Farghānī at that time. I was displeased thereat, and kept saying that he had substituted a concert for a scripture-reading. He asked me one day what people were saying. I replied : They are saying that the reading of scripture has been stopped and a concert substituted. He said : The person who says to his master, Why ? will never prosper.

This, I would observe is the custom of the Ṣūfis ; the Shaikh, they say, has his course committed to him. We hold that no one has his course committed to him ; the human being is restrained from his wishes by the Code and the reason, whereas the lower animals are restrained by the scourge.

Some of the Ṣūfis believed that this singing which some, as we have stated, forbade, whereas others disapproved of it, is desirable in the case of some. We were told by 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushairī that he had been told by his father how he had heard Abū 'Alī al-Daqqāqī³ say : Music is unlawful for the populace owing to the persistence in them of the lower soul,⁴ but permitted to ascetics because they have acquired self-mortification ;⁵ desirable in the case of our colleagues because their hearts are alive.

This, I would observe, is erroneous from five points of view. (1) We have already cited Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazzālī for the doctrine that listening to music is permissible for every one, and Abū-Ḥamid knew more than this speaker. (2) The nature of the lower soul does not change, and self-mortification merely restrains its activity. One who claims that

1. Verse ascribed to the Umayyad al-Walīd b. Yazīd.

2. Ḥanafite doctor, 296-369

3. His name was Ḥasan b. Muḥammad ; there is an account of him in Nicholson's *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, p. 162

4. The immediate cause of culpable actions, *ibid.*, p. 126.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

the nature changes, claims what is absurd ; when something comes to set that nature in motion and that which restrained it is rebuffed, habit reasserts itself. (3) Although the learned differ as to the prohibition or permission of music, none of them pays attention to the hearer, since they are aware that the natures of all are uniform. Anyone who claims that his nature differs from human nature, claims what is absurd. (4) Authorities are agreed that it is undesirable, the utmost that is claimed for it is that it is permissible ; one who claims that it is desirable differs from the consensus of opinion. (5) It would follow from this doctrine that listening to the lute is permissible or desirable for one whose nature is unchangeable, since it is only prohibited because it affects the nature, and incites it to lust ; so if a person is secure against this, listening is permissible for him. We have given this as the opinion of Abu't-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabari.

Some of them, I would observe, have claimed that such listening is a mode of approaching God. Abū-Ṭālib al-Makkī says : One of my Shaikhs informed me that Junaid said : God's mercy descends on this community at three seasons : when they eat, since they do so only out of need ; when they converse, for all their talk is of the stations of the saints and the states of the prophets ; when they hear music, for they hear with emotion and witness reality. If this be a genuine saying of Junaid, and we accept it as such, it must be supposed to refer to the ascetic odes which they hear, for these produce tenderness and draw tears. As for the notion that mercy descends when Sūda and Laila¹ are described, and that the reference is to the attributes of the Creator, that is incredible ; and were it true that these could be taken allegorically,² the allegory would be submerged in predominance of natural affection. And evidence of the correctness of our explanation is to be found in the fact that in Junaid's time no poems were recited similar to those which are recited in these days ; only some of the later Ṣūfis make Junaid refer to any (poetical) utterance.

I was told by Abū-Ja'far Aḥmad b. Azhar b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb as-Sabbāk, after our Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Mubārak the Ḥāfiz, as follows :— Abu'l-Wafā' al-Firūzābādi, Shaikh of the monastery of az-Zauzani³ was, he said, a friend of mine. He used to say to me : I assure you that I pray for you and make mention of you at the time of producing the *magadis* and singing. The Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb was, he said, astonished, and would say : Do you think this man believes that to be a time when prayer is answered ? This is terrible ! Ibn-'Uqail says : We have heard them say that prayer is answered when the camel-driver sings and when the *magadis* is produced. They suppose (the playing of) it to be an act of piety whereby God is approached. He went on to say :

1. Female names used in the erotic prologues of odes.

2. See Nicholson's Index to *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* for the senses of the word *Ishārah* used here.

3. There is a short notice of this person, whose name was 'Alī b. Maḥmūd, in the *Kitāb Baghdād*, XI. 115. He died in 451. His *Ribāṭ* (where according to Sam'āni he was buried) is mentioned by Yāqūt, *Geogr. Dict.*, i. 863, with the name of Shaikh who died in 548.

Nōw this is infidelity ; for one who believes an act which is either forbidden or disapproved to be one of piety is rendered an infidel by this belief. And, he added, this practice is either forbidden or disapproved. •

[We have been told by Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad al-Qazzāz a Tradition going back to Ibrāhīm b. A'yan¹ according to whom Ṣāliḥ al-Murri² said : Among the prostrate the slowest to rise is a man prostrated by a passion which he claims to be a means of approaching God, whereas the one among them whose feet will be firmest on Resurrection Day is one who holds most firmly to the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet.

We have been told by Abu'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qushairi a Tradition going back to Abu'l-Hārith al-Aulasi,³ according to which the latter said : I saw the Devil in a dream on one of the roofs of Aulas.⁴ I too was on a roof and he had a number of people in fine clothes both on his right and on his left. He said to some of them : Chant and sing. The charm of the performance so overcame me that I intended to throw myself down from the roof. He then said to them : Dance ; and they began to dance in the best possible manner. He then said to me : O, Abu'l-Hārith, I could not find access to you except through this means.]—(Ed., I.C.)

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

1. Ibn-Hajar calls him aṣḥ-Shaibāni al-'Ijlī al-Baṣrī. One of his disciples died in 205 or thereabouts.

2. A brief notice of this ascetic in *Lawāḡih al-Anwār*, i, 60.

3. A brief notice of him in Sam'ānī. According to the *Luma'a*, p. 330, he kept silence for 60 years.

4. Village on the sea-coast in the neighbourhood of Tarsūs (Yāqūt).

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

The Deccan History Conference :

THE Deccan History Conference, which was held at Hyderabad in the 2nd week of April 1945, was a long-felt necessity. The Conference in its limited scope of work was the first of its kind. The geographical, political and social conditions of the Deccan which are peculiar to this tableland justify a separate gathering of scholars from all parts of India to focus their attention on the study of the regional history. The Deccan Plateau, cut off from the North by the natural barriers of rivers and mountain ranges, and peopled predominantly by a Dravidian race, forms a separate entity with a history and culture of its own. Even the Turkish colonists who settled down in the Deccan in the early part of the fourteenth century, hastened to sever their political and social connections with the North, and identified themselves completely with their new homeland. "It possesses self-contained fullness and variety, and the rich traditions of its many races. Separateness in the midst of geographical unity and isolation in the midst of invasions."

In recent years the richness of the historical research of the Deccan have, no doubt, attracted the attention of eminent writers and scholars, but there is still vast scope for the work of a specialized nature. As a matter of fact the history of the Deccan received no impetus and encouragement as it really deserved beyond individual efforts which bore little substantial fruit. The history of the Deccan is a study by itself. It is the history of the Deccan through the ages and, as an arduous task, it demands a more collaborative study than what has hitherto been pursued. The role of conferences of academic nature intended for unearthing the hidden treasures of knowledge cannot be exaggerated. It is in the conference that the controversial issues are thrashed out and reduced to proper dimensions. The isolated output of research, not subjected to proper criticism, does not serve the common and the natural purpose as the different scholars hold different viewpoints and varying standards of judgement on various issues.

In view of these facts it was first decided to take stock of the work that has already been done, consider its future scope, devise means to make an intensive study of the subject and make it more scientific and

systematic. It therefore necessitated a Conference to bring together all the writers and scholars in and outside Hyderabad who are working on the history of the Deccan, and request them not only to participate in the conference but also to contribute their learned papers and also lay the foundations of a permanent Deccan History Association to hold periodical meetings and conferences.

Although the idea of the Conference owes its origin to Idāra-e-Adābiyāt-e-Urdu which has been doing yeoman's service to the cause of Urdu as well as the Deccan history, yet it was patronised by many official and semi-official institutions and persons. A fervent appeal was made which served as a feeler to ascertain whether the proposal was appropriate and justified. The appeal which was issued to almost all the institutions and scholars of India who are interested in the study of Deccan and Indian histories, met with general approval. It was wholeheartedly welcomed by the scholars of South India. Almost all the history institutions and scholars of the Deccan and South India, i.e., Berar, Baroda, Bombay, Poona, Madras, Mysore, and Malabar have wholeheartedly responded to the appeal and promised a full co-operation. An executive committee consisting of history scholars and representatives of various history institutions of the State was formed forthwith to expedite the scheme and to make necessary arrangements for the proposed conference. Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Osmania University, who was responsible for the success of the conference at all stages presided over the Executive and the Reception Committees. Hon'ble Mr. W. V. Grigson, the Revenue Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, was invited to preside over the Conference as the General President, and Dewan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Prof. H. K. Sherwānī, and Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari were invited to preside over the Ancient, Mediæval and Modern Sections of the Conference respectively.

The Conference opened on the 10th April 1945 at 5-30 p.m. in the Arts College Building, Osmania University, with the gracious message of H.E.H. the Nizam which infused into the audience a sense of duty to the cause of the Deccan History. Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur performed the inaugural ceremony with his learned speech and Nawab Ali Yawar Jung Bahadur welcomed the members of the Conference by his erudite address which, not only recalled the glorious past of the Deccan but also threw ample light on various aspects of Deccan History which are yet to be clarified. It was followed by the presidential address by Hon'ble Mr. W. V. Grigson. The address was pregnant with valuable information relating to the history and the archaeological remains of the Deccan. Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswami Iyengar and Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari, the Sectional Presidents, were also asked to address the Conference on the occasion. They emphasised the necessity of a public forum for dis-

cussing all the aspects of the Deccan History problems. The inaugural meeting terminated with the reading of messages which were received from distinguished persons of India. After the evening prayer the Hyderabad State film was exhibited for the interest of the outside delegates, which continued for half an hour, and then the members partook of the dinner given by Nawab Ali Yavar Jung Bahadur both in the capacity of the Vice-Chancellor of the University and the President of the Reception Committee. The party then dispersed at about 11 p.m.

The Sectional Meeting, Ancient Period, was held on 11th April at 10 a.m. and it commenced with the learned address of Dewan Bahadur Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar. The presence of the Dewan Bahadur as the president, who is a great scholar and one of the pioneers of Deccan History, added much weight to the importance of the Section. Of the eleven papers which were read in the Section the following were very interesting. *Roman Trade with the Deccan* by Dr. B. A. Saletore; *Buddhism in the Deccan* by Prof. Hanumanth Rao; *Panigiri Excavation* by Moulvi Khwaja Mohamad Ahmad; *The Battle of Puleksan and Harsha* by Mr. Sham Rao Shende. Some of the papers were discussed. The Section was over at about 12 A.M. and the delegates were taken to Basheer Bagh Palace to join the luncheon given in their honour by Nawab Zaheer Yar Jung, the leading nobleman of Hyderabad and a member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council. The same afternoon the party moved to Hyderabad Museum for the inspection of historical collection.

The Mediaeval Section met on the same day at about 5 p.m. under the Chairmanship of Prof. H. K. Sherwani. The Section was very popular. It was largely attended by many scholars from Hyderabad and outside. The learned address and the papers read in the Section roused lively interest in the study of the period. The very interesting feature of the Section was the fact that most of the papers were discussed and several eminent scholars took part in the debate. The papers, which were 22 in number, covered the entire field from the last decade of the Thirteenth Century when the Khalji invaders crossed the Vindhia ranges up to the fall of Golconda in 1687, or, at the most, the foundation of the Asafjahi Kingdom in 1724. It is a fairly long period which embraces both the contemporary kingdoms of Vijayanagar and the Bahmani Deccan and the five kingdoms of the Deccan and that of the Marathas which sprang up after the extinction of Bahmanies. Among the interesting papers read in the Section mention may be made of *The First Foreign Invasion of the Deccan* by Prof. S. M. Kibe; *Administration of Justice under The Bahmanides* by Mr. Hafeez Siddiqi; *The City of Warangal in the 15th Century* by Prof. Subba Rao; *An Estimate of Sulṭān Qulī* by Mr. Nousher A. Mistri; *The Relations of Madras and Golconda* by Prof. Srinivasachari; *Some Unpublished Muslim Inscriptions from Sholapur* by Dr. 'Abdullāh Chaghṭā'i; *Maratha Levy on Hyderabad* by Dr. A. G. Pawar. As the time was inadequate for the reading of papers, the meeting was adjourned and continued

the next day. Nawab Ināyat Jung Bahadur, a distinguished nobleman of Hyderabad, gave a sumptuous dinner in the evening in honour of the Conference members at his residence in the city. The guests were deeply impressed by the hospitable and courteous spirit of the Nawab Saheb.

The Sectional meeting of Modern Period was held on 12th April at 10 a.m. and was presided over by Rao Bahadur Srinivasachari. The professor read his learned address covering the whole period with reference to the factors which made the modern age. Prof. Srinivasachari is an authority on the period and especially on the history of the Coromandal Coast and the South. The gathering was appreciative and the members took active part in the discussion. Seventeen papers were read in the Section, of which the following were very interesting. *Sāhū's letter to Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh* by Mr. A. G. Pawar; *Muzaffar Jung and his Relations with Pondicherry* by Mr. Moinuddin Rahbar Faruqi; *Akhbārs in Daftar-e-Diwānī* by Mr. R. M. Joshi; *Some Unpublished Letters by Šamšām-ud Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān* by Dr. Yūsuf Husain Khān; *Political Parties at Nizām 'Alī Khān's Court* by Prof. Mahmood 'Alī; *Reconstruction of the Maratha and Nizām's Relations* by G. S. Sardesai; *Āṣafjāhi Guns* by Moulvi Khwaja Mohamad Ahmad. The meeting ended at 2 p.m. and the delegates were taken to the Hyderabad Records Office after the lunch. The old books and the records which were nicely arranged in the office attracted the attention of almost all the delegates. The same afternoon Raja Sham Raj, the distinguished Hindu nobleman of Hyderabad and a retired Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council was At Home to the members of the Conference in his city palace. The members spent a very enjoyable afternoon in the Raja's palace inspecting the rare collections of books and paintings.

The business meeting which was held on 12th April at about 8-30 p.m. under the Presidentship of Hon'ble Mr. Grigson, was a very important item of the Conference. It was attended by almost all the delegates and members of Hyderabad and outside. The draft constitution of a permanent Deccan History Association which was prepared by the Subject Committee was placed before the meeting for consideration and approval. It was scrutinized closely item by item by the members and passed with necessary changes as the house deemed fit. The constitution, as revised and approved by the House, provides a Central Association for the study of Deccan History, with holding of periodical meetings and conferences as its primary object. Although the Association will be located at Hyderabad, which is the core of the Deccan, yet its Executive Committee will consist of members from Hyderabad as well as outside, so that it may represent the whole of the Deccan tableland and create general interest. The Association will manage to hold periodical meetings and biannual conferences in and outside Hyderabad. If the Conference is held outside Hyderabad, its arrangement will be left entirely

to the discretion of the local secretary and members of the Reception Committee with a fair representation of the Central Body. The meeting terminated at about 12 a.m.

The next day on 13th April an excursion was arranged to Kondapur, which is about 35 miles from Hyderabad, for the interest and benefit of the outside delegates. Kondapur is an ancient historical site which has been recently excavated and brought to the notice of archæologists and history scholars. The tour was thoroughly enjoyed. The same day at 5 p.m. the late Nawab Aqil Jung Bahadur, the Retired Vice-President of the Nizam's Executive Council, was At Home to the members of the Conference. It was arranged in the Botanical Garden of the University and thus the academic and social functions of the Conference were wound up in a fitting manner.

A. M.

Thesis :

In our last issue we gave a list of the theses of the Osmania University submitted this year. We have to add that a student appearing privately for M.A. in Arabic, submitted his thesis on *Jamil ibn Ma'mar and his Poetry*.

Muslim Journal in Telugu :

Muslims of Hyderabad had so far their organs either in Urdu or English. The Telugu edition of the daily *Mizān* may provide a thing of Islamic interest even outside Hyderabad. Hyderabad is a cosmopolitan city, and journals in half a dozen languages are flourishing there. There are now nine dailies in Urdu, three in English and two in Telugu, etc. An Arabic monthly has been contemplated as there are about sixty thousand Arabs who live in the city of Hyderabad, for whose benefit the Hyderabad radio provides an Arabic programme also.

Expansion of Arabic :

The Society for the Propagation of Arabic (Ishā'at 'Arabī) has roused very keen interest in Arabic in Hyderabad public. The weekly gatherings, arranged by it, where only Arabic is spoken, are attracting hundreds of people and even ladies attend them in large numbers. Its president, the Sultan of Mukalla has been evincing keen interest in its activities. The society has undertaken a publication programme, and steps are being taken to start as soon as possible at least a monthly journal in Arabic.

Under its impetus, one more girl has passed this year the Maulvi Kāmil (=M.A.) in Tafsir from Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah, Hyderabad, in the previous examination. There are now special schools even for girls for teaching Arabic in Hyderabad and the attendance is very encouraging. It is hoped that the Osmania University will also soon open the Theology Faculty in the College for Women since the question of lady teachers in Arabic has become a problem owing to great demand in schools.

Expansion of the Osmania University :

It is gratifying to note that the colleges for agriculture and veterinary science are to be opened from the next academic year, beginning in June 1945. The University has already got faculties of theology, arts science, law, engineering, medicine, and education.

Indo-Iranian Cultural Relation Society :

This Society is established under the presidentship of Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur. The aim of the society is to extend cultural relation between India and Iran. To achieve the object, this learned society intends to popularize modern Persian literature in India and with that aim in view it is going to publish a journal shortly.

M. H.

DECCAN

History of Gingee and its Rulers :

RAO BAHADUR Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari's attempt is in all respects commendable because Gingee being an interesting spot in South India, has been a very important city particularly in the mediæval period. The Rao Bahadur has very carefully traced its history from the beginning and has come to the last struggle between the Nawabs of Arcot and European powers. As far as sources are concerned he has utilised all possible available material. Specially he has made much use of the English Records of Fort St. George, Madras. Gingee held different names in different periods. Bijapur authorities called it Badshāhābad while Marathas who succeeded them called it Chandry or Chindry. The Mughals named it Nuṣrat Gadh in honour of Nawab Zulfikār Khān Nuṣrat Jang. Later, the English and the French called it Gingee or Jinji with varied spellings being derived from Tamil word Senji.

History of Indo-Muslim Coins :

Dr. P. M. Joshi has contributed a brief illustrated article on the title to the latest issue of the *Bharatiya Vidya*, Bombay. He has tried to discuss his thesis in a manner which is understandable to the lay man. It deals up to the early Sultāns of Delhi 1192-1325. One inscription found on Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish's coins contains the words :—

السلطان المعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر التتشمش القطبي ناصر امير المؤمنين

in which the word القطبي *al-Qutbī* requires a little further clarification though it is generally ignored by the numismatists for whom it was necessary to study the contemporary history of the period and cultural aspects of Islam. As Iltutmish was declared free by Sultān Qutb-u'd-Dīn Aibak and generally the freed slaves attributed themselves to the name of the person who freed them he himself had struck on his coins : *al-Qutbī* as an attribution to his master Qutb-u'd-Dīn. Moreover, according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, those Sultāns who succeeded Qutb-u'd-Dīn Aibak were called *Qutbiya Sultāns*. We understand that it was not necessary for Dr. Joshi to go so deep in this brief article ; however, we take the opportunity of this digression for the information of our readers.

An Illustrated MS. of the *Khamṣa-i-Nizāmī* with Mughal Miniatures :

Many treasures of Mughal art, which are in private collections, have not so far come to light although some of them contain sufficient data to solve certain cultural points of those days. Fortunately Mr. A. C. Ardeshir of Poona can claim to have unique and rare specimens of Mughal art in his collection both in the form of original illustrated manuscripts and miniatures which, we understand, are hitherto unknown. We are grateful to Mr. Ardeshir for his kindly allowing us to examine some of such specimens in his collection at his palace Firdous. We take, therefore, the earliest opportunity to describe one of them, the illustrated manuscript of the *Khamṣa-i-Nizāmī* (d. A.H. 598 or 599 or 602), which we consider of great importance. It is a small size ($6\frac{3}{4} \times 4$ inches) bound MS. It contains full-page thirty-five miniatures which are signed customarily in vermilion by the court artists of Akbar. The system of collaboration and division of work organised by Akbar is obvious from them as noted below :—

1. طرح و عمل نانها sketch and work by Nanha
2. عمل مکند work by Mukand
3. طرح و عمل مکند work by Mukand
4. طرح و عمل مکند work by Mukand
5. طرح و عمل فرخ یک sketch by La'l and work by Mado
6. طرح و عمل فرخ یک sketch and work by Farrukh Beg
7. عمل ابتدای مشق مرید در چهار مرتبه اخلاص یابی sketch and work by Sharif
8. طرح و عمل فرخ یک practice in early stages by Sharif, who, being a disciple in four stages of purity is firm (in the *Din-i-Ilāhi*)
9. طرح و عمل دهر مداس sketch and work by Farrukh Beg

by Basāwn and work by Dharm Das, 10. عمل مکند work by Mukand, 11. طرح لعل و عمل سانوله sketch by La'l and work by Sawnla, 12. عمل تارا کلان work by Tara Kalān—the elder, 13. عمل میر تقی work by Mir Taqi, 14. طرح بساون و عمل ؟... sketch by Basāwan and work by—? 15. الله اکبر عمل مرید در چهار مرتبه اخلاص پای بر جا شریف Allah is Great, work by Sharif, who, being a disciple in four stages of purity, is firm (in the Dīn-i-Ilāhī), 16. طرح بساون عمل عبدالله sketch by Basāwn and work by 'Abdulla, 17. طرح تارا عمل کیشو خورد sketch by Tara and work by Kesu Khurd—the younger, 18. عمل ماه محمد work by Mah Muhammad 19. طرح کسو کلان عمل منی چهره کار ناها sketch by Kesu Kalan—the elder, work by Muni and features of the face by Nanha, 20. طرح بساون عمل منوهر sketch by Basawn and work by Manohar, 21. طرح فرخ یک عمل دهر مداس sketch by Farrukh Beg and work by Dharam Das 22. طرح فرخ یک عمل دهنراج sketch by Farrukh Beg and work by Dhanraj, 23. طرح فرخ یک عمل دهر مداس sketch by Farrukh Beg and work by Dharam Das, 24. طرح فرخ یک عمل ؟... sketch by Farrukh Beg and work by—? 25. طرح دهنو عمل بهورا sketch by Dhanu and work by Bhura, 26. طرح و عمل دهنو sketch and work by Dhanu, 27. طرح تلسی عمل کسو خورد چهره کار ناها sketch by Tulsī, work by Kesu Khurd—the younger and features of the face by Nanha, 28. طرح لعل عمل ابراهیم sketch and work by Nanha, 29. طرح فرخ یک عمل ؟... sketch by La'l and work by Ibrahim, 30. طرح فرخ یک عمل ؟... sketch by Farrukh Beg and work by—? 31. طرح مکند عمل کسو خورد sketch by Mukand and work by Kesu Khurd, the younger, 32. طرح لعل عمل جگجیون sketch by La'l and work by Jagjiwan, 33. طرح لعل عمل سرون sketch by La'l and work by Sarwan, 34. طرح لعل عمل سانوله sketch by La'l and work by Sawnla, 35. عمل نامان work by Naman.

There are three colophons at the end of three Mathnawis of the MS. as noted here :—

(a) تم فی عاشر ربیع الاول سنه اثنا عشر وتسعمائه

Completed on 10th of the month of Rabi' I, year 912 A.H.

(b) تم الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب فی الرابع عشر شهر رجب المرجب سنه سبع وتسعمائه الهجرية یزد

Transcription completed by the grace of God on 14th of the month of Rajab, year 907 A.H. at Yazd.

(c) تمت الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب علی یدی اضعف عباد الله العلی علی بن مبارک الفهرجی

فی خامس عشرین شهر صفر حتم بالخیر والظفر السنه اثنا عشر وتسعمائه الهجرية المصطفویه

Transcription completed by the grace of God by the most humble slave of the people of the Almighty God, 'Alī, son of Mubārak al-Fahrjī, on 25th of the month of Šafar, year 912 of the Hijri era.

It shows that this MS. of the *Khamsa* was actually transcribed at the city of Yazd about fifty years before it came in possession of the Mughal court. Immediately after that the court artists of Akbar decided to illus-

trate it and as a result its miniatures, which were made by those artists, were completed. It cannot be denied that the miniatures are undoubtedly Mughal, which is obvious from the court dresses and other architectural details. Besides, it is also apparent that many of the miniatures, following the traditions of Persian miniatures, bear some parts of the text in their sphere by the same calligraphist who has done the rest of the MS. which immediately encourages one to doubt the authenticity and genuineness. Because the designs of the miniatures and fitting in them some of the verses apt for illustration depend upon the artists, although these may be inserted later on by the calligraphist according to the instructions of the artist. The only plausible solution of solving this puzzle is that this MS. of the *Khamsa*, which has been transcribed at Yazd, as one of its above-noted colophons shows, was in reality copied from another previously illustrated manuscript of the *Khamsa* and the later scribe followed the same designs and wrote in some of the spaces meant for the verses in the body of the miniatures. So it came to India without any illustration which was later on made by Akbar's artists; or that the original MS., from which it was copied, really existed before the artists of Akbar. However, so far it has not come to light. After this another question arises; who brought this MS. to India, or, how did it come into the possession of Akbar's library? Obviously it seems that it was one of those gifts which was brought to India from Iran by Humāyūn who was, as reported by his librarian Shaikh Manjhu (*Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, Persian text, p. 247), an inborn lover of books as he always used to carry his library even in his travels. Once he was at war with the Gujaratis in the outskirts of Cambay, a theft took place in his camp. According to Humāyūn himself, the most precious thing which was lost was the original MS. of the *Timūr Nāma* of Maulana Hātifi which was illustrated by Behzad and calligraphed by Sultān 'Alī (*Arabic History of Gujarat*, p. 244). Moreover, Abu'l-Faḍl states that when in Iran Humāyūn was the royal guest of Shāh Tahmāsp, he was furnished along with all royal festivities a library also full of those books which were artistically calligraphed and decorated and bound in varied colours (*Ruḡa'āt-i-Abu'l-Faḍl*, p. 21). Akbar's own library possessed the *Khamsa-i-Nizāmi* as one of its chief items. Therefore, it is possible that this MS. might have been lying among those books which were left by Humāyūn, and Akbar finding it without illustrations, got it illustrated by his court artists. It also cannot be denied that we already know one MS. of the *Khamsa* which was specially prepared by the command of Akbar and is now in the collection of Dyson Perrins. It was calligraphed by the great court calligraphist 'Abdu'r-Rahīm in the 40th regnal year and its miniatures were prepared under the supervision of Sharif, son of Khwāja 'Abdu's-Ṣamad Shirin Qalam, whose two miniatures Nos. 7 and 15 are found in the *Khamsa* of Mr. Ardeshtir. Dyson Perrins' *Khamsa's* colophon:—

..... کلک ارادت سلک بندہ قدیم فقیر حقیر عبدالرحیم

‘باہتمام مرید درجہار مرتبہ اخلاص پای برجا شریف صورت اتمام پذیرفت و السلام’.

(Vide-Percy Brown : *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, pl. xviii).

Dyson Perrins' manuscript's colophon and that of the *Razm Nāma* at Jaipur (Vied *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona*, 1944) show that Sharif, son of Khwāja 'Abdu's-Ṣamad Shirin Qalam was in charge of the studio of painters at Akbar's court.

An illustrated MS. of the Kalīla-wa-Dimna :

Once Buchthal Hugo wrote an article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1941, on *Indian Fables in Islamic Art*, in which he had shown that Indian fables of Bīd Pā'i, or the book of *Kalīla-wa-Dimna*, were among the first illustrated books at the court of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph of Baghdad. But when we carefully see these illustrations of the Arabic text, we find that they represent throughout contemporary Arabic life and not Indian life although the origin of the fables is Indian. It is either due to the artist's own Arabic environments in which he had made those miniatures or his ignorance of Indian background of those days. Besides, we find that whenever any Arabic text had been illustrated, the artist, without caring for anything, had tried to portray in his paintings only the Arabic life according to his own imagination, which was quite unlike the background of the miniatures found in the Persian MSS. By chance we come across one illustrated MS. of the *Kalīla-wa-Dimna* of a large size (12 × 20 inches) in the custody of Dr. Hamdāni, Ismā'il Yūsuf College, Bombay. Its opening page bears the panel which has the following inscription :—

هذا کتابٌ دلیله ودمنه تالیف الحکیم الفیلسوف الباهر بزرجمهر ابن البختگان نسخه من خط
علاء الهند الى لسان الفارسی - نسخ من الفارسیه الى العربیه کذا ذکره فی ترجمه المواد و صح
ذلک عنه . غفی عنه بمنه و کرمه والسلام

and its colophon is this :—

تمت کتابتہ بحمد الله وعونه و حسن توفیقہ فی يوم الثاني من شهر ذی القعدة سنہ ۱۰۸۳ بعد
النبي المختار و صلی علیہ الله الجلیل الجبار . کتبه العبد الضعیف میا آدمخان ابن جاند بیان ولد
محمد غفر ذنوبه _____ الواحد الاحد .

Had there been no date (A.H. 1084) and the name (Mian Ādam Khān son of Chānd Mian, son of Muḥammad) of the calligraphist who was no doubt, of Indian origin, we would have unhesitatingly assigned this MS. to some artist belonging to some Arabian country, who would have done it in either 13th or 14th century of the Christian era. It is all due to the Arabic text of the *Kalīla-wa-Dimna* which is very artistically illustrated

purely on Arabic traditions of life. This illustrated MS. can be placed side by side with those of other Arabic texts like *Maqāmāt-i-Ḥarīrī*, *Kalīla-wa-Dimna*, etc., of much earlier dates than this or it is an exact copy of some old similar MS.

Alwar Manuscript of the Wāqī'āt-i-Bābari :

In connection with the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Udaipur, an exhibition of antiquities was also arranged by the State authorities. There were numerous MSS. of the *Wāqī'āt-i-Bābari* from different collections of Rajputana. The main reason of it may be Babar's early struggles in India against the Rajputs. Fortunately the well-known MS. of the same from Alwar State was also exhibited, which is really very important owing to its merits. We are grateful to Mr. Chunni Lal, the officer in-charge of the State Museum, for his kindly affording us an opportunity of examining it carefully on the spot. This MS. is of a large size and it has several miniatures purely in Mughal style, though they have been retouched by some later artist which has marred the real value of these miniatures from artistic point of view. Besides, its later binding, though very artistically prepared in gold, etc. has also caused a great harm to its literary value, because almost every leaf's original margin has been replaced ; which, we understand, bore the names of artists. However, we are glad that its original colophon which we regard its chief item, is there as noted here :—

هذا الكتاب المسمى به تَزْك و اَقَاعَات بَابَرِي بِحَسَبِ فَرْمَانِ وَاجِبِ الْاِذْعَانِ شَاهَزَادَةِ عَالَمِ
وَعَالِيَانِ مَرشد زاده جهان و جهانیان محمد هایون طلع الله نیر اقباله و شوکتہ فی یوم السِّلْعِ من
شهر جمادی الثانی سنہ سبع و ثلاثون وتسعائہ من الهجرة بفضلہ وحسن توفيقہ بید العبد الضعیف
علی الکاتب غفر الله ذنوبہ صورت اتمام و طریق اختتام یافت

This book known as *Tuzuk-i-Wāqī'āt-i-Bābari* is transcribed in compliance with the *Farmān* of the prince Muḥammad Humāyūn, may Allāh perpetuate his dignity, on the last day of the month of Jumāda II, year nine hundred and thirty-seven, at the hands of 'Alī al-Kātib, the most humble. May Allāh forgive his sins."

The main importance of this MS. in its present condition only lies in this colophon, because owing to this many scholars like Prof. Hodivala doubted its authenticity (*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 433). This MS. records events of Bābar's life up to Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Muḥarram, year 936 A.H. Perhaps the State authorities are unaware that another MS. of the *Wāqī'āt-i-Bābari*, which is an exact copy of this Alwar MS., is in the British Museum, London (Rieu, p. 926, Or. 1827) which was done in about 1850. When we carefully study the question of the Persian translation of the *Memoirs* from the Chaghatai Turki language of Babar, we come to the conclusion that there are three translations of the same and one of them is contemporaneous with the period

i.e. :—“(1) by Zainu'd-Dīn Khwāfi Wafā'i (D. A. H. 940), (2) by Mirza Payanda Hasan Ghaznawi and Muḥammad Quli Mughal Hisari (commenced about A.H. 994) (3) by Mirza 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khānān, son of Bairam Khān (undertaken in A.H. 998).

In these circumstances, we think, Mr. Beveridge is right in suggesting that the Persian version, which passes under the name of Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān Khānān, existed even in Humāyūn's time and many other scholars also hold the same view. This State MS. of the *Wāq'āt* bears seals and endorsements of Sultān's officials, etc., i.e., of Muḥammad Humāyūn 942, I'timād Khān Jahānī and others on its opening page. Specially one endorsement is worth notice here : بعد نماز پیشین سلاطه شد ۹۴۲ which means it was inspected after the mid-day prayer by Muḥammad Humāyūn in 942 A.H. On two miniatures two names of artists :—Muḥammad and Sa'dullāh Muḥammad are found by some later hand. In short this MS. has been in the library of the Mughal kings and other officials.

The late Prof. Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala :

Prof. Hodivala is a well-known authority on Indo-Muslim history which is mostly due to his exhaustive and voluminous researches in this period. His works are : *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* a critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* ; *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, *Studies in Parsi History*, etc. Prof. Hodivala is well-known for the extreme accuracy of his writings and lectures. He is an institution by himself because the work which he produced single-handed could only have been produced by a group of scholars having various qualifications. Whenever any visitor used to go to him, he immediately, after ascertaining the special purpose of his visit and his standard of qualification as well in some particular branch of knowledge used to put him questions relating particularly to the visitor's own branch of knowledge, which in reality were not to test the ability of the visitor as to utilise his special knowledge with a view to solve his (Hodivala's) own certain difficulties lying pending for solution for years. The visitor was immediately terrified at his volley of unexpected questions which he never studied before from that point of view. It must be borne in mind that where a many-sided savant like Prof. Hodivala could not succeed, it was not a riddle but an impossibility to be solved. Therefore some persons found him very stiff in his behaviour. He was throughout and always a student of *History*. Just before his death he had completed the second volume of the *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*. He was born in 1867 at Surat, where he completed his secondary education. He took his M.A. of the Bombay University in 1890. After it he joined the service of the Baroda College and then came to Wilson College, Bombay. When Baha'ud-Din College, Junagadh, was founded in 1902, he joined the

service of this State college as Prof. of History. In 1920 he became the principal of the same college which he held up to 1927 till he retired from there in that capacity. He died at Santa Cruz on 25th November 1944 at the residence of his daughter. Now he is dead but this great Parsi scholar and professor will ever be remembered by keen students of Indo-Muslim history for his researches in this branch of knowledge.

M.A.C.

DELHI

An Indian Academy of Islamic Research :

THE All-India Muslim Educational Conference appointed a Committee of experts to devise a scheme of founding an academy of research. The Committee met under the chairmanship of Sir Azizul Haq at his residence in New Delhi. The meeting was attended by Professor A. B. A. Haleem, Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid Qureshi, Dr. Abdul Sattar Siddiqi, Professor H. K. Sherwani, Mian Afzal Husain, Saiyid Altaf Husain and Dr. I. H. Qureshi. The Committee under the able guidance of the chairman drew up a scheme which has since been presented to the Standing Committee of the All-India Educational Conference and has been accepted. It is sincerely hoped that the scheme will be fruitful and a central academy of Islamic research for the whole of India will become a reality ; this is urgently needed in view of the gradual eclipse of Islamic learning in India.

An Islamic Research Association :

A group of young enthusiasts has organised a local study group, rather ambitiously styled as an association, where papers are read on Islamic subjects. Hitherto papers have been read on the following subjects :—

1. *Mongol Strategy and Technique of Warfare.*
2. *The Splendour of Cordova.*
3. *Modern Iran.*
4. *Saiyyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn al-Afghānī.*

Study Groups on Islamic Countries :

The Indian Institute of International Affairs has appointed study groups on Persia, Afghanistan, and the Persian Gulf. Of these the group on Persia has done some work.

I.H.Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Yaum-un-Nabī, i.e. our beloved Prophet's Day, which falls in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, is observed throughout India with ever-increasing signs of religious fervour and rejoicings. Big meetings, spectacular processions, illuminating speeches, special editions of periodicals and newspapers in English and Urdu are some of the distinct features of the occasion. Different cities and towns vie with each other in making their programmes a great success. In Bengal there was hardly a town which did not celebrate this day. The metropolitan city of Calcutta wore a gala appearance on this occasion. A huge concourse of Muslims gathered in every part of the city to pay homage to their dear Prophet (Peace be on him !). Mr. H. S. Suhrwardy, Minister, Civil Supplies, addressed a gathering of over 10,000, persons, who had assembled in Budge Budge. Speaking in Bengalee, he said : "Islam stands for peace, unity, equality, fraternity and liberty, and every Muslim is required to carry the lamp of knowledge and the teaching of Islam to the remotest and darkest corners of the earth." The Muslim Press of Calcutta also gave extraordinary amount of attention in broadcasting the proceedings of the meetings held in different corners of India as well as in publishing in its columns various articles on the life of the Prophet and message of Islam. *The Morning News*, paying homage editorially to the Holy Prophet wrote thus under the caption 'Yaum-un-Nabī':— "The light which appeared in the desert shed its effulgence far and wide. The semi-barbarous and cruel Arabs, who literally fought over trifles, were transformed almost overnight, as if by the touch of a magic wand, into a decent human nation and entrusted with the standard of Islam to carry it into the four corners of the globe. Fired with a missionary zeal and fervour, the Arabs strove hard and within a short time achieved wonders. While Europe was sunk in the darkness of ignorance and medieval barbarism, the Islamic world achieved a civilization and culture which is the wonder of the historians. The Renaissance and the Reformation were the direct outcome of the contact of Islam which led to a new awakening in Christendom. Cordova and Granada were the models for the many colleges and universities established throughout Europe. The spirit of enquiry engendered by Muslim thought and Muslim exactitude and experimentation, was the precursor of the giant stride man has made over nature today." *The Star of India* gave expression of similarly profound feelings and vindicated the sublime teachings of Islam by asserting : "The pros and cons of outstanding issues like the prejudices of class and colour, basis of international relationships, more equitable distribution of wealth, both within the framework of a family and a society, a less irrational readjustment of the economic system, based as it is on interest-motive, and easier matrimonial relationships are still eluding the grasp of thinkers and economists in Europe and America. That they are steadily gravitating towards the mode of life, which humanity's noblest benefactor gifted to Muslims and

the rest of mankind as long as thirteen hundred years ago, is more than a mere accident. It is symbolic of the trend of times. It underlines the bankruptcy of the various man-made laws and regulations, which have dragged down humanity into the mess in which it is blindly floundering."

Coincidentally, both the above papers besought the intercession of the Holy Prophet to lead erring humanity back to the straight path amidst the present depredation and devastation of war in the realm of morality and ethics by quoting the following line :

اے بہ سرا ہر دہ یثرب بخواب خیز کہ شد مشرق و مغرب خواب

"O thou, sleeping behind the curtain in Yathrib, rise, for the East and West have been desolated." This line is from a dirge which was cried in agony by Sa'di, the sage of Shiraz, on the downfall of the 'Abbāsids and the sack of Baghdad. *The Star of India* published also a number of articles on the occasion, amongst which the address delivered by the Hon'ble Sir Moḥammad 'Aziz-ul-Ḥaq, the Commerce Member of H. E. the Viceroy's Executive Council, in the Prophet's Day at Bombay, was given much prominence. The learned speaker dwelt at length on the teachings of the Holy Prophet, the social and political ideology as well as the spiritual outlook in Islam, which controls the entire labyrinth of economic and moral activities. He also referred to the international code of war in Islam and revelled in the glories of the Muslim rule in different parts of the world by making the following tangible remarks:— Qutub-ud-Din assumed the kingship of India in 1206 and Aurangzēb died in 1707, a span of five hundred years. But it is exactly this span of 500 years which gives us another picture of the other parts of the world uninfluenced by Islam. Ecclesiastical authorities then condemned every faith outside their own as demonology or paganism. The story of the Jewish persecution for the troubles prevalent at the time, the sufferings of the Protestants, the penalties paid by the Quakers, the beheading, strangling, crucifixion, fixing upon stakes, suspending with iron hooks, burning, drowning and slow mutilation of the inhabitants of Piedmont by the orders of the Duke of Savoy, because they did not consent to become Roman Catholics, and again, the tales of the atrocities of inquisition in this period, are too dismal chapters in human history. Place all these events side by side with those beneficent rules which made the Muslim chapter famous in the history of the world. When Mughal kings were perfecting their own administration and revenue organisation and were encouraging men of science and art in every possible way, and when learned men were receiving grants and endowments in India, Galileo was being persecuted for his great discovery of science.

The non-Muslim press as well as some non-Muslim eminent men also participated in the celebration of the Prophet Day. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, which is one of the most influential and popular Hindu dailies, and is published simultaneously from Calcutta and Allahabad,

presented before its reader an article having striking caption of *Mohammad Rasūl Allāh*. in which some aspects of the teaching of the Prophet were dealt with. At Benares the celebration was presided over by Dr. Bhagwan Das, the exponent of Hindu philosophy, who read out a short paper dealing with the exalted position of the Prophet and with the salient teachings of the Holy Qur'an, supported by copious quotations from other scriptures. And the most noteworthy speech on the occasion was of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, who addressed a meeting at Trivandrum. The Dewan said that he was an ardent admirer of ethics and of the religion of Islam, which had played a great part in the history of the world and it might still play in future composite civilization towards which the world was tending. As regards the ethics of Islam, he said that no religion had striven to maintain the balance between worldly happiness and secular comfort on the one hand and possession and enjoyment of this world with consolation of the other world on the other as evenly as Islam has done. Further, there is no religion since the foundation of the world which has practised democracy as Islam has done.

According to the popular belief, the date of the Holy Prophet's birth is Monday, the 12th Rabi'-ul-Awwal, but the authoritative version is that the Holy Prophet was born on Monday, the 9th Rabi'-ul-Awwal (20th April, 571 A.D.), and died on Monday the 1st Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 11 A.H. (Vide *Sīrat-un-Nabī*, Vol I, p. 160, and Vol. II, p. 171).

A Muslim publicist of Bengal, Mr. Nūr Ahmad, M.L.C. (Bengal), in an article entitled *The Condition of Muslim Education in Bengal* draws attention to the recently appointed Post-War Educational Sub-Committee of the province to prepare a special post-war ten or fifteen year plan for the rapid advancement of Muslims in all branches of education in Bengal. He reproduces figures from the latest Government Educational Reports and Reviews and deplores that after about one hundred and ninety years of British rule the Muslims of Bengal can claim, according to the latest census of 1942, a literacy of 1.4 p.c. As a sad contrast to the present low percentage of Muslim education in Bengal, he refers piquantly to the glorious system of education of Muslims during the palmy days of the Muslim rule. His version is corroborated by the authoritative statements of European writers, some of which may be briefly quoted here for the general interest of our readers. According to Munro, "in pre-British days, there were schools in every village." John Mathai, in his book entitled *Village Administration in India* says that when the British took possession of this country, they found in most parts of the country specially in Bengal 'a wide-spread system of education.' Mr. Adam in his Education Report says that there were one lakh of schools in Bengal and Behar and on an average there was a school for every sixty-three boys. Mr. E. C. Beiley, C.I.E., observes, "The Muslims possessed a system of education which though inferior to our own was by

no means to be despised at and was capable of affording a high degree of intellectual learning and polish and was founded in principle not only wholly sound but infinitely superior to any other system of education that existed in India. The system secured the Muslims an intellectual as well as material supremacy during the first seventy-five years of the British rule." The late Mrs. Annie Besant in her *Kamala* lectures, delivered under the auspices of the Calcutta University, describes in glowing terms the glorious system of education established by the Muslims of Bengal on the eve of the British Rule. How that glorious system of education supported by endowments of the value of three crores of rupees was destroyed, is very pathetically narrated by W.W. Hunter in his famous book *the Indian Mussalmans*.

Dr. Mahdi Husain (now of the Calcutta University) has in a short article entitled *The Sirāj-ud-Daula of Mysore* urges his readers to make a dispassionate study of Nawab Fateh 'Alī Tipū Sultān, whom he has styled the Sirāj-ud-Daula of Mysore for, like Sirāj-ud-Daula of Bengal, Tipū Sultān is still the victim of venomous attacks by many historians. According to Dr. Mahdi Husain, Tipū Sultān of Mysore was an able administrator, a man of letters and refined taste. He introduced a new calendar, a new scale of weight and measure, and a new coinage. He compiled also a military code comprising of eighteen chapters, which he called 'The Triumph of Holy Warriors.' It contained detailed information about the duties of all grades of officers. He also established a Board of Admiralty and laid down minute details and principles concerning the Board's works. He was kind and liberal to his non-Muslim subjects and devised measures to improve the prosperity of the peasant and constructed a great dam which has been rebuilt by one of the rulers of the present dynasty of Mysore and named Krishnaraj Sagar. An inscription of the Sultān which has been discovered from within the Sagar runs as follows :

"In the name of God who is kind and merciful : in the year 1221 of the era beginning with the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad, (Peace be on him !) On the 29th of the month of Taqī on Monday, early in the morning before sunrise at a very auspicious hour by the kindness of God and the help of the Prophet, the great Caliph of the age and of the world, the king of kings, Tipū Sultān who is the shadow of the great Almighty God (may He preserve him and his dominions !) laid the foundation of the dam on the Cauvery river in the West of the capital. Ours to begin and it is for Providence to complete it. May God preserve this dam till the Day of Judgement and may it stand like stars. It is hereby announced that millions of rupees that have been spent for the construction of this dam have been spent merely in the name of God. While the present holdings and farms are altogether exempted from payment of all kinds, a peasant irrigating henceforth a new farm with the water of this Sagar will pay three-fourth of the usual amount

(of tax), and the remaining one-fourth is hereby forgiven in the name of God. The new piece of land which has been thus irrigated and cultivated with the water of this Sagar will be confirmed to the cultivators', descendants as long as heaven and earth last. Should anyone violate or infringe this commandment of infinite charity, he would be considered mean like Satan; and he would be considered an enemy not only of the peasants but also of the whole human race."

The Indian Culture of Calcutta (Vol. XI, No. 2) has published a well-documented article on *Successors of Ikhtyār-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī*. It deals chiefly with the political history of 'Izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Sherān Khaljī (1206-1207 A.D.), Ḥusām-ud-Dīn 'Iwaz Khaljī (1207-1209/10 A.D.), 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Mardān Khaljī (1216-1227 A.D.), Abul-Fath Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd (1227-29), 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Daulat Shāh Khaljī (1229-1230 A.D.) and Ikhtyār-ud-Dīn Bālka Khaljī (1230-1231 A.D.), all of whom succeeded to the head of the Khaljī oligarchy in Bengal. Some details in the above article have been gleaned from the numismatic sources also, and the writer contends that Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn 'Iwaz Khaljī was the first Muslim ruler in India to have secured the investiture from the Caliph of Baghdad. For the earliest known coin of 'Iwaz is dated 616 A.H. (1219) A.D. with the legend "Sultān-ul-Mu'azzam Ghiyāth-ud-Duniyā-wad-Dīn 'Abd-ul-Fath 'Iwaz bin 'Alī Ḥusain' and with the inscription 'Nāṣir Amīr-ul-Mū'minīn,' signifying obedience to the caliph Abul-'Abbās Aḥmad Nāṣir-le-Dīnillāh (575-622 A.H./1179-1225 A.D.). This coin was minted in Bengal—a fact which shows the establishment of the Bengal mint by 'Iwaz and also the beginning of Bengal coinage. In 617 A.H. (1220 A.D.), with the issue of the type of the previous year, there appeared two more new types of coins, bearing the title of 'Sultān ul-A'zam' and the inscription An-Nāṣir-le-Dīnillāh, of which one type had the name of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir (June, 1220 A.D.) specially mentioned. These two types continued with modification of the legend till 620 A.H. (1223 A.D.), and in 621 A.H. (1224 A.D.) the special issue bears the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir (June 1224 A.D.). These numismatic evidences show that 'Iwaz got the patents of the caliph of Baghdad many years before 'Iwaz's antagonist Sultān Iltutmish of Delhi got the investiture from the caliph who sent it to the latter in 626 A.H. (1229 A.D.). If our readers of *Islamic Culture* are interested in further details of 'Iwaz's coins they may refer to the *Journals* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873, p. 354-58 o; 1881, p. 57-67; 1929, p. 17, plate III, No. 3; also the *Journal* of Royal Asiatic Society, 1873, p. 352-58 and Wright's *Indo-Muslim Coins*, Vol. II, p. 145-6.

A lady writer, Wahida 'Aziz, in a brief article, contributed to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, (Northern India edition), makes an interesting study of the tile-mosaic which was extensively used in embellishing buildings, mosques and tombs during the Muslim rule in India. According to the writer, the term Kāshī, by which tile-work and faience are indicated,

is derived from Kāshān, a town in Iraq. It was imported into Europe by the Arabs and adopted by the Italians under the name of majolica. The earliest examples of tile-decorations in India are found in the tombs of Rukn-i-ʿĀlam at Multan, Sikandar Lodi at Khairpur, the mosque of Wazīr Khān and Chau Burji (Four-towers) at Lahore and a few others at the capital city of Delhi. These are elaborately ornamented with glazed tile panels, string courses and battlements, and the colours used in them are dark, blue, azure and white, and the patterns are raised from half an inch to two inches above the background. The beauty of colour with the light and shade of a raised pattern made these tile-works highly attractive. The tile-mosaic was commonly employed as a vehicle of æsthetic expressions in the Mughal period, and some of their delightful and rare specimens are still to be found in the Imperial Palace of Lahore. The greater part of the frontage of the palace is covered with designs in inlaid enamelled tiles, including figures of men, horses and elephants, symbolised representations of Zodiacal signs and the angels who preside over each day and the month of the year. Again, the wall-decoration consists of a series of arched panelling in flat projection, broken by horizontal bands of mixed enamelled and carved fretwork of geometrical design. And then there is a great variety of subjects, comprising birds, procession of loaded camels, demons with cloven hoofs, dragons, dancing girls, horsemen and scene of the game of Chaugān. Again, the walls of the royal apartments present some battle scenes and pictures of a large number of animals now unknown in India. The writer of the above article concludes by saying that "it is strange that this remarkable and attractive embellishment of buildings by tile-mosaics has escaped the notice of European and Indian writers and equally astonishing that there are people who are unaware of it at their gates."

During the period under report *Muṣannif*, a quarterly journal of the Majlis-i-Muṣannifin, Aligarh, has presented to its readers many useful articles, one of which deals with the Arabic sources of the history of the Sultāns of Gujrat.

Books mentioned in the article are as follows :

(1) *الصوره الامع في القرن التاسع* by Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-ibn-ʿAbdur-Rahmān as-Sakhāwī (died 902 A.H.). It gives an account of the rulers and scholars of Gujarat flourishing in the 9th century A.H. It consists of twelve volumes and has been printed in 940 A.H. in Egypt.

(2) *بدائع الزهور في وقائع الدهور* by Aḥmad bin Ayas of Egypt (died 932 A.H.). It is a history of Egypt in three volumes, with two more complimentary volumes, which have been printed in Istanbūl. The latter volumes describe the relations of the Sultāns of Gujrat with the Ghoris and Turkish rulers with special reference to the former's aid against the Portuguese.

(3) *رياض الزموان في مآثر المستد العالی آصف خان* by Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad

ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar al-Haithami (died 974 A.H.): This is a treatise, giving an account of Sultān Bahādur Shāh's Vizier Āṣaf Khān who migrated to Mecca with his royal master's family. During his sojourn in Mecca, Āṣaf Khān had close association with many learned scholars, amongst whom was also the author of the above treatise. An abridgment of this booklet is to be found in *Ẓafar-ul-Wāliḥ* by 'Abdullāh Muḥammad, Vol. I, p. 333-390. The manuscript of the original text is preserved in the libraries of Berlin and Leyden.

(4) *مرآة المالك* by 'Alī ibn Husain, popularly known as Sidi 'Alī, who was Turkish admiral and distinguished himself as an explorer and oceanographer. He conducted naval battles against the Portuguese with his fleet anchored at Basra, but was defeated, and then driven by repeated gales to the Indian coast from where he reached Ahmedabad. Here he finished in 1554 his great compilation *Al-Muḥiṭ* which supplies valuable information concerning the progress and the state of Muslim oceanography at the end of the Middle ages. In 1556 he started on his journey back to Turkey, travelling by land across Sind, the Punjab, Afghanistan, Turkistan, Khorasan, Adharbaijan and Iraq. He wrote the adventurous accounts of his travels in *Mir'at-ul-Mamālik*, the fourth and the fifth chapters of which deal with India and Gujrat respectively. The book has been printed at Constantinople in 1313 A.H. and translated into several European languages. A. Vambéry has rendered it into English entitled *The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis* (London 1899).

(5) *البرق الباقى فى فتح العثماني* by Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad an-Nahrawālī, who was born in 917 A.H., (1511 A.D.) at Mecca where his father, a member of a scholarly Indian family, had migrated from Nahrawālā in Gujrat. This book is a history of Turkish rule in Yemen from 900 to 982 A.H. but gives also details of Sultān Bahādur Shāh's naval battles which he fought against the Portuguese with the help of the fleet and cannons sent to him by Sultān Salīm ibn Sulaimān of Turkey in 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.). Its manuscripts are found in the libraries of Leyden, Paris, Escorial and Khadieviah (Cairo). Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad an-Nahrawālī is the author of several other books also, viz. (i) *التنزيل والمحاضرة بالادبيات المرفوعة النادرة* (a poetical anthology intended to supply quotations for letter-writers preserved in the libraries of Leyden and Cairo), (ii) *كنز الاسماء فى فن المعاني* (a collection of riddles, preserved in the libraries of Berlin, Escorial and Cairo), (iii) *الاعلام باعلام بيت الله الحرام* which has been printed in Egypt in 1305 A.H. on the margins of *خلاصة الكلام* by Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Zainabī Dahlan.

(6) *الزور السافر فى اخبار القرن العاشر* by Muḥīy-ud-Dīn 'Abd-ul-Qādir, whose ancestors came to Gujrat from Yemen. The book, written in 1012 A.H. and printed at Baghdad in 1353 A.H., deals with eminent scholars of Gujrat, who flourished in the 10th Century A.H. Some useful references

to the contemporary rulers of Gujrat are also found in it. The author died in 1037 A.H.

(7) *ظفر الواله المغفر واله* by 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Makki al-Āṣafī Ulughkhānī, popularly known as Hājib-ud-Dabir, who wrote it in the years between 1015 and 1020 A.H. Its texts have been published in three vols. by Sir E. Denison Ross from London in 1910, 1921 and 1928 A.D. It forms the most valuable authority for the history of the Sultāns of Gujrat, but has not been as yet properly utilized by scholars.

(8) *النور السافر في اخبار القرن العاشر* by Muḥammad ibn Abī-Bakr ash-Shilli, who lived in the 11th Century A.H. This is a supplement of *النور السافر في اخبار القرن العاشر* and gives an account of the naval battles fought between the Sultān of Gujrat and the Portuguese. Its manuscript is preserved in the library of Amīr Aḥmad Timūr Pāshā, (Egypt). The author also wrote *المشروع الزوى في مناقب آل علوى* which gives useful accounts about some scholars and divines of Gujrat.

(9) *زهوة المجلس ومنية الاديب الانيس* by Al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī ibn Nūr-ud-Dīn al-Makki al-Musawī compiled in 1148 A.H. and printed in two volumes at Wabibia Press, Egypt. It is a diary of the author's travels in Egypt, Palestine, Iran, India and Egypt. The author's accounts of Gujrat, though written incoherently, are yet very useful and may be gleaned and culled from Vol. I, on pp. 367, 371, 385, 389, 391, 394, 396, and again from Vol. II, on pp. 17, 20, 22, 28, 50, 51, 63, 65, 92, 93, 131, 133 and 135. Professor 'Abdul-'Aziz Maiman of Muslim University Aligarh, has collected together these sparse descriptions of Gujrat from the above book, and published their translations in Urdu in the journal *Zabān* (1927, Mangrol). Besides the above-mentioned Arabic books, dealing with some aspects of the history of Gujrat, there are in the library of the Dargāh of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh at Ahmadabad a large number of Arabic manuscripts which either in their beginning or in their end consist of some writings and seal-prints throwing light on the history, culture and literature of Gujrat. These writings and seal-prints have been included in the *Catalogue* of the above library.

A contributor of *Ma'ārif*, Azamgarh (Feb. 1945) throws light on the Persian translation of *Tārikh-i-Ibn-i-Khallikān*. According to him, four translations of *Tārikh-i-Ibn-i-Khallikān* were made in Persian. The first one was done by Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad in 889 A.H. on the order of Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujrat, commonly called Maḥmūd Bigarab, who reigned from 863 to 917 A.H. The title of this Persian text bore the name of *منظر الاسنان في ترجمة وفيات الاعيان*. Its manuscripts are reserved in the libraries of British Museum and Daftar-i-Diwani, Hyderabad, Deccan, and also in the library of Prof. Maḥmūd Shērānī of Lahore. The second translation in Persian was made by Kabīr ibn Owais ibn Muḥammad Latīfī at the instance of Sultān Salīm I of Turkey, who reigned from 918 to 926 A.H. Its manuscript is in Ouseley's Collection No.

376 and King's College Library (No. 110). The third Persian translation was completed by Zahir-ud-Din Ardbeli (died in Egypt 930 A.H.) referred to by Tash Kubrazada in الشقائق النعمانية (vide the marginal column of Ibn-i-Khallikān, Vol. I, p. 507). The fourth rendering was accomplished by Shaikh Kabir ibn Shaikh Munavvar Lahori, who died at Ahmadabad in 1026 A.H. (vide B. M. Cat. Vol. III, p. 1085). Shaikh Kabir flourished in Akbar's time. Mulla 'Abdul-Qādir Badāyūnī has mentioned him in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, (Vol. III, p. 106) but Badāyūnī has not referred to his Persian translation of *Tārikh-i-Ibn-i-Khallikān*.

In another contribution of the same journal (March 1945), some useful historical informations have been gathered from the Qasidas of Suzani of Nasaf or Samarqand who lived in the sixth century A.H. and grew famous chiefly for his ribald and satirical verses. A collection of his verses is in the library of Šadar Yar Jung Bahadur, Habibgunj (Aligarh), and some of these verses have helped to know contemporary events of Suzani's days, which have been ignored owing to the paucity of historical literature. And yet another article in April number of the journal discusses the authorship of مدينة العلوم and proves that مفتاح السعادة and مدينة العلوم are one and the same works compiled by Tash Kubrazada, and it is quite erroneous to say that the author of مدينة العلوم is Arniqi. A manuscript of this book is in the library of Nadawat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow.

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

The Punjab University Arabic & Persian Society :

The Society, as usual, had a crowded programme for the current winter session, during which many valuable and interesting papers were read. We have space to refer to a few of them only. The learned secretary of the Society, Dr. S. M. 'Abdullāh presented a paper on *Shahr Āshōb* (شهر آشوب), which he defined as a kind of poem deploing the economic, social and political decay of a town or country. As essential part of its scheme, the *Shahr Āshōb* must also describe the various classes of society, including artisans and craftsmen of different kinds. In the opinion of the writer, it originated in Turkish comical and humorous poetry, and was continued in the garb of Persian satire. In India it began with the Persian *Mathnawī* of Bihishti, but received a definite shape and form in Urdu at the hands of Mīr and Saudā, who described the economic distress of the country in ironic manner. This genre of poetry reached its zenith in those poems which deplore the sack of Delhi and the destruction of its social life. Some poems of Hālī, Shibli, Ismā'il and Iqbāl too, bear some of the features of *Shahr Āshōb*, and may

therefore be regarded as irregular forms of the same. Kaifi has also written a poem, called عالم آشوب describing the disturbed conditions of the contemporary world.

Khwāja 'Abdul-Hamīd M.A. of the Government College, Lahore, read a thoughtful paper on the *Conception of Man in Islam*. He based his conception of man in Islam on the view developed by Iqbal in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*. The argument revolved round the Qur'ānic account of (1) the 'Trust' which man accepted at his peril, and (2) the appointment of man by God as His viceregent on earth. The lecturer accepted Iqbal's interpretation of the Trust as the 'gift of free choice,' and considered the psychological evidence in support of this view. In this connection, he contrasted the Qur'ānic view of the relation between man's actual nature and the ideal towards which it should tend with the Kantean view, and declared that the Qur'ānic view was not only more in accordance with evidence, but was also more comprehensive and profounder of the two. The elaboration of this part of the subject entailed a discussion of the mutual relation of man's original upright nature (فطرة) and his actual lapses, both of which are emphasised in the Qur'ān. The writer believed that the contradiction between the two views of man's nature is superficial, and that the relation can be understood in the sense of 'potentiality' and its 'actualization,' the latter being the result of a proper use of the 'gift of free choice or the Trust' which he accepted at his peril.

Professor Wilfrid C. Smith of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, contributed an interesting paper on an important aspect of the history of the Mughal rule in India. In his introductory remarks, the learned Professor emphasized that the subject-matter of Indian historical study must be broadened, so as to include not only war, government and the life of the upper classes, but also the life and social development of other groups in society, such as peasants and workers. He admitted the difficulty of finding source materials for these studies, since the extant records were written almost exclusively by the nobles or their protégés; but argued that this difficulty could be overcome by patient research and a re-oriented point of view. His own paper dealt with instances in which the upper and the lower classes of Mughal times came in contact with each other through the reluctance of the latter to pay their revenue, or their violent risings against their rulers. In addition to three or four minor incidents taken from the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, (viz., popular outbreaks from 1610 to 1612 in Patna, Delhi, Qanawj and Thattah, and the participation of the common people in the Kishtwar troubles a decade later), the uprisings of the Jats (1669) and the Satnamis (1672) were discussed at some length, and the popular and nationalist Pathān movements, Rawshaniya and others were dealt with. It was concluded that, so far as our extant source material indicates, these uprisings were in form class struggles; in ideology, partly class and partly religious conflicts;

that in the minds both of the people revolting and of the upper class nobility who fought against them, and of the contemporary historians, the social and economic as well as the religious interpretation was prominent.

New Publications :

Among the books recently published by Shaikh Moḥammad Ashraf of Lahore, we have to mention the *Select Writings and Speeches of Maulana Mohammad 'Alī*, which have been compiled and edited by Mr. 'Afzal Iqbal, M.A. It is a closely-printed volume of about 500 pages, comprising 26 writings on various subjects, which the late Mr. Mohammad 'Alī contributed to the various periodicals, including the *Comrade* which was edited by himself; written as they are in the writer's well-known and universally admired, elegant and forceful style, they make a most enjoyable reading. These writings deal with various subjects of Islamic and Indian interest, and possess a great documentary value as land-marks in the history of the political awakening of India in general and Muslim India in particular.

SH.I.

FOREIGN

Turkish Version of the Encyclopædia of Islam :

THE interest of Turks in things Islamic is gaining momentum. The appreciation of their cultural heritage has induced the Turkish ministry of education to undertake the translation into Turkish of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and the work has been entrusted to the University of Istanbul.

The work is going apace, even during the war, and over a dozen fascicules have already appeared under the name of *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. It is not a mere translation, but a revised edition in Turkish. The name of Prof. Aḥmad Fuād Köprülü and a score and more of his collaborators have earned such a confidence that, in the words of a critic in a recent issue of *JRAS* the extra material and corrections in the Turkish version will have soon to be translated in the original languages of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

A similar revisional work is going in Egypt with the Arabic translation which has considerably advanced. The Hyderabad Academy has also obtained the permission of proper authorities to translate it into Urdu and similar has been its idea except that all additions and corrections should be made in footnotes. It will be a pity if no similarity remains in the different editions of this international work of reference. How

preferable it would be if a centralised work of revision is done, say by Egypt or Hyderabad, inviting corrections and additions from all parts of the world, and after having them scrutinised by an international committee of experts publish them as a supplementary or companion volume of the *Encyclopædia*.

Prof. Zaki Validi :

We are sad to learn that the Turkish government has sentenced Prof. Zaki Validi to ten years' imprisonment for his political activities. A brilliant scholar and patriot, he had tried, after the first world war, to carve out, under Enver Pasha, an independent Muslim Turkistan yet the idea was foiled by Russians. He could not forget his motherland, and it is said that he was striving again for the same, even as a professor of the University of Istanbul, with German encouragement. Now he is lost to learning for a long time. In recent years he had discovered the complete MS. of the travels of Ibn-Faḍlān, from Baghdad to Bulgār, long considered lost, and was preparing it for publication ; no man was better suited for the task.

Arab League :

On March 22, the pact of the Union of Arab States was signed in Cairo by the representatives of Egypt, 'Irāq, Transjordan, Sa'ūdī Arabia, Syria, Lebanon, and Yamen, with provision for future adhesion of such countries as Palestine, Tunis, Tripoli, Algeria, Morocco, and Somaliland.

The pact which covers a wide field of Arab co-operation, says that the Union shall be composed of independent States which have signed it but that any other independent Arab countries are eligible for membership. The aims are the strengthening of friendship between the members, the co-ordination of their political action, and the safeguarding of their independence. The Union Council will be composed of representatives of all member States, with one vote each. The league will supervise the carrying out of conventions concluded among the members. It will also study the means by which the Union shall collaborate with international organisations. It is forbidden to have recourse to force for the settlement of disputes between members. If differences should arise which do not affect the independence, sovereignty or territorial integrity of States, and if the parties to the disputes have recourse to the council for settlement of it, the council's decision shall be binding. Parties to a dispute will not have a right to take part in deliberations or decisions of the council. The decisions in matters of arbitration and conciliation will be taken by a majority vote. The decisions of the Council which are made by unanimous vote will be binding on all members but those made by a majority vote will only be obligatory to those States that have accepted them. The Union's permanent headquarters will be in Cairo. But the

Council may meet ordinarily in Cairo or in other places every March and October.

To withdraw from the Union will be possible after giving one year's notice. Members who do not fulfil their obligations will be dismissed by unanimous vote. The constitution of the pact may be modified by two-third of members. Any member not accepting the amendment of the pact will have the right to withdraw from the Union as soon as the amendments come into force.

Growing Recognition of the Importance of Muslims :

Islam is one of the biggest entity in the world. The awakening of the Muslim peoples is not confined to one part or other but is getting general and all-embracing. If the Russians have found it advisable to revive the post of the Grand Mufti of Russia along with the archbishopric, H.M. the King of England has deemed it meet to pay a good-will visit to the Islamic Council in London. Again, the Reuters and the Associated Press of America have already completed their plans to extend their sphere of work and cover Middle Eastern Muslim Countries. The enterprising Egyptian journals are establishing their offices in New York which may interact with other press bodies.

In connection with the awakening of the Muslim world, it may be noted with interest that it is getting more and more conscious of its cultural heritage. After the Muslim champions of India the delegates of Jalālat-ul-Malik Ibn-Sa'ūd have proposed in the Arab League that the civil law of the Arab countries should be the Muslim law. Keen researches are earnestly being carried out in Muslim India and elsewhere regarding the utility of Muslim jurisprudence and economic principles in the modern world, and the results unmistakably favour Islamic heritage on purely utility and practical basis.

Progress of Arab Journalism :

Telegraphy in Arabic, i.e., an Arabic Morse code, is since long in use. Attempts are now being made to use Arabic teleprinters. As there are only 28 letters in the Arabic alphabet not much difficulty may be encountered except that each letter will have to be written separately and not its shorter form as used in ordinary manuscript or print. The Hebrew teleprinters have come into use, says London Times, between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, since March last. Hyderabad Scouts' Headquarters have also since long evolved easy and practical Morse and Semaphore systems for Urdu. Non-British telegraphic lines are shortly expected to be established in Hyderabad, and if the Urdu Morse code is standardised in collaboration with Arabic and Iranian governments, it will be an immense advance of public utility.

M. H.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

**SELECT WRITINGS & SPEECHES
OF MAULANA MOHAMMED ALI,**
*compiled and edited by Afzal Iqbal,
M.A.; published by Shaikh Muham-
mad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore ;
8vo; pp. 485 + XXII; cloth and boards ;
price Rs. 10-0-0.*

MANULANA Mohammed Ali's biography is the history of Muslim India between the years 1910 and 1931; for more than any one else, he represented the mind of the Muslims. Mr. Afzal Iqbal has rendered a great service by collecting some representative speeches and writings of the Maulana, because no student of modern trends among Indian Muslims can ignore this material.

Maulana Mohammed Ali was a brilliant journalist, a forceful orator and a well-informed student of History and Politics. He was deeply emotional and too sincere to hide his feelings or mince his words. He knew no compromise against his conscience, hence he was the terror of his opponents and the idol of his supporters. The unimaginative bureaucracy of his days considered him highly dangerous and treated him with ruthlessness, not because he was more scheming than other opponents of the government, but because he was so sincere. He witnessed the gradual dismemberment of the last Muslim empire of Turkey, the tragic fate of Muslim North Africa, the subordination of Persia and the taming of Afghanistan. It did not require a prophet to foresee the fate of the Muslim world, particularly when Europe and Christendom

never concealed their jubilation over the debacle of Islam. The Indian Muslim, a slave at home, had possessed the consolation that Islam was free in some lands. European aggression took away that feeling and the Indian Muslim was disconsolate. After the efforts of that great Islamicist, Sayyid Jamāluddīn al-Afghānī, Muslim nations had fallen a prey to clever European propaganda. Territorial nationalism unknown to international Islam, raised its head and broke the Muslim world into fragments. Islam had been divided, the next step was to establish European rule. Crazy modernism, irrespective of the real needs of the peoples and exceedingly superficial in its aims, invaded Muslim lands and the Muslim peoples lost their *morale*. All this Maulana Mohammed Ali witnessed and his heart bled. He found himself in a hostile world, but inspired by his Faith and strengthened by the optimism of Iqbal, for Iqbal played no unimportant part in fashioning the Maulana's ideology, Mohammed Ali, a brave and indomitable fighter, put every ounce of his energy into the grim battle. His allies began to fail him. The unnatural alliance between Khilāfat and Congress came to an end, when the Hindu began to realise that the mass movement was resulting in the political awakening of the Muslims. Maulana Mohammed Ali, disillusioned by the clever Nehru Report which aimed at establishing Hindu domination under the protection of British bayonets was no longer a *persona grata* with the Congress High Command. The Congress was still in a position to

exploit the anti-British sentiments of some Muslims through Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, whose personal relations had never been very happy with Mohammed Ali. Under his leadership, the 'Ulama threw Mohammed Ali overboard. But Mohammed Ali had only one loyalty—he must serve Islam, and he minded neither desertions nor malignation. Because their destiny had put Indian Muslims in this vast land, and because they could not be free without the freedom of India, Mohammed Ali gave his life fighting for the sacred cause of the freedom of India. His memorable words which proved so prophetic still ring in our ears: 'I want to go back to my country, if I can go back, with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise I will not go back to a slave country and if you do not give us freedom in India, you will have to give me a grave here.' But Maulana Mohammed Ali knew that the freedom of India would be meaningless unless the Muslims also were participants in that freedom and two days before his death, on 1st January 1931, he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister laying down the minimum safeguards for protecting the Muslims. The Maulana was fully aware of the difficulties which faced the Muslim people in India; he, like other Muslim leaders, was still thinking in terms of compromise, pacts, safeguards and other cobwebs of political paraphernalia. The Muslim mind was still groping for the clear cut solution which has emerged during the last few years, and it is an irony that Maulana Mohammed Ali did not live to witness it. The working of his mind, however, one can trace in his writings. His article on 'The Communal Patriot' is a shrewd and penetrating survey of the "communal" problem, and it is amazing how near he got to the solution without achieving it. Muslim politics had yet to emerge from the stage of adolescence and it is not strange that even a brilliant and shrewd leader like Mohammed Ali could not see beyond his environment.

Maulana Mohammed Ali was a prolific writer. His friends had known

him to shut himself in his room and produce prodigious articles. It was no easy task to make a selection, but, on the whole, the editor has succeeded in giving a reasonably good collection, though one wishes that masterpieces like *'The Choice of the Turks'* and the articles on British policy in Sudan had been included. The articles which have been included will be read, again and again, by the student and the layman alike for the flood of light which they throw on recent Indo-Islamic history and for their sparkling style and vigour.

I.H.Q.

THE CULTURAL ROLE OF INDIA

by Hamid Raza with a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, an introduction by Professor Mohd. Habib of Muslim University, Aligarh, and an introductory note by Phillip Talbot; Octavo; pp. 114+VIII; price Rs. 4-0-0; published by Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali, Lahore.

A BOOK which has been sponsored by such distinguished men as Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Professor Habib and Phillip Talbot commands the attention of the discriminate reader, but little awaits him except acute disappointment. The reason is that this is not a serious or objective study of the problem but naked political propaganda preceded by a flourish of trumpets by men of academic distinction. And, what is more, it is not wholesome propaganda.

The notice on the dust-cover gives the secret out in these words: "In a world in which nations and communities are kept apart by artificial distinctions of race, outlook, creed and colour, is there a common bond between them, making for unity? The author of this book, an enlightened Muslim scholar, answers the question in the affirmative and presents with candour and earnestness, the case for comradeship and understanding between the two commun-

ities of India, Hindus and Muslims, inhabiting the same soil and inhaling the same air. The psychological bond that connects history with culture has been interacting on the mutual destiny." Gradually we are led to the real aim of the book. Sir S. Radhakrishnan tells us—to be frank, uncritically—that "India denotes a complex culture and not a race or religion. All those who have made India their home have contributed to this cultural *synthesis*." Beyond synthesis, comes *Indian Nationalism*, the idea of a politically united India, to which, according to Professor Habib, "the author has rendered a great service because his outlook . . . is free from all communal and sectarian bias." The veil is then finally lifted by Phillips Talbot who says that the author "has perceived in the main cultural streams of ancient India, Islam and the British connection an essential homogeneity that augurs well for the future of the country." We are now in the spot light!

The essay itself does not justify these conclusions. One can see clearly that the author is hard put to prove his case. The first chapter speaks, in poetic rather than academic or objective terms, of the catholicity of Hinduism. "The silent influence of India's vision of the unity of all things in God has been accompanied by her cultural conquests everywhere. All the mighty impulses that entered into India were synthesised on the same plan," says the author. If he had been a little more critical, he would have easily discovered that this catholicity extends to ideas, not necessarily to peoples. Besides, any assimilation of new ideas is the natural result of the impact of new forces on any people; the Hindus have been only more conservative than others. Besides, Hinduism has laid greater emphasis on action and the observance of a code of life not on beliefs. This has led to unrestrained speculation, sometimes unconnected with reality, some times contradictory in nature and in conclusions. This leads the unwary to think that Hinduism has produced a synthesis of

contradictory forces, whereas the Hindu mind has never deviated from its essential qualities and has only tolerated such ideas as have not affected its social code.

The next chapter discusses the character of Indian civilization. Here the main features of Hinduism have been discussed, which shows that the author thinks that India and Hindudom are identical. A passing reference has been made to the impact of Islam which produced the great thinkers of the Bhakti School. The author, once again, has forgotten that the Bhakti School, more deeply affected by Islam, was a protest against the rigidity of Hinduism and after a vigorous life of about three centuries completely went into oblivion. Similar had been the fate of Buddhism before the advent of Islam. Hinduism has a technique of suppressing all revolts and crushing all opposition. The next chapter is on Indian Philosophy which, once again, to our author's mind, is identical with Hindu Philosophy. Here the author concludes, more sanguinely than critically, that the Indian mind has reached the point where it has grasped "the eternal verity of *Lā ilāha illallāh*." The fact, however, is that Hindu Philosophy is not monotheistic in the sense that Islam is, and that the divergence between Islam and Hindu Philosophy is an unbridgeable gulf. Nor is it true that there is one Indian Philosophy. Buddhism, Jainism and some schools in Hinduism are not even theistic.

The chapter on Indian Art is more revealing. After the usual adulatory remarks on its nature, the author goes on to discuss its features. He takes up Mughal architecture and the Mughal school of painting. Here again the author identifies *one of the many schools* of art and architecture in India with Indian Art. Surely, in spite of Havell's efforts, no one seriously believes that Taj Mahal and Madura temple are architecturally the same. And, then, has the Mughal architecture replaced Hindu architecture? The answer is the Benares Hindu University, where the dome and the arch have been studiously avoided.

The V chapter is on Indian literature. It requires more than an astute mind to convince the critic that Kalidasa and Ghālib, Tagore and Iqbal have anything in common. Yet this is what our author naively tries to do. Putting together different people with contradictory outlooks in the same breath does not prove any similarity. To the author's mind Urdu is the symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity. The leader of so-called Indian unity, Mahatma Gandhi, seems to hold a different opinion, and his influence has already proved the decisive factor. Besides, how many Hindus in Bengal, Central Provinces, Maharashtra and the South, know this lingua franca of United India?

Chapter VI is on Indian Science, a misnomer, because Science is universal. This chapter mentions the contribution made by ancient Hindus in Astronomy and Medicine. What has this to do with the cultural unity of India?

Chapter VII deals with Indian polity which, to our author's mind, is identical with Hindu polity. Here the author has not a word to say regarding the polity of the Sultanate or the Mughal empire. The reason is obvious: the two do not fit into the same picture.

The last chapter bears the title of 'the Legacy of India.' This is a sentimental appreciation of the "spiritual nature of Indian civilization," and expresses the desire that India should not be led away by the materialism of socialism. This reminds one strongly of the spiritualized politics of the Gandhi school combined with the fear of socialism inherent in the mental make-up of the capitalist. There is no endeavour to face facts, no attempt to analyse the present cultural conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims and among the various provincial, ethnical and linguistic groups. The author shuts his eyes and buries his head in sentimental adulation of the "motherland" and betrays such lack of clear thinking that the critical reader is amazed at the plethora of confusion which has been collected in such a small space.

Such writing makes extremely bad propaganda apart from its being unscientific and unacademic. When Indian culture can be described only by describing either Hindu culture or Indo-Islamic culture, or when in taking up the various cultural topics, only one aspect can be taken up at a time, it is obvious that there is no such thing as Indian culture. India has several cultures and not one culture, and he who tries to describe the various cultures as the facets of the same culture sets himself to an impossible task, which even a clever brain could not perform, and it is obvious that our author is no genius.

I.H.Q.

کتاب بدء من أناب الى الله

by Hārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibī, edited by Dr. Helmut Ritter, Istanbul.

PROF. Ritter's paper read at the 19th International Oriental Congress, Rome, 1935, has been published and reprinted in book form.

There is a manuscript volume in the Carullah (جار الله) Library of Istanbul, containing ten small brochures by different authors. Among them is کتاب بدء من أناب الى الله by the famous mystic al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243. H. 857 A.D.). It was in 1922 that Prof. Massignon had first drawn attention to the importance of this work in his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*.

The Arabic text (13 pages) has been neatly printed. It is in the form of a dialogue and suggests ways and means how to distract oneself from the worldly things and divert and concentrate attention towards God Almighty.

The work has the rare importance of classical antiquity and has the exposition of the subject by one who had himself acted upon his advice.

M.H.

THE ROAD TO PEACE & PAKISTAN
by Z. A. Suleri; Ashraf publication;
price Rs. 1-8-0.

MORE than a casual glance at the title of the book is required to understand the idea contained in this book; the idea is not a new one. It is in fact the sheet-anchor of the Soviet political system. The idea is this; that every homogeneous unit of the world's population should have the right to exercise self-determination. The title rightly asserts that there can be no peace in the world as long as a single homogeneous unit of the world's population is denied the exercise of self-determination.

In the first third part of the book the author, very ably analyses the existing combination of powers and arrives logically at the conclusion that they offer no hope of anything like permanent peace to the world. On the contrary, the author contends that the existing political order of things carries within itself seeds of future wars of which the coming generation will reap a rich harvest. The author ably unfolds his own plan for the achievement of something like permanent world peace. He rightly points out that although economically speaking the world is one, politically speaking it is exactly the otherwise. He regards the ideal of world political unity which is argued on the grounds of annihilation of time and space resulting in the physical unity of the world, a pure eye-wash. While accepting the physical unity of the world as an accomplished fact, he rightly points out that there are greater obstacles in the way of achieving world political unity. The author pleads and presents an unassailable case for the formation of ideological federation, and setting up of an international economic organization, which arrangement, he feels, will eliminate the major causes of war.

In the last third part of the book, the author tries to explain the background and implication of the Pakistan idea making it perfectly clear in the preface to the book that he does not pretend to present an exhaustive study of

the Pakistan problem, but has merely taken up a certain line of thought and attempted to follow and argue it to its ultimate and logical conclusions.

The book undoubtedly is worth reading, as it adds to one's knowledge and conclusively proves that it is always possible to look at any political problem from an altogether new angle.

K.S.L.

TĀRIKH-I-GUJRĀT by Abū-Turāb Valī;
translated by Shabeah Aḥmad; published
by the Hindustani Publishing House,
Allahabad; price Rs. 5-0-0.

DR. E. Denison Ross, in his preface to this book (1909 edition) says that the valuable MS. of the *Tārīkh-i-Gujrat* found in the British Museum was copied 150 years after the death of the author. Indeed it is very valuable source of the history of Gujrat, and as early as 1894, Edalji Dosabhai had mentioned this source in his book entitled *History of Gujrat*. While the *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, (1497-1858) mentions *Tārīkh-i-Gujrat* edited by Denison Ross (1909) but fails to mention Edalji Dosabhai's book. From this we know the *Tārīkh-i-Gujrat* by Abū-Turāb was known to scholars in India.

Shabeah Aḥmad has translated it into Urdu. He has also added 32 pages as an introduction, tracing the History of Gujrat from 4 B.C. to the time of Abū-Turāb, in order to give the reader, a glimpse of the past history of Gujrat so as to serve a background. He has also divided the book into 2 parts, while under Part I there are nine chapters, in Part II there are sixteen chapters. Added to these, we find explanatory notes of two pages, followed by three pages of errata, but the history of Gujrat covers 158 pages.

Shabeah Aḥmad is a competent and conscientious translator. His introduction offers much help to the readers who are in touch with the history of Gujrat

K.S.L.

THROUGH PAKISTAN TO FREEDOM by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, M.A. (Alig.); Ashraf publication; price 1-8-0.

THIS book throws a flood of light on the recent political trends in this country, along with their historical background and important political events to the last few years from the point of view of Muslim India. The author, it is evident from a reading of the book is convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of the Indian problem. In the beginning of the book he asserts that looked at from any angle the Hindus and Muslims are two nations. Then he brilliantly argues the case for self-determination for the Indian Muslims. For much that he had written and said, he takes his authority from Mr. Jinnah whom he quotes very frequently.

The book is interesting as it makes a bold attempt to take recent political events out of their confusion and place each in its proper perspective. The author's case for Pakistan is hard to refute.

K.S.L.

FARSCA GRAMERI, by Abdulvehhab Tarazi and Ahmed Ates; Istanbul University publication No. 171, 1942, size 7½×9½; pp. 200; price 105 Kurush.

WITH the change of Turkish script, new problems have arisen in Turkey which formerly never existed.

The above book is a grammar of Persian language intended for Turkish students. It gives not only the grammatical rules and forms but also the details of how to write the Arabic (and for that purpose, Persian) script. The authors say that in spite of the "revolution of the alphabet, Persian has considerable attraction, as heretofore, for the Turkish students; and that the present work is not a mere transcription or adaptation of older Turkish works on the subject in Arabic script but has been based on up-to-date scientific methods due consideration being given to the history of the Persian language and grammar. The authors have taken considerable pains, though half the bulk has been allotted to selected pieces in prose and poetry, and naturally not all the details of the Persian grammar can be expected to receive exhaustive treatment. The select texts, given in Arabic script, are to a great extent vocalised, which is certainly very much to be appreciated.

The authors have, of necessity, evolved a system of transcription also, which is practically the same as used in Germany.

Even such a recent work shows that the Turks require more Arabic words than we depend on in Urdu.

M.H.

BOOKS RECEIVED

1. *TADHKIRA-E-BĀB-E-ḤUKŪMAT*, by Muḥammad Mazhar, 20×30, pp. 314; price Rs. 5-0-0 and Rs. 3-0-0 (according to the quality of the paper), to be had from Hydari Gashti Kutubkhana, Nizamshahi Road, Hyderabad Deccan.

THIS interesting book has been compiled in commemoration of the silver jubilee of the Hyderabad Executive Council, by Mr. Md. Mazhar.

The author traces the origin and history of the institution of vazirate and the growth of the council system in place of the individually all-powerful ministers. By giving a historical background of the Hyderabad Executive Council, he first describes the grand durbar which inaugurated this great reform and for this the author reproduces relevant documents. Then the detailed analysis of the life and work of each and every president, vice-president, member and Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr of the Council is followed by the description of the silver jubilee of the institution celebrated last year.

2. *Nawāb Dunde Khan*, by Syed Alṭāf 'Alī Brelvī.
4. *Polish News*, by Wanda Dynowaska.
3. *Indian Art And Letters*, the Royal India Society, London.
5. *The Young Muslim*, edited by I. M. Yoosuf.
6. *Milad-un-Nabi Number of the Muslim Youth Bulletin*, edited by A.C.D.A. Raman.
7. *Memorandum on the Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education, All-India Muslim Educational Conference.*
8. سید الطاف علی بریلوی (مدیر و ناشر) مصنف
9. (لندن) روزگارنو

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Ed., I. C.

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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân*]

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. THE ARTICLE ON ACONITE FROM AL-BĒRŪNĪ'S KITĀB AṢ-ṢAYDANA —DR. MAX MEYERHOF.	323
II. LIBRARIES DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA —S. A. ZAFAR NADVI, Esq.	329
III. MALIK 'AMBAR : AN ESTIMATE —DR. D. R. SETH.	348
IV. THE MAP OF THE BATTLE OF MALĀZGIRD ON BASIS OF HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE —DR. M. HAMĪDULLĀH.	352
V. MUSIC AND MUSICIANS OF THE COURT OF SHĀH JAHĀN —DR. A. ḤALĪM.	354
VI. IBRĀHĪM LODĪ'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DOWNFALL OF THE LODĪ EMPIRE —QAZI MUKHTAR AHMAD, Esq.	361
VII. DEVIL'S DELUSION —(Late) DR. D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.	376
VIII. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES	384
HYDERABAD	
DECCAN	
DELHI	
NORTH-EASTERN INDIA	
NORTH-WESTERN INDIA	
FOREIGN	
IX. NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW	411

THE ARTICLE ON ACONITE FROM AL-BĒRŪNĪ'S KITĀB-AS-SAYDANA

INTRODUCTION

ABU'R-Rayhmān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bērūnī is called by George Sarton "one of the greatest scientists of Islam, and all considered, one of the greatest of all times." He was, indeed, as eminent an astronomer, chronologist and mathematician as he was a physicist, geographer, ethnologist, historian and linguist. His contemporaries honoured him by the name al-Ustādh (the Master).

Born in Khwārizm (now Khiva, Turkestan) in 362/972, he lived at the courts of several Muslim rulers, where he composed his early works, in particular his famous *Chronology of Oriental Nations*. In 407/1017 he was captured by the great Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna and taken to his capital, where he lived at the court. He accompanied the Sultān on several of his seventeen campaigns in North and Western India, and the result of his travels was his celebrated book on India (*Tahqīq mā fi'l-Hind*), which he published after the death of Sultān Maḥmūd (421/1030). During the reign of the latter's successor, Sultān Mas'ūd he wrote his *Qānūn al-Mas'ūdi*, his greatest work on mathematics and astronomy; and under the next Sultān, Mawdūd, his astrology (*Kitāb-at-Taḥḥīm*) and the *Book on Stones* which has been recently edited at Hyderabad.

Another book, quite unknown until recently, was mentioned by Ibn Abi Uṣaybī'a; an incomplete manuscript of this book was discovered by Prof. Zaki Velidi of Istanbul in a library at Brussa (Anatolia). It is *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaydana fi'l-Ṭibb*, a book on simples of which there exists only this unique defective copy and an incomplete Persian translation. Bērūnī himself says in the introduction to this book that he had written it with the help of a medical man when he had passed the eightieth year of his life and he probably could not finish it. One of the copyists states that no clean copy of this book ever existed. This statement corrects the date of the death of this great scholar, which must be placed after the year 442/1050 instead of the usual date given as 440/1048. The *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣaydana* has been examined by several orientalists, viz. H. Beveridge, Zaki Velidi Toghan, and Fr. Krenkow, and the introduction to it has been edited and translated by myself¹ and was corrected by Max Krause, Paul Kraus and

1. Max Meyerhof: *Das Vorwort Zur Drogenkunde Des Bērūnī*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, Vol. 3, Berlin, 1932.

Serefeddin Yaftkaya. In 1941 I undertook the translation of the entire work from a photostat taken from the original manuscript. The late Dr. Paul Kraus intended to use my translation for the correction of the text, but when I had finished this translation in 1943 he had hardly corrected the first three chapters. In October 1944 this work was interrupted by his untimely and tragic death. Pending the continuation of my edition with the help of another orientalist I give in the present article a sample from al-Bērūnī's work in order to show the superiority of his knowledge on all matters concerning India. One has only to compare this article on aconite with those in other Arabic and Persian books on simple drugs to estimate the enormous difference. It is evident that Bērūnī, even in his old age and at the end of his life, had kept the clarity, the intelligence and the vast knowledge of history, natural science and languages by which he was distinguished.

TRANSLATION OF THE CHAPTER ON ACONITE

(Fol. 40v.).

Bīsh.—It is called in Indian *Bish*. Its habitat is in India in the mountains of Kashmīr, and the name of the mountain on which it grows is Shankarnistājīn at the frontier of Karnawa; from Addishtān, the capital of Kashmīr, to this place it is eighty Karoh or miles, and the height of the mountain is three miles. The lethal dose of it (the aconite-root) is half a Mithqāl. It is said in the books that quails (Summān) feed on it and fatten in so doing.

Hubaysh says: A mouse and quails (*Salwa*) eat it. But he seems to intend something else which has been denominated by the name of aconite; for aconite resembles galingale (*Su'd*, root of *Cyperus longus* L.).

The kinds of aconite are, according to the names of the castes (*Ṭabaqāt*) of the Indians, *Kāldar*, *Mankan*, *Sharank* and *Halāhal*. *Kāldar* is a green *Bish*; *Mankan*, which is identical with *Shudar*, is black; *Sharank*, which is *Brahman*, is white and deadly; and *Halāhal* which is *Kash-tar* is yellow. It is said that the quickest to kill in the dose of a barley-grain is *Kalākut*, which is black and hard to break and has a white centre with three horns. It is said that the white *Brahman* is fatal in a dose of one *Dāniq*; of the sweet and hard *Bīsh* which is not compact of a reddish colour, two *Dīniqs* kill. *Kashtar* is between white and black, hard, and the centre of its breach is white surrounded by black. *Shudar* is between yellow and white; half a *Dirham* (drachm) of it is fatal. Of *Jandāl* one *Dāniq* kills.

Qustā (ibn Lūqā) says: It is the quickest of all the poisons to kill, so much so that its smell is sometimes sufficient to knock one down. If the head of an arrow is painted with its freshly tracted juice it kills. It is of three colours, all equally deadly: the first is the white *Brahman*, the

most malignant : it disorganises and kills outright. The second resembles the horns which exist (fol. 41 r.) in the spikenard (Sunbul-at-Ṭīb) ; it is a wood as thick as half a finger, sprinkled with small white dots which are like powdered talc and shining. And the third is found in the spikenard ; it is a wood of the size of a finger, like the sweet flag (Qaşab Fārisi) and very knotty.

However, Bish has no connection with the spikenard, and what has been mentioned of (the latter's) poisonous qualities is limited and different from the aconite.

Bishr as-Sijzī says : It is of five kinds, and the quickest to kill is al-Halhal, which is found in the nard and resembles ambergris ('Anbar) ; the weight of a mustard grain of it kills, and sometimes its smell alone kills and there is no help from an antidote (Tiryāq). Most of that which is found in the spikenard is sticky(?) and is variegated with white and black.

Ibn-Mandawayh says : Kalākut resembles galingale (Su'd) ; some people say of it that it accelerates death. It is sometimes handed over on the top of a lance and causes harm. But it seldom reaches the lands of Islam. As for that with which clothes are poisoned, it is called Kalkal ; and the tailor sews it with his fingers covered.

Some Indians mentioned that Halāhal and Kalākut are both names for the same thing, which is a kind of the black aconite (Bish) inclined to verdigris colour. The white Brahman is its safest kind ; it resembles sweet-flag (Wajj) and it is this kind which is used in medical treatment. Then follows the colour more remote from white, and the malignancy (of the drug) increases up to Shudar, the black and broken, which is the most malignant. The fatter, the less sectioned and rugged the drug is, the stronger its action. The worst time to take the drug is from sunrise to midday. It is said of al-Halhal that it resembles Arabian costus (Qust) and therefore the taste of costus is feared.

Another kind of it is called Sharank, or the galingale-like (as-Su'dī), on account of its likeness to it. Its growing place is on a mountain called Kalidhar which is on the frontiers of Kashmīr, adjoining Wayhind.

The druggists say : There exists some of the aconite in Halāwush, in Arabian costus (Qust) and likewise in Kirwa ; it is procured by maceration in water ; then the aconite is precipitated and Kirwa floats upon the surface.

COMMENTARY

BĪSH is the Arabic-Persian name of the root of the Indian aconite ; it is derived from the Sanskrit Visha, which is the name for 'poison.' The Sanskrit medical writers mention nine active or virulent poisons, most of which are apparently varieties of aconite (Dutt, p. 7). We find, indeed,

in the *Bhabaprakasa*, as given by Dutt (p. 97 foll.), several of the names mentioned by al-Bērūnī, viz., Sringi, (Sharank), Kālākūta (Kālakit), Halāhala (Halāhal), and Brahmaputra (Brahman). But neither Dr. Kraus nor I could find a confirmation of Bērūnī's curious assertion that the ancient Indians had established a parallel between their castes and the degrees of the poisonous drug, Visha. Bērūnī identifies Kāldar with Bīsh (Vaisya), the middle class caste, Mankan with Shudar (Shudra) the lower caste, Sharank with Brahman the highest, and Halāhal with Kashtar or Kshatar (Kshatriya), the military caste.

The Aconiton of the Greeks was not the Indian aconite, but the European *Aconitum Napellus* L., less active than the Indian kinds, which were early known to, and used by, Hindus, Persians and Arabs. But it is impossible to identify the species mentioned by Bērūnī with the many varieties which are still sold in our day in the Indian drug bazaars. Chopra (p. 47-53), who possesses a special knowledge of that genus of herbs (belonging to the natural order of Ranunculaceae and the tribe Helleboreae) reminds us that the *Aconitum ferox* sold today by the Indian druggists is an indiscriminate mixture of *Aconitum ferox*, *lycoctonium*, *napellus* and *palmatum*, the latter predominating; and other modern botanists, like Stapf, have discovered other varieties and established new classifications. There are altogether twenty-four species of aconite in India, mostly growing on the slopes of the Himalayan mountains from Afghanistan through Nepal and Kashmir, and further on to Sikkim, Assam and Burma. The most poisonous forms are employed as animal and criminal poisons, the others partly in medical practice, mostly for external use. The root is formed into a paste and spread upon the skin as a remedy for neuralgia and other painful affections; internally it is used as a remedy for cough, asthma and snake-bite (Chopra, p. 47). Formerly, the root was powdered and formed into a sticky paste which was smeared over arrow heads, just as is related by Bērūnī. The white aconite mentioned by Bērūnī may be Stapf's *Aconitum deinorrhizum* and *A. balfourii*, which have a brittle root, white in section. A very poisonous kind used in medicine is *Aconitum chasmanthum* Stapf, a beautiful species on the sub-Alpine and Alpine Himalayas from Chitral to Kashmir. *Aconitum heterophyllum* Wall. is one of the non-poisonous forms, called in Sanskrit *Atavisha* (antidote); it is probably one of the species on the roots of which quails and mice feed.

As to the geographical names mentioned by Bērūnī, they are somewhat changed, e.g., the name of the highest Himalayan peak; it may be the Gawrisankar. *Addishtāna* is the name of the old capital of Kashmir; *Kalidhar* is the old name of the Hindūkūh ranges, and *Wayhind* was the ancient capital of the province of Qandahār, now in Afghanistan.

The reports of old authors on the poisonous action of the Indian aconite are grossly exaggerated, and there is especially the legend of the "poison girl," which came from India to Europe and was recently dis-

cussed in an American review of the history of medicine.¹ Some Sanskrit writers mention the Visha-kanya (poison girl), the fantastic idea of using young maidens as the instruments of death. This legend passed into Persian and Arabic medical literature, although the Arabic translator of the oldest *Book on Poisons*, Chanakya's *Kitābas-Sumūm*, expressly omitted the chapter on the poison girl.² He says that this was the order of the Caliph al-Mā'mūn for whom he had translated the *Book on Poisons* from Persian into Arabic: "Says al-Mā'mūn: The description of the poison girl must be omitted from this book, as this is a custom of the Indian heathen period which we do not require, as by its application a thousand children are destroyed, before one is saved. So let it be omitted from this book." But we find it in later authors, e.g. in al-Qazwīnī's *Cosmography* (*'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt*), where he says (the translation is by A. L. de Chezy): "Bish is a plant which grows in India, a half Dirham (drachm) of which is a deadly poison. In him who drinks from it, the eyes protrude, the lips and the tongue swell, and the victim becomes dizzy and faint. It is said that if the kings of India wish to betray enemy kings, they accustom a girl from her childhood to aconite, by strewing it for a time under her cradle, then under her rug, then under her clothes, and continue gradually until the girl can consume aconite without damage. In this way the development is completed. The girl is then sent with presents to the king whom it is desired to betray, and if they copulate, he dies. The quail and the aconite mouse (Bish-mūsh) eat from it without harm; the latter is an animal which lives at the root of the aconite and eats from it."

Copley and Boswell relate that the legend of the aconite girl has even crept into the mediæval narratives of Alexander the Great, and that he was once saved by his teacher, Aristotle, from touching such a maiden.

To go over to more serious matters, I return to al-Bērūnī's *Kitāb aş-Şaydana*, where I found in the introduction a story on aconite narrated by the Master himself. After having spoken of specialists among the medical men of the Muslims, he continues (fol. 5a of the Brussa MS.):

"In the same line the books of the Indians mention that there is among the classes of their physicians a class which is known as "poison-healers," and their characteristics and professional particularities are mentioned in their astrological books in the same manner as those of the noblemen, warriors, merchants and men of other castes. Up to now I was not able to gain an insight into their real conditions and the manner in which they practise their profession, and I have never heard of anything similar to their profession. But a nobleman from Gardez (a town in Afghanistan) has told me that his father suffered from hæmorrhoids and that his con-

1. A. L. Copley & H. Boswell, *Aconite, the Love Poison*, in *Bull. of the History of Medicine*, Vol. XV (Baltimore, April 1944) p. 420-426.

2. See Bettina Strauss, *Das Giftbuch des Shānāq*, Berlin, 1934, p. 64.

dition was very bad. The physicians of that region gathered together for his treatment, but their prescriptions had no success with him. Then appeared an Indian and pretended to know the right way to bring him to healing. When he (the patient) asked him what (*fol. 5v.*) he hoped to get from him, he replied: 'I did not come to you from covetousness like these weavers (*i.e.*, blockheads) who surround you waiting for gain, but I came to you to give you my advice. If you are saved by my help, the door of reward in the form of a gift is open between you and me!' The patient asked: 'And by which method will you treat me, by cutting or burning?' The Indian replied: 'I shall not lift a shirt from your body nor pull off your trousers, but I shall ask you only to uncover your back and trunk.' Then he made scarifications on his back and above the kidneys and made blood flow, rubbing in aconite, muttering exorcisms—without which the Indians cannot do—and administered to him some aconite, after which the patient swooned away. Then he left him at rest, until he took off the scurf at the moment when the cicatrization was imminent, did another time what he had done before, and repeated this manipulation several times. Thereupon the hæmorrhoids were cured, disappeared entirely and he did not relapse until the end of his life—which was a long one. Then he honoured the Indian, bestowed on him a generous reward and dismissed him."

Al-Bērūnī continues: "The Indians are a people who have medical aphorisms similar to those of Hippocrates, which they follow. Their use of them is based solely on the interpretations of the change of conditions, and they obtain marvellously reliable results. It would be too long to report what I have observed about them in this respect."

May I add from my medical knowledge that the case of the nobleman of Gardez was probably one of inflamed and painful hæmorrhoids? In such cases the application of a strong irritant, such as aconite root to the skin may well effect a cure.

MAX MEYERHOF.

LIBRARIES DURING THE MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA¹

THE early Muslim rulers of India had no separate library buildings. The educational institutions, the mosques and the Khanqāhs were the places where the books were preserved, and this is the reason why the historians do not say much about libraries during the Muslim rule in India. But the Court of all the Sultāns of Delhi were noted for their scholars and poets. For example Muḥammad Tughluq's court was adorned with logicians like Sa'd, poets like 'Ubaid and Badr Chāch, historians like Ḍiyāuddīn Baranī, legists like Malik Ghāzi, and men-of-letters like Maulānā 'Izzuddīn, Maulānā Naṣīruddīn, Qādī Ghaznī, Maulānā Rukn 'Ālam and Maulānā Naṣīruddīn Chirāgh of Delhi. And according to Qalqashandī there were one thousand educational institutions in Delhi alone in the Sultān's time.² The Sultān was himself a man of great erudition. He was an eloquent conversationalist, and a highly efficient calligraphist. He was well up in history, had good taste in philosophy, and considerable knowledge of medicine, astronomy, mathematics and logic. It is not credible that a ruler with such talents and accomplishments had no library. Surely the historians have failed, for some reason or other, to mention his library.

But we find references to the library of the well-known saint Nizāmuddīn Awliyā, who was the contemporary of Khalji and Tughluq Sultāns. This library was in Nizāmuddīn Awliyā's Khanqāh in Ghiyāthpur, in Delhi, which still stands today under the name of Nizām-ul-Awliyā'. The library was the property of the Waqf and was open to every man of letters. Shaikh 'Abdul-Ḥaq, the Muḥaddith of Delhi, while writing of Shaikh Sirāj 'Uthmān, says, "After this, he acquired proficiency in *Kāfiya*, *Mufaṣṣal*, *Qadūri*, *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* under Maulānā Ruknuddīn's supervision. And after Shaikh Nizāmuddīn's death he acquired other kinds of education for three years and carried with him some books from the Shaikh's library, which was a Waqf, and the clothes and *Khilāfat-Nāma* which he had obtained from the Shaikh."³

1. Adapted from the Urdu by Sayyid Abū-'Āṣim, M.A., LL.B. (Alig.).

2. *Subḥ-al-A'shā*, Vol. V, p. 69, Egyptian edition.

3. *Akḥbār-ul-Akhyār*, p. 81, printed at Meerut, 1178 A.H.

Sultān Fērōz Shāh Tughluq was also a lover of learning, and the author of *Fatūhāt-i-Fērōz Shāhī*. Being a patron of learning, he gathered around him the scholars, poets, and men of letters of the time. Conspicuous amongst them were the historians Diyāuddin Barani and Shams Sirāj 'Afif, Mazhar, the Hindi poet, and Tātār Khān, a learned scholar and commentator on the Holy Qur'ān. Fērōz Shāh built mosques and Madrasas and created munificent trusts for them. His royal library has not been mentioned in history, but his love of learning leads us to believe that he must have had one. Books to the number of thirteen hundred were obtained by him from the temple of Juwāla Mukhi (Nagarkot), and they must have been treasured in some library. He had also a translation bureau. Ferishta writes :

"The King (Fērōz Shāh) invited scholars and asked them to translate some of these books. Amongst these scholars was 'Izzuddin Khālid Khāni, who was one of the poets of the age. He versified one of these books dealing with physical sciences as well as ominous signs. This book was named *Dalā'il-i-Fērōz Shāhī*. This book is really based on practical and theoretical sciences."¹

Tātār Khān, who was one of Fērōz Shāh's courtiers, was also an accomplished scholar. He had great proficiency in the Holy Qur'ān and compiled a commentary on it. 'Afif writes "Learned scholars and divines enjoyed his company. The commentary known as *Tafsīr Tātār Khānī* is his work. It is said that when he intended to write this book, he collected various commentaries, and called for a group of learned scholars. And he gleaned the differences which the various commentators had in some verse or sentence, and incorporated them in his book. He has prepared this commentary with great labour and pains. He has also given references to every commentator in case of variance. One will thus find all the various commentaries in this one book. After it was completed, it was named *Tafsīr Tātār Khānī* (p. 392). Tātār Khān also contemplated, after the model of *Durr-i-Mukhtār* and *Shāmī*, compiling a book of *Fatāwa* dealing with all the controversial questions of Islamic Jurisprudence. 'Afif writes again, "In like manner, he (Tātār Khān) collected all the books on *Fatāwa* and recorded all the controversy which the jurists had on various matters in his book, and named it *Fatāwa-i-Tātār Khānī*. He has also noted the differences along with the name of the jurists. In this way the *Fatāwa* was completed in thirty volumes." (p. 392).

After reading the above, there can be no gainsaying the fact that Tātār Khān had some personal library of his own.

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 148, Lucknow edition, *Tabaqāt Akbari* by Nizāmud-dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, p. 233, Calcutta edition.

GHĀZĪ KHĀN'S LIBRARY

GHĀZĪ KHĀN, the most distinguished courtier of Ibrāhīm Lōdī, also had a private library in the Delhi Fort, which Bābur took into his possession in 933 A.H. He writes in the *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī*.

"On Monday, while walking in the fort, I reached the Ghāzī Khān Library. Taking out some good books I gave them to Humāyūn and sent some of them to Mīrzā Kāmrān in Kabul. It had mostly religious books, and in my opinion it did not contain many good books." (Persian manuscript of *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī*, preserved in Shibli Academy, A'zamgarh).

BĀBUR'S LIBRARY

BĀBUR was an author, a poet, and a man of letters. Whenever he got some leisure from his kingly duties, he took to literary work. Besides the imperial library, he had his personal library, where he kept selected books of his choice. It was in this library that he took rest for some time, when he was poisoned.¹

HUMĀYŪN'S LIBRARY

HUMĀYŪN, like his father, had a great love of learning. Literature, poetry, and astronomy were his favourite subjects. Literary discourses were very often held in his private assembly. Sayyed 'Alī, the famous Turkish admiral, has made reference to this many a time in his *Travels*. He says, "In short there is much enthusiasm for poetry and poetical contests in these days, and for this reason I had to remain in the king's presence."²

If any specialist or lover of art visited Humāyūn's Court, the Emperor tried his utmost to utilise his services. Sayyid 'Alī, besides being a poet, was also a skilled astronomer. Humāyūn wanted to employ him as one of the officers of his kingdom, but when he did not agree to remain in India, he was told that he would have to remain in Delhi for at least three months, as all the roads were impracticable owing to the rains. In the meantime he was entrusted with the task of examining the calculation of the solar eclipsē. He worked on this along with other astronomers of India till Humāyūn's death. Sayyid 'Alī writes in his *Travels* :—

"The king acceded to my request but he said that the routes were not usable because of the rains and the journey could only be undertaken after three months, and that I should carry on the calculation of

1. *Tuzuk-i-Bāburī*, Persian manuscript (Shibli Academy, A'zamgarh).

2. *Şafar Nāma*, by Admiral Sayyed 'Alī, p. 45, Urdu edition, Lahore.

solar and lunar eclipses and should assist the scholars of astronomy in studying the problems of the revolution of the Sun and its equator. This was explained to me with seriousness and so I had to give way.....and immediately I started work and finished my astronomical observations, working day and night without taking any rest."¹

A king with such literary tastes could not presumably be without a library. He had a number of select books with him even when he was engaged on the battle-field. After being defeated by Shēr Khān, he wandered in the desert of Sind as a fugitive. He was encamped at Cambay, when a body of forest tribes made a night attack upon his camp, and proceeded to plunder it, and "many rare books," writes Abu'l-Faḍl, "which were his real companions and were always kept in His Majesty's personal possession, were lost. Among these was *Timūr-Nāma*, translated by Mullā Sultān 'Alī and illustrated by Ustād Behzād, which is now in the Shahenshāh's library."²

AKBAR'S LIBRARY

AKBAR succeeded Humāyūn. It is a matter of common knowledge what love Akbar had for learning and men of learning, and what was the real glory of his reign with all the nine gems in his court.

Akbar, though not himself a man of letters, equalled his ancestors in literary taste. He set up a translation bureau which had Sanskrit books translated into Persian. Besides history, books on every subject were written and compiled. He himself was very fond of books. Whenever he could get any new book, he used to call the Kitābdār with that book and heard it read: he marked the book as far as he heard at night, and began again next day from the place where he had finished last.³

He had a very big and grand library. Whatever he got from his ancestors, he increased by the addition of a large number of books, which he got from the libraries of Gujrat, Jaunpore, Bihar, Kashmere, Bengal and Deccan, in his conquests. His library was unique in the collection of rare books. It had the Persian *Diwān* of Humāyūn Shāh, whose few couplets have been quoted by Abu'l-Faḍl in *Akbar-Nāma*. The Royal Library was in the big hall which was on the side of the octagonal tower in the fort of Agra. The present octagonal tower was built by Shāh Jahān, and he remained there during his captivity.⁴

This was the age of patronage of learning and art. All the masters of

1. *Safar Nāma*, p. 43.

2. *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 136, Calcutta edition, Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 309, 310.

3. *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, p. 74.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Agra*, p. 75, Agra.

art had gathered round the court. And those who could not reach the court itself, attached themselves to some Amīr of the court.

Abu'l-Faḍl, Faiḍī, Maulānā Faṭḥullāh Shīrāzī, Ḥakīm Abū. 'Alī' Gilānī, Ḥakīm Abu'l-Faṭḥ Gilānī, Ḥakīm Hamām, 'Abdur-Raḥīm Khān Khānān, Maulānā 'Abdul-Ḥaq, Muḥaddith Dehlavi, Mullā 'Abdul-Qādir Badāyūnī, Mullā Mubārak, and Nizāmuddīn Bakhshī were great scholars, patrons of learning, and men of fine taste, and had personal libraries.

KHĀN KHĀNĀN'S LIBRARY

KHĀN KHĀNĀN may not have equalled his contemporaries in learning and scholarly accomplishments, but surely he excelled them in patronage of art and literature. He had a high class library of his own at Ahmedabad when he was governor of the city in his early career. The people who were employed in the care, upkeep and correction of books, like the scribe, Warrāq Ṣaḥḥāf, book-binders, painters, were mostly masters of their art without a rival. Maulānā Ibrāhīm Naqqāsh was an employee here. He was fine writer, gilder, book-binder and cutter also. He had some literary attainments and had a poetical disposition. *Ma'āthir Raḥīmī* ✓ relates of him :—

“ For a long time he served in the library as Kitābdār. Specimens of his writing, painting and gilding are found in large numbers.”¹

Mushfiq Naqqāsh was appointed (probably after him) and was an unequalled painter of his time.

(1) Bahbūd Mīrẓā, the brother of Mīr 'Alī Khush-Navīs, a well-known calligraphist who excelled in fine writing and painting, was an employee in the library of Khān-Khānān.

(2) Shujā' Shīrāzī was an expert in trilateral and Naskh hand-writing. He joined service in 999 A.H. at Thath. Some time later, he was entrusted with the work of librarian.

(3) Mullā 'Abdur-Raḥīm Harīr was a master of Naskh and Nasta'-liq hand (a fine round hand). 'Ambrīn Qalam (عمرین قلم) was his title. He was second to none in fine penmanship except Muḥammad Husain Khush-Navīs (fine penman). Most of the books of this library were indebted to his pen.

PAINTING AND PICTURE-MAKING

Miyān Nadīm and Miyān Fahīm, two brothers, were the sons of the Rajput Rājā of Abū (Gujrat). Khān Khānān brought them [up like his

1. *Ma'āthir-i-Raḥīmī*, p. 1686, Vol. 3, part 2, Calcutta.

own children. They had no equals in painting." They were connected with that Library.

Mādhō was unrivalled in picture-making besides painting. Most of the books of the library were got up by him.

BOOK-BINDERS

Muḥammad Amīn Khurāsānī was a famous book-binder and an expert in gilding. He worked for a long time in the library of Mashhad. He was an employee of this library on rupees four hundred per month. He is the very Muḥammad Amīn Khurāsānī who won eternal fame for his invention of Abri Paper.

Mullā Muḥammad Husain, book-binder, was the master of his art, and he was also skilled in painting. He served the library for thirty-five years, which brought him the reputation of being the most reliable person in the library.

DĀROGHA-E-KUTUB KHĀNA

Shaikh Barhmi, a native of Bharaich, was a very good poet of Hindi (Bhākā) and was connected with the library. When he left for the pilgrimage, he got his son Shaikh Abdus-Salām appointed as Dārogha in his place. Under the guidance of Khān Khānān, he gradually became a man of high ability.

TRANSLATOR

Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī Kāshmīrī was well versed in Arabic and Persian. He had a special aptitude for translation, which manifested itself in the translation of an Arabic book of Khwāja Diyāuddin into Persian made in 1025 A.H.

MUṢAḤḤEH OR MODERATOR

Maulānā Sūfī was a great scholar. Probably he was doing correction work there. Mullā Shakaibī was also connected with the library, but it is not definitely known what work was entrusted to him. He may have been doing collation work after correction.

JIDWAL SĀZ

Mullā Muḥammad Amīn, Jidwal Sāz, was master of his art. Muḥammad Husain Kāmi, Bāqnai and Ghanī Hamdani, all worked with him in this library.

NĀZIM

Mir Bāqī was the highest officer of this library. He was a very learned and able man. He was a Sayyid from Turkistan. The staff totalled 95, which is evidence of the grandeur of this library.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LIBRARY

The distinguishing feature of this library was that it had most of the books in the author's own hand. Some of the authors had themselves presented their books. Such books are :—

1. *Dīwān* of Nazīrī Nishāporī was presented by the author when he came to Agra in 1022 A.H.
2. The manuscript of the poetry of Khwāja Husain Sanā'ī in the handwriting of Mullā 'Adur Raḥīm Khush-Navīs was specially sent by the author to the library.
3. The *Mathnavī* of Muḥtashim Kāshī in the hand of Amīr Mu'izzuddīn Muḥammad Kāshī was in the library. A lakh of rupees was spent in copying it.
4. The manuscript of the *Dīwān* of 'Urfī-Shirāzī's, the famous poet was in this library. His *Dīwān* has been compiled in its present form by the help of this manuscript.
5. The poems written in the hand of Mullā Nūruddīn Zāhūrī also graced this library.
6. The *Qaṣā'id* of Muḥammad Waqī' Nishāporī (d. 1012), a great poet, written in his own hand, was also in this library.
- 7 & 8. The *Qaṣā'id* of Saojī Sarfī and Mullā Shakaibī written in their own hand found a place in this library.

Some of the books of Khān Khānān's library are still to be found in various libraries of India. Rampur Library has a book on *Tasavvuf* by Khwāja 'Abdullāh Anṣārī in the hand of Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī (in 921 A.H.) which was presented to Jahāngīr by Khān Khānān in 1023 A.H. It bears the name with date in the handwriting of Jahāngīr. In 1037 A.H. it entered Shāh Jahān's Library, and Shāh Jahān also wrote the name and date in his own hand.

Another book on *Tasavvuf* was *Majālis-ul-'Ushshāq* which was compiled by Sulṭān Husain, the grandson of Amīr Taimūr. It had fifty specimens of Persian art. It entered the library in 999 A.H. In 1263 it passed into the hand of Shujā'-ul-Mulk, the governor of Farukhabad. This work also finds a place in the library of Rampur. There was a book on *Ta'bīr Ro'yā* (explaining the dreams) which revealed the ways of explaining dreams from the Qur'ān. Akbar gave this book to Khān Khānān in 24 Jalūs. Now Kutub-Khānā Aṣafia, Hyderabad, has come to possess

it. *Sash Resāla Sa'dī* came into his possession at Udaipur in 986. Later the book reached Shāh Jahān's library. It bears Shāh Jahān's handwriting on it. Afterwards it passed into the library of 'Ālamgīr. Now it is in Khudā Bakhsh Khān's library at Bankipore, Patna.

Yūsuf Zulaikhā was written by Mīr 'Alī in Herat in 930 A.H. It was presented to Jahāngīr by Khān Khānān in 1019. Jahāngīr has written all this with his own hand in that book. It cost one thousand gold mohurs. It was a fine specimen of painting and gilding. This book also is in the Bankipore Library.¹

There was a Holy Qur'ān of length 11 inches, breadth 7 inches, with 12 interlineations. The different marks such as Ruku', Ruba', Niṣf, Thulth have been made by Sangraf and the marks of the verses were of azure, blue and gold. The first two title-pages were covered with gold leaf and decorated, and the titles of all other verses were sprinkled with gold powder. It does not bear the name of the scribe but it is in perfect Naskh. This Qur'ān was with Khān Khānān in 1032 and it has his writing in it. Later it came into the library of Allāh Vardī Khān. In 1919 it passed to the library of Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, where it is still present.²

SALĪMA SULTĀNA LIBRARY

SALĪMA Sultāna, the daughter of Gulrukh Begum, the sister of Humāyūn, was born in 961 A.H. and died in 1021 A.H. at the age of sixty. She was a scholar and poet. Jahāngīr has spoken highly of her ability and her outstanding merit in his *Tuzuk*. She was very fond of reading books and had a personal library of her own.³

MUN'IM KHĀN'S LIBRARY

SEPAH-SĀLĀR Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, was the governor of Jaunpore in the time of Akbar. It was he who built a bridge over the river Gumti in Jaunpore which still stands. He was ripe in age and experience and a patron of learning. He had a personal library of his own. A lover of books, he tried to get hold of them from wherever he could. His friends knew his taste and they used to send to him books which they considered rare. And he in return used to enrich them with precious and costly presents. Bahādur Khān Azbak, one of his friends, sent to him a

/ 1. A Manuscript of *Yūsuf Zulaikhā* painted with gilded margin, fine Naskh hand, small size, is preserved in the library of Shantiniketan, Bengal. It was written in 1201 and was brought from Kabul as a present.

2. The source of all this information is a lecture by Maulvi Ḥāfiz Naṣir Aḥmad Ṣāhib, Archæological Museum, Calcutta, delivered at the Oriental Conference in 1922, published in *Ma'ārif*, Vol. XIV.

3. Ibid.

copy of *Kulliyāt Sa'dī* while he was the governor of Jaunpore. Mun'im writes on the book as follows:—

This *Kulliyāt* of Ḥaḍrat Shaikh Sa'dī had been sent to this Faqir himself in the pleasant city of Jaunpore by dear Bahādur Khān. Rupees 500 was granted as reward in 976.

It has nine hundred and ninety-four pages, Nineteen thousand seven hundred couplets and lines between the margin and the paragraph. The margin is numbered four thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight. It consists of two indigo colours and the preface painted and for Lōh Shirāzī.

این کتاب حضرت شیخ سعدی قدس سره را آن عزیز بهادر خان در بلد پر سرو و چونپور بدین قفس فرستاده بود، پانصد روپیه انعام شد، در تاریخ نه صا دو هفتاد و شش (۹۷۶) عدد اوراق این کتاب سی صد و نود و چهار است، عدا و ابیات و سطورش از متن و حاشیه نوزده هزار و هفت صد، حاشیه چهار هزار و هفت صد و بیست و هشت است، مشتمل بر دو اسم و دیباچه بصور و چهار لوح شیرازی

(Sd.) Mun'im Khān bin Bairam Khān.² العبد المنعم بن بیرم غفر الله ذنوبها و ستر عيوبها.

There was another book, the *Dīwān* of Mīrzā Kāmran, which fortunately still exists. It graced his library for a long time. He himself writes with his pen in this book:—

Allāh-o-Akbar. *Dīwān* of Mīrzā Kāmran in the writing of Khwājā Maḥmūd Ishāq Shahābī Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān, 34 lines. price in Mohur.

الله اکبر دیوان میرزا کامران بخط خواجه محمود اسحاق شهابی منعم خان خانان ۳۴ فرد قیمت مهر

This shows that he purchased this book for his library.¹

FAIDĪ'S LIBRARY

Faīḍī Faiyāḍī is conspicuous for his literary task and profound learning. A scholar and son of a scholar, he had collected rare and fine books in his library. Most of these books were from the pen of the authors themselves or were written in their time. Books were nicely bound and were corrected with due care and diligence. The library included Faīḍī's own works, which numbered one hundred and one. The total number of the books in this library was four thousand six hundred, all of which passed to the Imperial Library after his death. These books were on literature, medicine, astronomy, music, philosophy, Taṣāvvuf, science, mathematics, commentary, jurisprudence, Ḥadīth.³

1. Lecture by Maulavī Ḥāfiẓ. Naẓīr Aḥmad.

2. MS. of *Dīwān-i-Kāmran*, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.

3. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, by A. Q. Badāyūnī, Vol. III, p. 305, Calcutta.

JAHĀNGĪR'S LIBRARY

JAHĀNGĪR has a very high reputation for his fine taste and literary accomplishments. His *Tuzuk* at once displays his extraordinary ability. Besides the Imperial Library he had his personal library which he always carried about with him on a journey. Mukhtab Khān was the Muhtamim of that library. When he went to Gujrat he gave several books to the 'Ulemā of that place as a present. Jahāngīr writes :—

" On the 16th, Tuesday, the élite of Gujrat came to me for the second time. I again gave them Khil'at, travelling expenses and land, then allowed them to go. I gave every one of them from my personal library a book like *Tafsīr Kashshāf*, *Tafsīr Husaini*, *Raudat-ul-Aḥbāb*, and on the back of each book wrote the date of the arrival in Gujrat and the bestowing of the books.¹

NŪRJAHĀN'S LIBRARY

As a lover of learning and patron of art Nūrbahān was not inferior to her contemporaries. She also had a personal library, and she multiplied her books by purchase. She bought the *Diwān* of Mīrzā Kāmran for 3 Muhurs for her library. On its first page these lines occur :—

Three Muhur the price of this treasure. Nawab Nūr-un-Nisā' Begum.²

This shows that she got the book before her title of Nurjāhān, and therefore had already acquired a love of reading before going to the royal palace.

SHAIKH FARĪD'S LIBRARY

SHAIKH Farīd Bukhārī was one of the favourite courtiers of Jahāngīr. He was the governor of Lahore and Ahmedabad for a long time. He was broad-minded, benevolent, and a man of learning. He also had a personal library of his own. The copy of *Diwān* of Ḥasan Dehlavī, which he bought for his library is still in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Patna.³

SHĀH JAHĀN'S LIBRARY

DURING the reign of Shāh Jahān in 1062 Sayyid 'Alī ibn Sayyid Jalāl Maqsūd 'Ālam ibn Sayyid Muḥammad Maqbūl 'Ālam was Nāẓim of the library for some time in 1062. Born in Ahmedabad, a city of Gujrat,

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 218, Aligarh.

2. MSS. of *Diwān-i-Kāmran*, Khuda Bakhsh Khan Library, Patna.

3. Vide its Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 248.

he came to this honoured post on the recommendation of his brother, Sayyid Ja'far Badr 'Ālam. He traced his descent direct from Ḥadrat Shāh 'Ālam, the founder of the famous Bukhārī family in Gujrat. He was a very learned and capable man. I'temād Khān and 'Ināyat Khān had preceded him in this post.

The Dārogha or Muhtamim of this library was 'Abdur-Rahmān Khush-Navis till 1056. After him Muḥammad Ṣālih, son of 'Abdullāh Mushkīn Raqam (d. 1016) was appointed to the post.¹ In 1063 Muḥammad Shafi' was the Dārogha of the library, as is revealed by a seal on a Holy Qur'ān which is in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.²

A German traveller who came to Surat in 1036 A.H. and remained there for long time, writes in his *Travels*:—There were 24 thousand books nicely bound in Shāh Jahān's Library.³

'ĀLAMGĪR'S LIBRARY

THIS library was greatly improved in the time of 'Ālamgīr. The then Nāzim was Muḥammad Ṣālih, second son of 'Isa Khān Tārkhān (Sindh), and the Muhtamim was Muḥammad Mansūr, grandson of Mahābat Khān. He was honoured with the title of Makramat Khān. Sayyid 'Alī-al-Husainī was appointed Muhtamim in 1069, as is revealed by a seal on a Holy Qur'ān which is in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal.⁴

QUTB-UL-MULK'S LIBRARY

THIS library was of a type which rich people always kept in those days. Qutb-ul-Mulk had collected rare books for his library by all possible means. *Tuzuk Jahāngīrī* had become rare in those days, but he procured a copy for his library. Shāhzāda Muḥammad Sulṭān ibn 'Ālamgīr got this book from this library, and it is still in the library of Khuda Bakhsh of Bankipore, Patna.

NĀWAB IBRĀHĪM KHĀN'S LIBRARY

Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Hazabr Jung was counted among the influential nobles of Delhi. Like all the rich people, he also had a big library in which books were entered after purchase. The *Dīwān* of 'Muhandis,' the poet, written in 1115 A.H., was purchased for this library. The real name of the poet Muhandis was Luṭfullāh, son of

1. *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, Vol. II, p. 505.

2. *Ma'ārif*, A'zamgarh, Vol. XIV, p. 422.

3. *Mandelsello's Travels*, p. 118.

4. *Ma'ārif*, A'zamgarh, Vol. XIV, p. 422.

Nādir-ul-'Aṣr Ustād Aḥmad Ma'mar, the famous engineer of Shāh Jahān's time, who built the Tāj Maḥal, Agra, and Lāl Qil'a Delhi.¹

At the close of this book these lines are written: "On 20th Ramaḍān-ul-Mubārak in 1157, *Diwān* of Muhandis was purchased in the Sirkar of Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur," and in the beginning "This book is entered in the library of Sirkar Nawāb Ibrāhīm Khān Bahādur Hazabr Jung."

The library was intact up to the time of Muḥammad Shāh, but the later Mughals neglected this library as they neglected other affairs and the result was that the courtiers began to remove books from this library. Innumerable books went to the library of Shāhān-e-Oudh.²

After the memorable event of 1857 the books of this library were scattered. Some of the booty reached the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, and some the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and the rest were entered in the London Library. But still there were left thousands of books which remained in the hands of Indians. Many books with the seal of the Mughal emperors and the Nāzim of the library have come to the notice of the writer in several libraries of India. There are also many private libraries which still possess such books.

NAWĀB LOHĀRŪ'S LIBRARY

IN the last days of the Mughal empire Nawāb Lohārū was a cultured man and a lover of learning. He was surrounded by men of learning in his durbar. Ghālib, the famous poet, was on very friendly terms with him. The Nawab had a great love for rare things, and had a big library which contained books on different subjects. It had fine specimens of painting and colouring. There were books worth at least twenty thousand rupees in all.³ It is said that this library was destroyed in 1857.

There may possibly have been libraries in Gujrat among the Muslim settlers before Islamic rule, as appears from the stay of Maulānā Ya'qūb in 656 in the Friday Mosque of Patan, but they have not been specifically mentioned in history.⁴

ROYAL LIBRARY OF GUJRAT

WHEN Gujrat became independent, Sultān Aḥmad (d. 846 A.H.) became the patron of arts and learning and he founded Madrasas, mosques and inns, and other public buildings which included libraries also.

1. *Ma'ārif*, Vol. 37, p. 17, A'ẓamgarh.

2. *Tuḥfat-ul-Ghanā'im*, p. 350, Bombay.

3. *'Ūd Hindi* by Ghālib, p. 29.

4. *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi*, Bombay, pp. 72, 73.

The mention of libraries in history is made in this way: "After his death, his son Muḥammad Shāh (d. 856 A.H.), taking out books from this same Royal library, entrusted them to the students of Madrasa Sham'-i-Burhāni.¹ This library existed until 980, when Akbar, after conquering Gujrat, distributed the books. Some of them reached the hands of Shaikh 'Abdul-Haq Muḥaddith Dehlavi and some passed to 'Abd-ul-Qādir Badāyūni. Faiḍi also got some of them and the rest entered the Royal library.²

USMANPURA LIBRARY

SHAIKH Muḥammad, Uthmān, entitled Sham'-i-Burhāni and the Khalifa of Ḥadrat Quṭb-i-'Ālam (d. 857 A.H.) in Ahmedabad, was a great spiritual head. He inhabited a village on the other side of the Sabar Mati river and named it Usmanpura. He had a mosque and a Madrasa built through Muḥammad Shāh Gujrati. There was a library attached to this Madrasa where, besides others, the books given from the Royal Library were contained. He himself supervised it till 863. It existed long after that date till it perished in plunder of the Marathas. The mosque and the tomb still stand as a relic of the past.

KHĀNQĀH SARKHAIZ'S LIBRARY

ḤADRAT Shaikh Aḥmad Khatwi (d. 849) built a mosque, Khānqāh and tank in Sarkhaiz in Ahmedabad. After his death Sultān Muḥammad Shāh built a tomb and Madrasa. It is quite reasonable to think that a library must have been attached to the Madrasa. But an incident suggests that Shaikh Aḥmad had a personal library also in his Khānqāh. The incident is that on a certain occasion he took out *Maṣābiḥ*, a work on Ḥadīth, from his library and read before the audience a Ḥadīth, relating to a Qaṣida written in honour of the Holy Prophet.³

✓ SHĀH 'ĀLAM'S LIBRARY

THE famous saint of Gujrat, Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam (d. 880), was a scholar by profession as well by practice... He was very fond of reading books. Both his hands had marks which were caused by leaning during deep excessive study. He had a big library in which besides ordinary books there were rare books also. When Ṣadr Jahān went to see him, he showed one such rare copy of Imām Raḍī, which the Maulānā had no knowledge of.⁴

1. *Zafr-ul-Wāliḥ*, p. 32, London, Vol. I.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Badāyūni*, Vol. II, p. 202, Calcutta.

3. *Tuḥfat-ul-Majālis*, MSS., Section 38.

4. *Khātima Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, Bombay, p. 3.

His successors went on improving the library. In the time of Sayyid Ja'far Badr 'Ālam (d. 1085) this library had reached its height.¹ He himself entered many books written in his own hand. One night in the street a person begged him for a copy of the Holy Qur'ān while he was passing that way. He promised to give it to him next day after taking it from his library. But the beggar insisted and demanded the very copy which he always kept himself. At last he had to part with it. His descendants retired to the city wall for fear of the plundering of the Maratha, and the library could not be properly looked after. Gradually it decayed, but still his Sajjādanashīn has got some books in his possession.

✓ MUHAMMAD BIN ṬĀHIR PATNĪ'S LIBRARY

'ALLĀMA Muhammad bin Ṭāhir Patni-Gujrati (d. 986 A.H.) had been a famous Muḥaddith in Nahar Vala Patan. His son and grandson rose to high posts. He had a library of rare books, and had collected books from Arabia and Iran. Books were preserved there so long as members of his family were men of learning. Afterwards it gradually tended to deteriorate. His descendants have still some books in their possession, but the author was grieved to see this library in 1932, as there was no care for its preservation. If this state of affairs persists the remaining books also will be ruined.

Majma'-ul-Baḥr said to be written in the author's own hand, was shown to the writer of this article, but there was nothing in the book to prove the assertion.

✓ SHĀH WAJĪHUDDĪN'S LIBRARY

'ALLĀMA Shāh Wajīhuddīn Gujrati (d. 998) was a pious soul of Ahmedabad. He founded a Madrasa in 934 A.H. which continued long after his death (till 1236) without interruption. Along with that Madrasa there was a very big library. It had books on almost all subjects. It is said that two big halls were full of books thrown down in a disorderly manner. When the family lost its interest in learning, books were lost. At the beginning of this century the late Maulvī 'Abdul-Mun'im Šāhib Balza, the Khaṭīb of Jāmi' Masjid, Bombay, and the late Yūsuf Šāhib bin Khat Khate carried away many books. When the writer saw this library in 1921 it contained a few big trunks of books. Now there is nothing. Some have reached the hands of friends and some the mouth of the Saber Mati River. A very small number of books are with Pir Ḥusain and Bara Miyān Šāhib, the present Mutawallī of Dargāh, a friend of the writer.

1. *Khātima Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi*.

MADRASA PATAN'S LIBRARY

MADRASA "Faiz Safa" was founded in Nahar Vala Patan, Gujrat, in 1092 A.H. A Masjid also was constructed side by side, on which this chronogram is inscribed.

بنا شد مدرسه مسجد پر فیض صفا در هزار و نود ، دوز عنا یات خدا

This mosque had a big library also. It was in a very bad condition when the writer saw it in 1931. Rare books were scarce, but still there was a large number of manuscripts.

MAKHDŪM IBRĀHĪM'S LIBRARY

KUTIANA is a famous town in Kathiawar. A big Madrasa was started in this place in 1099, Makdūm Shaikh Ibrāhīm bin Sulaimān being the founder. He died in 1121 A.H., but his Madrasa existed till the last century. A library was attached to this Madrasa, and this library continued even after the Madrasa was closed. When the writer had the occasion to see it, it was an ordinary library, which had printed books, besides manuscripts. The Mutawalli told the writer that a considerable number of books were carried away by people of Junagadh.

MADRASA HIDĀYAT BAKHSH LIBRARY

MAULĀNA Nūraddīn, was an outstanding scholar and a pious Šūfī. He read philosophy, logic, and mathematics with Maulānā Aḥmad bin Sulaimān (d. 1087), full brother of Makhdūm Shaikh Ibrāhīm bin Sulaimān. Shaikh-ul-Islam constructed a Madrasa building for him in the name of Hidāyat Bakhsh. One lakh twenty-four thousand rupees were spent over its construction. Madrasa, mosque and hostels were completed in 1111 A.H.¹ Along with it there was a big library, where books on every subject were kept. It was open to all, and the general public, besides the few, used to be benefited by it, but the Maratha plunder ruined all. Several books of this library are present in the library of Dargāh Haḍrat Pir Muḥammad Shāh, Ahmedabad. The Masjid still exists, owing to the care taken of it by the Moḥalla people.

MADRASA WALĪ'ULLĀH LIBRARY

THERE was a big Madrasa associated with the mosque which stands near Talia Mal in Ahmedabad. Maulānā Imādudīn was its Nāẓim. Attached to this Madrasa there was a large library which contained books

1. *Khātima-i-Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, p. 57, Calcutta edition.

on every subject, and many books were the best on the subject. The Maratha lootings reduced it to a miserable condition. The members of the family began to neglect it, owing to their apathy towards learning. Some of the books were given away by them to men of learning, and some were eaten up by worms. The remaining books which are still present help one to imagine the grandeur of the library. In spite of plunder and losses it has still got books which are rare and precious, and one can well imagine what a treasure it might have been. The books which remain at present have been given in trust to the Dargāh Ḥaḍrat Pīr Muḥammad Shāh in Ahmedabad.

LIBRARY OF SHI'Ā-BOHRAS

AHMEDABAD was the centre of the Shī'ā Ismā'īlī Bohra till the middle of the eleventh century Hijri. Their Wālī or Dā'ī resided there, and a special Madrasa was built in the interests of the community. There was a grand library under the supervision of the Dā'ī, which had books on almost every subject. It was transferred to Jam-Nagar (Kathiawar)¹ after 1065 A.H. and still exists in good condition under the supervision of Sayyidenā Ṭāhir Saifuddin at Surat. A particular group of scholars of the community benefited from it. In 1000 A.H. another library was set up there by Sulaimānī Bohras, which contained mostly religious books. It is still under their Dā'ī.

KHANBAIT LIBRARY

KHANBAIT is a small estate of Muslims. From the days of Mo'min Khan I, it was surrounded by scholars of Arabia, Persia and India. Once it had a population of 12 lakhs. It had numerous libraries, but with the decline of the estate learning decreased, and the libraries were ruined.

Some of the families of Khanbait possess remnants of these libraries, and the writer chanced to see some of the remaining books in the possession of Sayyid Ghulām 'Abbās Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣāhib in 1921. There was a Holy Qur'ān in Nasta'liq. People revered it very highly, thinking it to be written in the hand of Ḥaḍrat 'Alī. There was also a library of Mah-kama-e-Qudāt which is no more; only some ordinary books are left with the present Qāḍī.

There was another library of 'Abd-ul-Latīf Dīwān Ṣāhib, which could not be looked after by his descendants and at last succumbed. Some books were taken by a grocer in satisfaction of his dues. The writer was shown these books by that grocer, but there was hardly any book worth the name. All were ordinary Persian books.

1. *Mausam-i-Bahār*, Vol. III, *Safdarī*, Bombay, *Biyyān Sayyidena Dā'ūd*.

LIBRARY OF MAḤKAMA-I-QUDĀT AHMEDABAD

THE status of the Ahmedabad city Qāḍi was very high in the days of Islamic rule. All the districts were under Maḥkama Qudāt, and a library was necessarily associated with the post. The city Qāḍi of Ahmedabad still has a library which has come down along with the post of Qudāt ever since the days of Islamic rule. Considerable portions of it have been lost, as former holders of the post were without learning. Now they have realised the obligation to preserve it and are keeping the books in almirahs instead of big trunks as formerly.

The writer went to see this library three times, but Qāḍi Šāhib for reasons known best to him did not allow him to see it and always gave evasive replies to his request.

SHAIKH HAḌRAMĪ LIBRARY

SHAIKH 'Abdul-Qāḍir Haḍramī (d. 1038) was a famous saint of Ahmedabad.¹ *النور السافر في اعيان القرن العاشر* is his well-known work. His grave is on Johri Barh at the extremity of the lane running east from the Civil Hospital. He had a big library of his own.² But all has perished except the tomb. As he was a great historian, Muḥaddith and Šūfi, naturally the library must have been rich in books on history, Ḥadīth and Taṣawwuf.

Chanpanir (Gujrat) was once the capital for some time. Maulānā Naṣrullāh was the City Qāḍi of this place in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I. A great scholar and a pious man, he scrupulously avoided acquiring wealth by unfair means. He had a great library which was attached to the Maḥkama-i-Qudāt.

MAḤKAMA-I-QUDĀT OF BHAROCH

BHAROCH is a very old city in Gujrat. It existed even at the time when the Greek army came to India, and it was the centre of a district in Islamic days. The Maḥkama of Qāḍi was always there. Maulānā Sayyid Ahmad Shirāzi's family held this post in its last days. He had a large library, the remnants of which are still in the possession of his descendants. The writer saw this library in 1932. It still contains rare manuscripts. Qāḍi Nūruddīn, a man of literary taste, told the writer that the library was damaged in his boyhood. *Mathnavī* of Maulvī Rūm, dated 1090, Vol. V, has been edited on modern lines. The compendium volume II of Sarkhshī (dated 909), *Kitāb-ul-Mukhāzin*, Vol. II, *Kitāb-ul-Khulāṣa f' il Fatāwah* by Ṭāhir bin Aḥmad bin 'Abdur-Rashīd Bukhārī, *Majma' ul-Baḥ-*

1. *Khulāṣat-ul-'Ayn*, Vol. II, p. 440.

2. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 68, Aligarh.

rain, translation of *Upan Khat*, *Parem Hans* from *Athern Ved* are notable works

SHAIKH MĀHIMĪ'S LIBRARY

SHAIKH 'Alā'uddīn 'Alī bin Ahmad Māhim lived in Bombay, and was buried there. He died in 835 A.H.¹ and his tomb has become a place of pilgrimage for the populace. A great scholar and Ṣūfī of his time, he was the writer of many useful books. He had a library which lasted long but which deteriorated owing to the negligence of trustees. When the writer visited that place, he saw a recent library in Dargāh Sharif which contains books in Arabic, Persian and Urdu. On enquiry from the Nāzim of the library, it was learned that all the remaining books of Shaikh 'Alā'uddīn's library had been amalgamated with it. So far as I remember, a book written by the Shaikh was shown to me, but I could not examine it thoroughly for want of time.

LIBRARY OF NAWĀB ŠĀHIB OF SURAT

THE Nawāb Šāhib of Surat also has a library from ancient times. Probably it is an estate library which he has inherited from his forefathers. The writer tried twice to see it but in vain, since the Nawāb Šāhib was away from Surat.

LIBRARY OF 'IDRŪS

'IDRŪS is a well-known family of Surat. This family came to Ahmedabad from Haḍramut in 950 A.H. The son came to Bharoch and the grandson to Surat in 975 A.H. جاء الجواد الضياف is the chronogram of their arrival.²

This family has been noted for its learning and the members have always been the authors of books. The present head has a library which has descended from generation to generation up to his time. The writer saw this library in 1932. It is still very rich in books on Ḥadīth, Taṣāwuf, literature and history.

LIBRARY OF SAYYID QAMRUDDĪN

THE library of Sayyid Qamruddīn is also in Surat. It went on decreasing till only three almirahs are now left. When the writer saw it in 1932,

1. *Ma'āthir-ul-Kirām*, Vol. p. 190.

2. *Mazāyāt-i-Sūrāt-wa-Bharoch* by 'Abdul-Ḥakīm (died 1068 A.H.), a manuscript preserved in 'Idrūs's Library.

there were no male members in the house, but he saw it, after the women had retired in purdah, where it was kept. The pity is that there was no rare work, but only one book is worth mentioning. It is *Allāh Khudā'ī*, ^{اللہ خدائی}. Its style is just like *Khāliq Bārī*.

These are the two opening lines :—

جان ، ام القرى کو تو مکہ	ہے حمد پاک اور احد یکہ
ہست اقوی ، برادر بھائی	اب ، پدر ، باپ ، والدہ مائی

This book was published in 1278 through Ismā'il Shīrāzī, Bombay. Another book is *Kalām-i-Aqdas* by Haḍrat Pir Muḥammad Shāh Bijā-pūrī, who remained Mu'takif (confined voluntarily) in a mosque for forty years. He was also a poet with the pen-name Aqdas and was a contemporary of that famous Urdu poet Walī Gujrātī. He has composed numerous poems in Urdu, and his *Diwān* is very rare. The writer saw a copy complete in Ahmedabad, and this is the second one which remains unpublished. Its possessors, who hold it very dear, are opposed to publication.

LIBRARY OF SHĀH 'ABD-UL-'ALĪM

ANKALESHWAR is a small town very close to Bharoch. The Khanqāh and Dargāh together with a mosque of Shāh 'Abd-ul 'Alīm are there. There was also a library long ago. As happened in the case of Surat, the place became a big Karavan station and developed into a fair sized town. Men of learning who resided there derived benefit from the library, but only a few are left as a relic of the past.

S. A. ZAFAR NADVI.

(To be concluded)

MALIK 'AMBAR: AN ESTIMATE

MALIK 'Ambar was one of the most remarkable personalities thrown-up by centuries of Indian history. A foreigner to the Deccan, he showed himself to be a brave defender of the freedom of his adopted country against the countless hordes of the imperial Mughals. He not only cried a halt to the forces of Mughal aggression but time and again rolled them back to whence they came. So long as he lived the Nizāmshāhi State survived, and it was only after his death, when his successors proved too small for his shoes, that the Mughals succeeded in their designs.

'Ambar's original name was Shambu and he was born in the far-off land of Abyssinia, about the year 1550 A.D. Sold in infancy by his parents, who were very poor, he was brought away to the slave-market of Baghdad where one Mir Qāsim Baghdadi bought him.¹ His master was a kind man and treated young Shambu like one of his own children. He also gave him the name of 'Abmar. Fortune changed again, and Mir Qāsim took 'Ambar to the Deccan where in Ahmednagar he sold him to Mirak Dabir, better known as Changēz Khān, the famous minister of Murtaza Nizām Shāh. After the death of Changēz Khān, 'Abmar played a lone hand for some time but without much success. He then migrated to Golconda, whence after a short stay he went to Bijapur and joined the service of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II. Here, too, he failed to win any recognition, and returning to Ahmednagar once again in 1596 A.D. he joined Abhang Khān, who was at that time in open revolt against Chānd Bibī, and was given a command of 150 horse.²

During the siege of the fort of Ahmednagar by Abhang Khān, 'Ambar displayed conspicuous gallantry and at one time effected an entry into the fort, but was ejected as he was not properly supported.³ When Ahmednagar fell to the Mughals in 1600 A.D., 'Ambar became a free-lance once again and by his military reputation soon collected round himself a strong force which enabled him to fight for the remnants of the Nizāmshāhi Kingdom.

1. *Fatūhāt-i-'Adil Shāhi*, 267a.

2. *Fatūhāt-i-'Adil Shāhi*, 267a, *Tuḥfat-ul-Mulūk*, 234.

3. *Tuḥfat-ul-Mulūk* 235, *Bāsātīn-us-Salāṭīn*, 242.

The story of 'Ambar's fight against the Mughals is an oft-told tale and is well known to every student of Indian history. But what is not so well known is 'Ambar's diplomacy and political foresight, which enabled him to build up a united front of all the Deccan powers to withstand the overwhelming might of the Mughals. Conscious of the fact that it was not possible for him to wage war on the Mughals single-handed, he made it the cardinal principle of his policy to win the support and co-operation of the other kings of the Deccan.

Early in his career 'Ambar had assiduously tried to win the favour of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II. Ibrāhīm, who was a wise and farseeing man, also saw the advantage of having 'Ambar between him and the Mughal to serve as a shock-absorber. He gave over the fort of Qandhar to him and gave the daughter of one of his favourite courtiers in marriage to 'Ambar's son.¹ Throughout the war that 'Ambar waged against the Mughals he could always depend on Ibrāhīm's help in men and money. Ibrāhīm, though outwardly remaining on friendly terms with the Mughals, did his best to strengthen 'Ambar's resistance. But whereas 'Ambar professed humility towards the 'Ādil Shāh he was domineering towards the Qutub Shāh and the Barid Shāh. He fleeced them again and again of large sums of money as a price for not attacking them. It was blackmail. The result was that whenever Mughal armies attacked 'Ambar, contingents from Bijapur and Golconda came to his help. *The Cambridge History of India* wrongly states that, in 'Ambar's struggle with the Mughals, 'neither the Qutub Shāh nor the 'Ādil Shāh concerned himself much otherwise than by supporting him by pecuniary contributions.'² This is disproved by the evidence of Pieter Van Brocke and Van Revestyn, Dutch travellers, and the statement of the author of *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, a very reliable history of Bijapur.³ Van Brocke travelled from the west coast to the east coast in November and December 1617, and Van Revestyn journeyed from Masulipatam to Surat and back in 1615. In June 1615 Revestyn found three camps side by side at Daulatabad, Malik Ambar's being in the centre with that of the Bijapur force commanded by Mulla Muḥammad on the right, and on the left that of Mīr Mūsa in command of a Golconda force.⁴ Brocke recorded that 'Ambar had 80,000 horse in all, including 60,000 from Golconda and 10,000 from Bijapur. Mīrza Ibrāhīm Zubairī, the author of *Basātīn-us-Salātīn*, writes :— "When Prince Parvēr's force under the command of Rājā Mān Singh (1610) invaded the territory of 'Ambar, the latter being frightened requested help from Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh. The 'Ādil Shāh, whose forces were scattered, some being sent to

1. B. S., 263, 264.

2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 261.

3. The Goa records also show that the Portuguese actively helped 'Ambar (*The extinction of the Nizām Shāhs*, by Pissalencar, in Sardesai Memorial,

4. Moreland's article *From Gujrat to Golconda in the Reign of Jahangir*, *Journal of Indian History*, 1938, p. 140.

put down disturbances in the Carnatic, while others were in the neighbourhood of Adoni and one contingent was already helping 'Ambar, was left only with his own guards. But still he managed to send some 40,000 veteran horse to 'Ambar together with 10,000 Marathas of Ahmednagar who had found shelter in Bijapur. With these reinforcements 'Ambar faced the Mughals."¹ It is clear, therefore, that at this time Bijapur and Golconda did not confine themselves to pecuniary assistance alone but did their very best in every way to bolster up 'Ambar's resistance.

Let us next turn to 'Ambar's achievements in other fields.

Of 'Ambar's administration Van Brocke tells us:— "The Malik maintains good law and administration in his country. He punishes criminals and thieves very severely so that you can safely travel with gold through his territory without being molested. If any one gets drunk, he promptly has molten lead poured down his throat. Nobody, on pain of death, offers strong drink for sale or even travels with it through the country. The camp is very large in circuit, one cannot ride round it in four hours. It is called Khirki and you can buy whatever you want in it."² 'Ambar devoted much time to improving agriculture in his domain and to restoring prosperity to his people, who were his real strength. He reclaimed waste lands and was the first to introduce into the Deccan Todar Mal's system of revenue assessment. Nor did he neglect the judicial system.

'Ambar was also a great builder and founded the town of Khirki, which was later on called Aurangabad. Here he built beautiful buildings, planted gardens and dug canals and tanks. A deep underground channel brought water to his new capital. Among 'Ambar's buildings still remaining in Aurangabad are the Bhadkal Darwāza, Naukhanda Mahal and Kālāchabūtra.

'Ambar was a patron of learning and learned men, many of them Arabs. Of these perhaps the greatest was Shālī Haḍramī, whose book *'Iqd-ul-Jawāhar* contains biographical sketches of the great men who flourished in the 11th century Hijri. Shālī tells us that learned men flocked to 'Ambar's court, read eulogistic poems and were handsomely rewarded. There were many Persian scholars, too, at his court. At Khirki he built a "Chitākāna" or House of Learning, where pandits, learned men and scholars collected and prosecuted their studies.

'Ambar's chief claim to fame lies, however, in his genius as a general. He was the initiator of a new system of military tactics called "Bargigiri." Its essence was avoidance of pitched battles, hovering on the flanks of the enemy, cutting off stragglers and supplies, attacking their camp at night, in short being a thorough nuisance to the enemy. For this purpose, for the first time in history, he trained and made use of light Maratha

1. *Basātin-us-Salāṭin*, p. 267.

2. *Journal of Indian History*, 1938, p. 140, 146.

cavalry and thus laid the foundations of the future greatness of the Maratha nation. He also trained a corps of Habshi slaves to act as guards and shock troops. Even Mughal historians speak highly of 'Ambar's military genius. The author of the *Iqbāl-Nāma-Jahāngīrī* writes :—, "Ambar was a slave but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgement and in administration he had no equal or rival. He well understood that predatory warfare which in the language of Deccan is called 'Bargigiri.' He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence."¹ Jahāngīr himself is forced to admire 'Ambar's greatness :— "In the art of soldiering 'Ambar was unique in his age. He put down the disorderly elements in his country and spent the whole of his life honourably." The author of the *Ma'āşir-ul-Umara* writes of him in the same strain :— "In charity, piety, justice and in helping the needy he had a generous hand."² Well has the poet said :—

"In the service of the Prophet of God there was one Balāl,
 After a thousand years came another, Malik 'Ambar."

D. R. SETH.

1. *Iqbāl-Nāma-Jahāngīrī*, p. 607.

2. *Ma'āşir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 7-9.

THE MAP OF THE BATTLE OF MALĀZGIRD¹ ON BASIS OF HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE

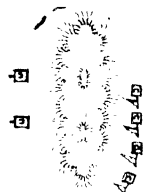
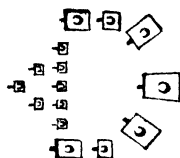
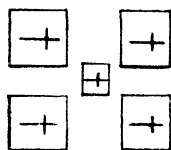
HISTORY records that Muslims have won many a great battle during the last thirteen hundred years, but very little has been written about their exploits from the point of view of the science of warfare. Compilers of general histories are rarely strategists and tacticians themselves, while books on the history of Islamic warfare, if ever written, have been lost to us. To reconstruct the picture at this late hour requires the double knowledge of a soldier and of a chronicler. Our general historians were interested only in the result and not in the means thereof; consequently the data on which we have to rely are extremely meagre. Much may be learned from a visit to the battle-fields and a scientific survey of the spots concerned; and the results obtained by a layman like myself in this way were astonishing and beyond all expectations. My first gleanings were published as "Les Champs de Bataille au Temps du Prophète"¹ in the *Revue des Études Islamique*, Paris, in 1939. I think the attempt is worth continuing.

Among the epoch-making battles of the world, Malāzgird (or Menezgerd) north of lake Van in Armenia, has an important place. This great contest of arms between the Muslims and the Byzantines was brought to a successful end in favour of Islam by the masterly strategy and tactics of the Turkish Sultān Alp Arslān in 1071. In spite of the very heavy odds against it—nearly, one to three,² the Seljuq army not merely defeated its enemy but literally routed and annihilated it, taking emperor Romanus Deogenes prisoner; and the consequences were of far-reaching effect.

I need not relate the story here, since it is very well known both in Islamic and Christian histories. I venture to suggest how to reconstruct a map of the battlefield of this world-famous contest of arms. Our data are extremely meagre, and I have not been so fortunate as to visit the site

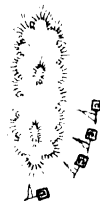
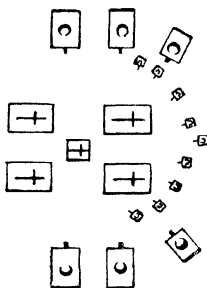
1. There is also an enlarged, illustrated Urdu edition of the same, first published in the *Osmania University Journal* (Arts and Theology Research), Vol. VII, and several editions in book form عهد نبوی کے میدان جنگ

2. 40,000 against 100,000.



FIRST PHASE

معركة اولی

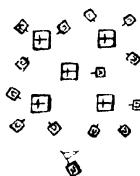


NEXT PHASE

معركة وسطی

LAST PHASE

معركة آخره



SELJUGS



سلاجقه

BYZANTINES



رومی

so far, and to sketch on the spot a map which should be faithful at least as regards the terrain.

All that we know from our historians¹ is that the Muslims drew themselves up crescent-wise and the Christians formed in a solid square block. At the beginning of the fighting, the Muslims pretended to be defeated and withdrew and even dispersed, but the heedlessly advancing Christian army was later surrounded and annihilated. A reserve of Muslim cavalry, concealed from the enemy's eyes in the beginning, was also of great help to the Muslims in the later stages.

I am very grateful to Lt.-Col. Tāj Aḥmad Khān of Hyderabad who was kind enough to go through my rough sketch of the map and suggest many technical improvements.

A map, unlike a film, is not capable of conveying the gradual development of a fluid situation. The three separate maps, showing the distinct phases of the battle, may be a certain help to the reader.

In the first phase, both the armies stand face to face, the Muslims divided into smaller units and so arranged that the whole army looked like a huge crescent, and the Christians like a square. The crescent formation was also useful in hiding the small number of the Muslim forces from the enemy.

In the second phase the Christians darted forward and the Muslims took up a defensive position, retreating according to a pre-arranged plan and gradually widening the arms of the crescent. When the Christian army moved from its strong positions, it was encircled by the Muslims.

In the third phase we see the reserve of the Muslim cavalry attacking in small yet never-ending detachments and grappling with the harassed enemy. There was no way out for the army of the Christians. It was perforce divided into small pockets and put out of action.

This brought the great battle to an end. It took many months to prepare, yet the struggle was decided in a single day.

If scholars placed in a better position than my humble self co-operate and complete the work, they will be doing a great service to the cause of learning. They should not disdain the past. No doubt "the size of modern armies and their improved armaments and means of communication render many lessons of the past inapplicable to the present. But human nature and the underlying principles of war do not change, and it is for this reason that valuable lessons can be learned from even the most ancient campaigns."

M. ḤAMĪDULLĀH.

1. Gibbon in particular, and نظام الملك طوسی مولفہ عبدالرزاق (اردو)

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS OF THE COURT OF SHĀH JAHĀN¹

SHĀH Jahān's reign constitutes a brilliant epoch in the evolution of Indian music as in that of other fine arts. The process of commingling between the Persian and Indian art forms had reached a final stage in that reign. Indian or Persian music loses its individuality and both coalesce to take a decisive Indo-Persian form. One is struck to notice that while there were more than half a dozen musicians and instrument-players at Akbar's court who hailed from Meshed, Herat or Khurasan,² and naturally played in the system prevailing in their country, there were only two such musicians at the court of Shāh Jahān. Not only so, but in Shāh Jahān's reign, the art of music reaches a polish and grace unprecedented in the past.³ This stage in the development of music seems to have been assisted by the prevalence of comparative peace and the personal predilection and refined tastes of the emperor, who delighted in surrounding himself with artists and men of letters and lavishly patronised them. Shāh Jahān, who was sufficiently orthodox in the matter of faith, had, like other Muḥammedan rulers of India, a fine taste for Hindustani music. Nay, he was, according to the court chronicler, an accomplished vocalist and had a very sweet voice which kept his listeners spell-bound.⁴ It was his habit to listen to music after the transaction of State business before sunset, and at night he listened to the music played by women-singers of the harem between supper and sleep.⁵ Apart from the daily routine, music formed an essential part of the court rejoicings and festivities, say on the solar or lunar new year's day, the anniversary of the royal accession to the throne, marriage and birth ceremonies, the recovery from sickness of princes or princesses, and the 'Ids. On such occasions the emperor paid keen attention to musicians and instrument-players, who displayed their art in turn and each received very handsome

1. Read at the Indian Research Association, Muslim University, Aligarh, U.P.

2. *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Blockmann, pp. 680-82.

3. Faqirullāh, *Rag Darpan*, Muslim University MS. f. 16a

4. Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 12, 13.

5. Saxena, *Shāh Jahān*, 243.

rewards.¹ In the rejoicings connected with the recovery of princess Jahān-Arā, 1054/1644, he bestowed two thousand rupees on La'l Khān Gun-samudr, one thousand rupees on Rang Khan, and twelve thousand rupees on other musicians.²

Fortunately, we get a full picture of the music and musicians of the reign from Faqīrullāh's *Rag Darpan* and *Mān Kautuhal* a treatise on Indian music completed between 1073 and 1078 (1661 and 1665). Intended as a work on the scientific basis of Indian music, the manuscript gives the type of information which a historian would like to get in chapters XI and XII. Faqīrullāh informs us that musical concerts were divided into three categories, Uttam (good), 'Maddham' (mediocre, and Nikisht (third-rate). An Uttam type of concert consisted of four musicians of the first, eight of the medium class, twelve beautiful women, four players of the Bānsrī (flute), and four Mridang (Pakhāwaj, a timing instrument) players. In the medium concert half of the musicians (that is two) consisted of singers of the Uttam category, other members being the same as in the Uttam type. The Uttam concert of the women musicians who played in the harem consisted of two women musicians, two mediocre women musicians, two women Bānsrī players, and three 'Mridang' players. The Maddham consisted of one woman Ustād (master), and four women players of the Bānsrī.³ While claiming originality for the musicians of Shāh Jahān, the historian asserts that compared with Shāh Jahān's musicians those of Akbar's court, including Tānsēn, were 'Quacks',⁴ because all their theoretical knowledge had been based on *Rāg-Sāgar*, which, the author says, Akbar had got translated, and 'they (musicians) did not know anything about the real music embodied in the *Mān Kautuhal* which Rāja Mānsingh Tonwār (1486-1517 A.D.) of Gwalior had compiled' with the assistance of the leading musicians of his court, such as Nā'ik Maḥmūd, Nā'ik Bakhshū and Nā'ik Pāndē. Though there seems to be much exaggeration in this statement, perhaps Faqīrullāh wishes to impress upon his readers that the musicians of Shāh Jahān's court were conversant with the new technique and style introduced into music by Rāja Mān of Gwalior to a greater degree.

It may be presumed that in Shāh Jahān's reign there existed a tendency towards the cultivation of new airs and melodies as given in the *Mān-Kautuhal* which had begun to assume standardised form. It is certain that there had crept in a tendency towards beautification and ornamentation in music, as is proved by the gradual revival of Kھیāl. We may

1. *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, 351, 605.

2. *Ibid.*, 400.

3. A reason is added by Faqīrullāh why musicians and instrument-players should be of varying degrees of attainment. When all are of the first class, the concert ends in tumult. Interdependence is only possible when some are of the first and others of the second class.

4. Faqīrullāh, *Rāg-Darpan*, f. 16a

5. 'Atā'i,' a 'quack,' according to Faqīrullāh is one who practises an art without knowing its scientific basis.

assume that there was a general tendency to deviate from the rigid conventionalism of the old Dhruvad style of singing or playing on instruments.

"When His Majesty happened to reside at Agra," Faqīrullāh says in the introduction to *Mān Kautuhal*, "matchless artists used to assemble round him, most of them belonging to Gwalior." From various historical sources we learn of the existence of about thirty musicians and instrumentalists of a high order. The names do not include any woman artist.

MYSTIC MUSICIANS

AMONG the musicians of Shāh Jahān's court, the earliest to deserve mention was Shaikh Bahā'uddīn, a mystic who died in the second year of Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne at the ripe age of 117 years.¹ He was an inhabitant of Barnawa, a village in the Jhunjhānā Pargana in the Middle Doab,² and belonged to a family of mystics. He had grown into a young man of sportive habits, but renounced the world, it is said, after an incident in hunting when a deer which he aimed at with his matchlock opened its voice to reprimand him. He took to a life of travel at the age of 25 and met with the leading saints and mystics of his time. In order to learn music, he travelled to the Deccan and devoted himself strenuously to learning to play upon instruments till the age of 50. He then returned to his home in Jhunjhānā and lived a celibate life, and wore green clothes from head to foot. "In the science of music he had no peer even in the Deccan, and had composed many beautiful Gits, Dhruvads, Khiyāls and Tarānas."³ He was an excellent player of Amrit Bīn, and had invented an instrument called Khiyāl, 'which had a strange appearance.' Two of his disciples—Rashīd and Asad—kept him company; while he sang Rashīd played on an instrument called Bhagwān (Bīn), 'which could not be wielded by anybody else.'

Shēr Muḥammad was another mystic musician, and a disciple of Shaikh Bahā'uddīn. It is stated about him that after the death of his father in his boyhood, he came to Shaikh Naṣīruddīn who was also one of his relatives, but on the decease of the latter, he was forced to change a settled life for one of rambles and travels. He had picked up Persian music from Shaikh Naṣīruddīn, who was without a match among his contemporaries. "Though not as accomplished a vocalist as Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqī, he produced melodies at the time of singing which, though they did not conform to the strict rules of Sangīt, were so appealing that they cannot be reproduced in measures of writing."⁴

1. *Rāg Darpan*, f. 17a.

2. Abul-Faḍl places Jhunjhānā in the Delhi Sarkar, cf. *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, II, Jarrett, p. 286.

3. *Rāg Darpan*, 17ab.

4. *Ibid.*, f. 18a.

Another mystic musician was Miyān Dālū, who belonged to the same tribe as Miyān Shēr Muḥammad. Miyān Dālū had become a mendicant and mixed little with men of the world. He was a very accomplished Dhrupad singer.¹ His compositions too were of a very high order. "Though great men (ascetics and mystics) of the time took great delight in cultivating music, there was none so accomplished as he," and "no one had seen a better player of instruments or heard of any better than he in any age."²

DHRUPADISTS

BUT the most honoured musician of the time, who had pre-eminence over all the rest at the court, was La'ī Khān Kalāwant (artist), on whom Shāh Jahān bestowed the title of Gun-Samudr (Gun-Samundar in Persian histories, 'Ocean of Virtues or Knowledge') on Rajab 1, 1047/19th November 1637 A.D.³ He was the son-in-law of Bilās Khān, son of Miyān Tānsēn, on whom he had made such an impression with his progress in learning the art, that Tānsēn handed him over to the charge of his son, Bilās Khān for further training, and took the initiative in getting Bilās Khān's daughter married to him. Faqīrullāh calls him a matchless Dhrupad singer. At the time of his singing four of his sons kept him company, all being alike in style.⁴ La'ī Khān is frequently mentioned in the *Bādshāh Nāma*, and he was regarded as the premier musician of the court and was profusely rewarded by the emperor. On Rajab 24, 1052/October 18, 1642, on the occasion of the festivities of the second anniversary of the coronation, the emperor bestowed on him an elephant after listening to him.⁵ On the occasion of the New (solar) Year festivities in 1053/1645-46, La'ī Khān was one of the recipients of appropriate rewards.⁶ He was given 4 thousand rupees in Rajab 1055/1645, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the accession,⁷ and one thousand rupees four months later. La'ī Khān also composed songs in the name of the emperor,⁸ and died at the age between 80 and 90 years.⁹ But the foremost composer of the time was Jagannāth Mahākabi Rā'i. It is believed that after Tānsēn no better composer had been born in India.¹⁰ It is

1. "In Dhrupad singing I have not heard a better one." *Rāg Darpan* 18a, and Faqīrullāh adds that he had seen him in his Agra house.

2. *Rāg Darpan*, f. 18a

3. 'Abd-ul-Hamid Lāhori, *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, Part I, 5.

4. *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, Part I, 6.

5. *Ibid.*, Part II, 311.

6. *Ibid.*, Part II, 351.

7. *Ibid.*, Part II, 434.

8. *Ibid.*, Part II, I, 6.

9. *Rāg Darpan*, 18b.

10. *Bādshāh Nāma*, II, Part I, 6.

said about him that he composed some Dhrupads and brought them before Miyañ Tānsēn, who approvingly said, "If his life is spared for long, his place will be next to mine in composition." He sang in the Karnatic, and the people of Northern India, laments 'Abd-ul-Hamid Lāhori,¹ 'did not grasp anything except the voice and the melody.' Gun-Sēn was another Dhrupadist who bore the title of Nā'ik-i-Afdal (the great Nā'ik). He was a descendant of Nā'ik Bharrū, a singer of Gīt and "pre-eminent among his contemporaries in the science of music." Muhib Khān Gujrāti, Dhrupadist, was a disciple of Bilās Khān, about whom "those versed in music have spoken well." Muhib Khān had a disciple in Basanthi Kalāwant, who was a good musician.¹ Rang Khān Kalāwant was a very high-class musician of the Dhrupad school, who held a position among court musicians second only to that of La'l Khān Gun-Samudr. "Music took shape even when he sang for a short while." He died between 80 and 90 years of age. He was one of those artists who had seen the time of Jahāngir.² One of the greatest musicians of the court was Khush-hāl Khān, on whom the emperor conferred the title of Gun-Samudr after the death of his father La'l Khān Gun-Samudr, in 1065/1654. "There does not exist," says Faqīrullāh, "a Kalāwant like him."³ Other Dhrupadists mentioned by the same author were Bāzid Khān Tujhāwari; Tulsi Ram Kalāwant; Dharam-dās Kalāwant, "who, having lost the elasticity of his voice, left the imperial service to settle in Agra till his death"; Hamīr Sēn and his son Subal Sēn. The former had seen the times of Jahāngir, the latter had his musical talents impaired by the loss of his teeth at the early age of 40; and Ḥasan Khān Nuḥār, grandson of Sa'id Khān and a 'matchless singer.'

Two musicians are mentioned as having accompanied Prince Shāh Shujā' to Bengal with the permission of the emperor—Miṣri Khān Dhārī, a musician and disciple of Bilās Khān, who died in Bihār, and Gun Khān who died in Bengal.

DHĀRĪS

THE professional court musicians of the Dhārī type were Sawād Khān of Fathpur Jhunjhāna; Walī Dhārī, a musician-composer;⁴ Raḥīmdād Dhārī; Gop Chop Dhārī, a musician composer. In the list of musician composers come the names of Ghulām Muhiyuddīn, who was living in Faqīrullāh's time, and Bocha, brother of Shēr Muḥammad.⁵ The latter died of a fistula in Agra when he was between 50 and 60 years of age

1. *Rāg Darpan*, 19a.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, 20b.

4. *Ibid.* 196. Faqīrullāh had seen him.

5. Some of his compositions were in Faqīrullāh's hands.

QAWĀLS

THE artists of the Qawālī school¹ were Rauza Qawāl and Kabīr Qawāl, the latter being a disciple of Shēr Muḥammad.

There were only two court musicians representing the Persian school of music, Muḥammad Bāqī Mughal, a good composer whose accomplishments declined owing to his taking too much opium, and Mīr 'Imād, also a musician-composer, a Sayyid of Herāt whose father had migrated from Central Asia.

KHIYĀLISTS

KHIYĀL as a style of music had not yet become popular; it had had few advocates up to that time. It does not appear to have competed with Dhrupad on terms of equality. Its heyday was destined to come later, in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. Only two musicians of the Khiyāl school are mentioned² in Shāh Jahān's reign—Rāja 'Idsingh Bor (Gor?), and Rāja Rām Shāh of Khargpur, the latter well versed in the style of Amīr Khusraw and Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqī. Among Rāja Rām Shāh's compositions were many Dādrās, Khiyāls and Tarānas.

In closing his 12th Chapter Faqīrullāh pleads for brevity in these words:—“ Since so many Kalawants had the fortune to serve His Majesty, details of them would lengthen the narrative.”

In the foregoing observations the following features are prominently noticeable:—

1. That Dhrupad held the field and was recognised as the highest form of musical art.
2. That Khiyāl had fewer advocates, though its existence as a form of music has been traced in books of music to the time of Amīr Khusraw or Sultān Husain Shāh of Jaunpūr.
3. That mystics not only delighted in listening to music but many of them were first-class musicians themselves.
4. That the Deccan still maintained its reputation as the home of high-class music, as it did in the days of Amīr Khusraw.
5. That Gwalior continued its reputation as a great centre of music in Northern India and supplied, as in Akbar's days, the bulk of the court artists.

1. I am of the opinion that Qawālī was not a degenerate form of music as it is now. Qawl, from which Qawālī is derived, was introduced into Hindustani music by Amīr Khusraw. It is an exact counter-part of Dhrupad and consists of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani words in strange combination but conforming to the grammatical rules of the melodies and timings of Indian music.

2. Faqīrullāh, *Rāg Darpan*, f. 20a.

6. That only two musicians represented the Persian or non-Indian school, the one a Mughal, the other a Persian arriving from Herât, and the rest were Indians, demonstrating that the struggle between the two systems had reached a decisive stage.

7. That there was an increased tendency towards ornamentation and beautification in singing or playing on instruments and the rigid convention of the old Dhrupad style had been definitely discarded.

8. That ingenuity in inventing new musical instruments went side by side with the development of a more polished form of music, to alleviate, as it were, the grim majesty of Dhrupad.

A. HALİM.

IBRĀHĪM LODĪ'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DOWNFALL OF THE LODĪ EMPIRE'

THE 15th century in the history of India, as everywhere else, was a period of confusion and chaos. In political life disintegration had set in wide and deep, and the conception of a centralised despotism had lost its attraction. The old institutions of monarchy had drifted away from its moorings during the storm of political crises which had overthrown India after the fall of the Tughluqs. The country was torn into pieces, numerous independent sovereign States had come into existence, and the authority of the empire of Delhi was defunct. Gujerat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, Punjab, Rajputana, Bahmani Vijyanagar were important sovereign principalities. The province of Delhi and the territory in the vicinity was held by the Afghan chieftains of various tribes. Unity and solidarity had become things of the past. The central authority of Delhi has been well described : حکم خداوند عالم از دہلی تا پالم. Undoubtedly it was "an irrational, formless epoch lacking alike in the elements of coherence and stability."¹

It was in this period of political disintegration and chaos that the Afghans emerged into power and tried to build up an empire on the ruins of the Sayyid dynasty. Bahlul, who was a popular leader of the Lodi tribe and whose uncle had served the Sayyids, was chosen by the common consent of the Afghans to look after their interests. It will be fruitful to review the character of the Afghan sovereignty at length, as it has direct bearing upon the subject under discussion.

The Afghans were a sturdy, warlike, arrogant, self-willed and disorganised people. They were divided into numerous tribes. Their tribal independence had made them all the more haughty and recalcitrant. Their sense of false prestige was very keen and they traced their pedigree from Solomon the Great, who is said to have had control over man, beast, air and water. They were not prepared to accept the supreme authority of a sovereign over them at any cost. The idea of absolute sovereignty was alien to their political instincts. But the existing politics of India demanded that they must organise themselves. This possibility was

1. R. Williams, *An Empire Builder of the 16th Century*, p. 146.

visualised by Bahlūl, who at that time held the northern districts of the Punjab. The fall of the Sayyids provided the Afghans with an opportunity to establish an empire in India. But how was it to be accomplished without a centralised government, submission to which was against their very nature?

Bahlūl, though nominated by Islām Khān, would not assume the leadership till he was accepted by all the Afghan parties. In the very beginning they disagreed, and it was only after some bitterness and intrigue that ultimately all of them came to an agreement.¹ The Afghans were not accustomed to enter into a contract, they knew only one thing and that was egotism, pure and simple. Though the best among the available persons, Bahlūl was only a mediocre politician. He had no capacity to evolve such principles of strong government as might make the sturdy Afghans submissive and turn them into an organised body. Though highly praised by the historians for his personal qualities of generosity, religiosity, humility and the like,² he was not suited to the times when force alone was recognised as the foundation of government.

It can be argued in his favour that the time was not ripe for such an authority, because the arrogant Afghans who helped him against the Sharqīs would not have done so had he openly aspired to the position of a monarch.

But this argument is weak on the very face of it. If there was no possibility of a centralised despotism, the very idea of establishing an empire was delusive. But even after he had acquired power, Bahlūl introduced no change in his status. He could have easily emphasised the idea of sovereignty to the Afghans because the Afghan empire in India was just started, and he could have easily made light of the Afghan traditions by emphasising that they were alien to the Indian setting. But the fact is that he was not up to the mark. His personal qualities were hardly fit for the establishment of despotic institutions. Being born and bred in a family of traders and, if the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahān Lodī* is to be believed,³ a trader himself, it was impossible for him to conceive of an absolute authority, which was the very quintessence of Indian monarchy. Moreover, being an Afghan, he had obtained the same training as his brethren, and therefore an absolute authority was against his own instinct.⁴

When he came to power, every pargana was in a state of rebellion. The nobles were jealous of his power. Bahlūl had to face the Sharqī rulers of Jaunpur and the anti-Lodī Amīrs. He therefore made an appeal

1. R. P. Tripathi, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, p. 87.

2. Rizqullāh, *Wāqī'āt-i-Mushṭāqī*, Br. Museum MS. photograph copy in possession of Prof. Iswar Prasad of Allahabad University, p. 74.

3. Elliot, Vol. V, p. 72.

4. Qureshi: *Administration of Delhi Sultanate*, p. 7.

to all the Afghan tribes inhabiting Roh, "to come and share his responsibilities."¹ He was successful, no doubt, but he had not the foresight to discourage their fatal idea that their conquered land belonged to them all. On the other hand he conformed to their traditional ideas and called himself "one of them." He divided the whole empire into large assignments, which were given to nobles virtually independent within their charge. There was no imperial army, the army became tribal and was attached to nobles over whom the Sultān had no control. In fact he succeeded in establishing a sort of confederacy of tribes over which he presided.² He elevated the position of the Afghan nobles beyond limit and addressed them as "Exalted Lordship" (*مسند اعلیٰ*).³ The *Wāq'āt-i-Mushtāqī* says that before the nobles "he put off the turban from his head and begged that if he was not fit for that work some other duty might be entrusted to him."⁴ Could humiliation go further? This statement implies that the institution of sovereignty was elective. And it was. Could such a system, apart from its inherent weakness, prosper in India?

Such was the foundation of the Lodī empire, built upon sand. Its fall was implied in the very nature of it, though Ibrāhīm Lodī is held responsible. The consequences of such a system were shattering and destructive. The Afghans became conscious of their position, which in fact was only imaginary. They developed a false sense of prestige. Such an exaggerated notion about themselves was so hard to eliminate. They lost all respect for the crown, and with the growth of their power, grew their selfishness, jealousy, indifference and hatred. "The plan of Bahlūl of establishing a sort of confederation had more disadvantages than advantages," rightly remarks Prof. Tripathi.⁵ The fate of the crown was sealed from the very beginning. Had Bahlūl been a statesman and not a trader as he was, he could have infused new life into the newly-started institution. He could have displayed enthusiasm, vigour, and could have established a strong government of an abiding nature in spite of all opposition. "Instead of the rule of one man, he permitted numerous autocrats"⁶ and such a system could never be popular in India because it was against the tradition of the natives and also because the non-Afghans had no voice in it.

These facts lead us to conclude that Bahlūl created not a monarchy but a hegemony. It was in fact not an empire, though technically it claimed to be one. Sikandar could not improve upon it, but he felt the weakness

1. Qureshi : *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 8.

2. Tripathi, p. 83.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

4. *Wāq'āt-i-Mushtāqī*, Br. Museum MS., p. 76.

5. Tripathi, p. 87.

6. *Ibid.*

of the system. The introduction of the system of inspection and auditing the accounts of the Afghans was a move towards curbing the power of the Afghan grandees.

Hence it was a shattered and substantially hollow empire that reached Ibrāhīm Lodī as a legacy.

With the accession of Ibrāhīm, we enter upon a new era, an era of bloodshed, unmitigated tyranny and ultimate collapse. This is the view of historians like Lane-Poole, Rushbrook Williams and others. It is in fact, a restatement of the opinion of Persian historians like Aḥmad Yādgar and 'Abbās Khān Shirwānī. But the fact is that as they wrote long after him they judged him only in the perspective of failure! It cannot be denied that he met with failure, but his failure cannot lay on his shoulders the responsibility for the downfall of the empire. In this connection it is pertinent to observe that classical historians never cared to trace the origin of an incident. They regarded an immediate antecedent as an ultimate cause. Such a process of reasoning must lead to erroneous conclusions. Let us, therefore, attempt to judge Ibrāhīm dispassionately by his actions, by his principles and also by the circumstances in which he was placed.

The situation at the time of his accession was very complicated, as it was bound to be. The Afghan nobles, who had been given much latitude by Bahlūl, became very strong. Farmulis, Lohānīs and Lodīs had come to exercise great power in the State. They considered the king to be a "feudal lord, a comrade, little more than *primus inter pares*."¹ The Afghan nobles were very turbulent, and at times they joined against the State. The State was at their mercy because, according to the system started by Bahlūl, the Sultān had no control over the army. It was the tribal leaders who commanded the armies. Then, almost the entire empire was divided into jageers one half of the whole empire was assigned in jageer to the Farmulis and the other half to the Afghan tribes. But the defect of the system was that the fief-holders looked upon their jageers "as their own right and proclaimed by their sword rather than any bounty or liberality on the part of the sovereign."²

The problem before Ibrāhīm was much more intricate than any that Bahlūl or Sikandar had to face. During Bahlūl's time it was only the beginning of the vicious system. Ibrāhīm, however, was not a man to fail or falter. He faced the situation bravely and found out the real cause of the weakness of the empire. He realised the disservice which the Afghan nobles were doing to it. Their power was an impediment to the effective exercise of the imperial authority. They controlled the army, they laid down the land, and above all they had immense influence in the State. In short they were severely opposed to a centralised monarchy. Ibrāhīm

1. Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *Medieval India*, p. 492 (latest edition).

2. Erskine, *Hist. of India*, p. 406.

could not tolerate such a state of affairs, which threatened to destroy the very stability of the empire. He was a man of piercing intellect¹ as well as of personal beauty and high moral character, as is evidenced by the *Dā'ūdī*.² He was determined to check the power of the nobles and elevate kingship to its ideal and real position. As Farishta says, "Contrary to the system of his father and grandfather he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly that kings should have no relations or clansmen but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the State." He declared that the king was the centre of all authority and none had the power to question him. Such a monarchy alone, he thought, could be the remedy for the ailments from which the Afghan body politic was suffering. It aimed at the destruction of the centrifugal and fissiparous tendencies, and at levelling down the haughty Afghans. Such a principle was alien to the Afghan nobility and therefore naturally annoying to them. But the fact remains that this principle alone could have stabilised the government. It clearly shows Ibrāhīm's statesmanship, and his complete grasp of the situation. He failed not because his principle was faulty but because of the inevitable circumstances over which he had no control.

It is therefore, unfair to condemn him for evolving a principle which was politically sound and quite feasible. He started the move in the right direction, though he could not change the circumstances outright. "Although unpalatable to many an Afghan noble, it was a more sound principle."³ Ibrāhīm did not want to alienate the nobles because he knew that he could not snatch away their power all at once. Hence the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī was a permanent tussle between the king and the nobility. The nobles gave shocks to the empire again and again, and the Sultān resisted them with a bravery and equanimity that were worthy of him.

Centrifugal tendencies were at their climax in this period of Indian history, and the Afghan system brought into vogue by Bahlūl was mainly responsible for this. The independent fief-holders were greedy, self-willed, self-centred and divided. They wanted to serve their own ends and cared little for the Afghan empire. Naturally enough they could scarce afford to sympathise with the government of Ibrāhīm. To achieve their aims, they adopted ways of provoking the Sultān, and their method of preparing him against Jalāl is a clear case of such provocation.

Jalāl's rebellion is an important episode in the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī and is considered to be the cause of the weakening of the empire. A close analysis of the circumstances shows that the nobles alone were the cause of it. But it did not impair the stability of the empire for it was nipped in the bud. To turn to the rebellion itself the proposal of the division of

1. *Makhzan*, Dorn, p. 74.

2. *Dā'ūdī*, Allahabad University MS., p. 106.

3. Tripathi, p. 89.

the empire was made by the nobles and it was decided that Ibrāhīm should occupy the throne of Delhi, and Jalāl should rule in Jaunpur. Ibrāhīm agreed to this as is testified by the Dā'ūdī, although in his heart of hearts he never wanted it, but he himself never took a step to break the agreement unless forced by the nobles.

The author of the *Makhzan-i-Afghānī* gives an altogether different version: He says that "owing to his irritable temper certain Umerā' who had general influence in the affairs of the State planned that Ibrāhīm's jurisdiction should be only up to Jaunpur."¹ That is to say, the nobles took this step to counteract some prospective evil. But the division of the empire was no remedy for the irritable temper of the Sultān, nor was his irritability so acute at this stage. Both the Dā'ūdī and the *Makhzan* testify to his virtues. Moreover Ibrāhīm had only shortly before been unanimously chosen as king. The fact is that they wanted to divide the empire for their own sake. Then, after the division, they employed the means of setting the Sultān against Jalāl. Ibrāhīm himself had no idea of fighting him. Fath Khān and Khān-i-Jahān Lodī instigated him to take up arms,² although Fath Khān immediately after joined Jalāl and became his prime minister."

"Fath Khān son of A'zam Humāyūn and Khān-i-Jahān Lodī ruler of Rāberī, in the presence of the Sultān, opened the tongue of taunt and disapproval towards the ministers and Vakils, that the Umerā considered the sharing of the empire a great mistake and a huge blunder."³

This was the reason why Ibrāhīm decided to break the promise which he made to Jalāl, and even that was done after deliberation.⁴

Who, then, was responsible for Jalāl's revolt, which caused enormous bloodshed and savagery, and which disturbed the peace of the empire for such a long time? Obviously the nobles, the evil creatures of Bahlūl Lodī. The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahān Lodī* agrees with this view. He remarks that "the Lodīs were determined to keep up the agitation for their own sake, as they never considered it convenient that public affairs should be under the restraint of one absolute monarch."⁵ This needs no further elucidation.

Now a few words about the nature of the rebellion itself. The writer of the *Makhzan* has emphasised that Jalāl's revolt was an unhappy episode, as it alienated the nobles, caused great disturbance in the country,

1. *Makhzan*, Dorn, p. 73.

2. Dā'ūdī, p. 106.

3. *Ibid.* "فتح خان پسر اعظم همايون و خان جهان لوحانی حاکم داری به حضور سلطان ابراهيم زبان طعن و ملامت به وزراء و وکلاء کشودند که [نزد] امراء حکومت را مشترک داشتن خطاء عظیم و سهو جسم بود"

4. Dorn, p. 74.

5. Elliot, V, p. 7.

and ultimately led to the break up of the empire. Even when Ādam Khān had pacified Jalāl, Ibrāhīm, "owing to his unlimited pride, violent temper and youthful temerity,"¹ not only disapproved of the peace but issued orders for his assassination. That the rebellion caused great disturbance in the country is beyond doubt, but Ibrāhīm was not responsible for all that. It was the nobles who forced him to fight. Nor did the rebellion injure the stability of the empire, as it was soon suppressed. Jalāl lost his life and Ibrāhīm's reputation was established.

As to his rejecting the proposal of Ādam Khān, he was justified in doing so on two grounds. Firstly, after A'zam Humāyūn's treachery he could not, and should not have relied upon Ādam Khān's proposals, for he likewise was an Afghan noble. Secondly, Jalāl's presence would have been a source of perpetual disturbance to the Delhi empire. Ibrāhīm is condemned by the author of the *Dā'ūdī* for the murder of Jalāl on moral grounds. But it should not be forgotten that kingship, as a rule, knew no kinship.

There is another important point that attracts our attention, viz., Ibrāhīm's treatment of the nobles. On this score, too, he has been mercilessly criticised by classical as well as modern writers. Ibrāhīm may have been irritable and headstrong, but he was not unjust. We have it on the authority of the *Dā'ūdī* that "Ibrāhīm Lodī is well-known for the excellence of his intellect, bravery and praiseworthy behaviour."² His temper never initiated any unjust deed. He may have felt touched to the quick when he was disobeyed or misinterpreted, but he had perfect control over his temper. At times when his irritable temper could have instigated him to take very unjust measures, he chose the judicious policy. Jalāl was in open rebellion, he had assumed kingship, struck coins and had the *Khutba* recited in his name. But Ibrāhīm sent embassies to pacify him. Could he not have declared war at the very first instance? Then, during the revolt, according to the advice of his ministers, he kept Jalāl's three brothers, who were already in prison, under strict vigilance. But, according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, "he appointed two ladies to serve each one of them, and provided them with food, dress and other necessities of life."³ He could easily have slain them if he had so willed, and his action might have been justified by the immense trouble they had caused him. Many such instances of his judicious behaviour may be cited, such as his forgiving rebels like A'zam Humāyūn, Ḥasan Farmūlī, etc. We shall have occasion to discuss them further on. It is not wrong, therefore, to conclude that irritability of temper never led him to any injudicious action, as Ni'matullāh and some of the modern historians point out. Ibrāhīm fully understood the position of the nobles, and

1. Dorn, p. 76.

2. *Dā'ūdī*, p. 109: "سلطان ابراهيم بحسن فراست و شجاعت و اخلاق حميده معروف است"

3. *Ṭabaqāt*, p. 341: "جهت خدمت هر يك دوسم نیز مقرر داشته از ما كول و ملبوس و ماثر ما بحتاج مقرر ساخت"

knew that their headquarters were hotbeds of intrigue and conspiracy. True, he never wanted to alienate them, but he could never tolerate any action of theirs which might tell upon the stability of the empire.

To analyze this aspect of his reign, let us begin with the general charges that are levelled against him. According to Prof. Rushbrook Williams, "not only did he alienate the nobles upon whose support his power rested, not only did he drive into active opposition the very men he ought to have conciliated at all hazards, but to make matters worse he attempted to play the tyrant. His cruelties and crimes destroyed all the good work of his father and grandfather."¹ This is the general view of many modern historians. Aḥmad Yādgar writes that Ibrāhīm alienated all the nobles because of his temper, and goes to the extent of saying that the murder of A'zam Humāyūn was the first cause of the decline of the empire, and so was the murder of Ḥasan Khān, Far-muli.

Far from being pillars of the State, the Afghan nobles were its worst ill-wishers, as has been testified by the *Tārikh-i-Khān-i-Jahān Lodi*. Even then, like a statesman, he always tried to promote good relations with the nobles and to extend his patronage to them. But it should always be borne in mind that the relation which he wanted to establish was that of a superior to an inferior. He wanted to turn the sturdy Afghans into an organised body and loyal supporters of the State. He never missed any opportunity of conciliating the Afghan nobles in the proper manner. The following facts will sufficiently bear out our view.

On the 15th of Dhul-Hijja, he celebrated anew his accession to the throne, and, according to the report of almost all historians,² he honoured every Amīr and attendant with Khil'at, horses, elephants and allowances according to their respective positions. This is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it shows that he did not want to alienate the nobles; secondly, he felt that the nobles wielded undue power which ought to be checked by conciliating them. But the Afghan nobles were irreconcilable. As his principle was sound it was bound to produce some effect, but the success was only temporary. The author of the *Makhzan* observes, "He gained the affection of the army by presents and gifts, opening more-over the door of beneficence and allowance of everyone."³

Not only did he take pains to secure the good-will of the nobles, but he sought it of other classes and the population in general. In this matter he succeeded better because the masses were unsophisticated and, unlike the nobles, they had no vicious desires. We do not hear of any public insurrection during his reign. It was the nobles alone who created trouble.

1. R. Williams, p. 6.

2. *Dā'irāt*, A. U. MS., p. 107, *Makhzan*, Dorn, p. 77, and others.

3. Dorn, p. 77.

The same writer continues: "He also called before him the confidential religious and meritorious persons from town to town, from fort to fort, from village to village. Thus the affairs of the reign prospered and flourished and every one enjoyed peace and comfort."¹

He forgave A'zam Humāyūn when the latter left Jalāl and came over to the Sulṭān's side. He was guilty of treachery, but even then, according to the *Dā'ūdī*, Ibrāhīm sent famous Amīrs to receive him and then duly honoured him. Why did he do so? Only to conciliate the nobles, although the nobles in their turn were bent upon destroying the integrity of the empire. Moreover, when Jalāl was in open rebellion, Ibrāhīm sent Shaikhzāda Maḥmūd, son of Shaikh Sa'id Farmulī, Malik Ismā'il, 'Alā'uddīn Jilwānī, and Qāḍī Hamid-ad-dīn Ḥajjāb to the nobles of Jaunpur with a Firmān which "heaped caresses and honours upon them,"² writes the author of the *Makhzan*. We learn from the same authority that Daryā Khān, governor of Behar, Nāzīr Khān, vassal of Ghazipur, Shaikhzāda, prefect of Oudh and Lucknow, were given robes of honour. This again shows that he had no inborn hatred for the nobles, nor was he against the institution of nobility, but he wanted to keep them under control. One more instance may be taken out of many.

Miyān Ḥasan Farmulī conspired with the Rānā and established a joint front against Miyān Makhan, the imperial commander. Miyān Makhan's army was defeated, but then Ḥasan realised his disservice and sent Tāḥā, his brother, to the Sulṭān, requesting him to release Yūsuf Khail and Fath Khān, son of A'zam Humāyūn. The *Dā'ūdī* tells us that "Ibrāhīm, on hearing this good news, released the two Amīrs and honoured them with robes of honour."³ After that Ibrāhīm treated Ḥasan well and gave him a jageer. The fate, which he met and why he met it, will be discussed later, but at this stage it is clear that Ibrāhīm had always a desire to conciliate the haughty nobles.

Now another phase may be considered. It is difficult to agree with Aḥmad Yādgār's conclusion that A'zam Humāyūn's murder sounded the death-knell of the empire.⁴ As we know, the nobles had become very turbulent, they were now realising that the policy of the Sulṭān was deadly opposed to their interests. Naturally the opposition increased. Ibrāhīm tried to correct them, but he failed.

Ibrāhīm had now had enough of the nobles. He had seen their vicious desire in provoking him against Jalāl, and he had also witnessed the ruinous consequences of their act. He also saw the barefaced treachery of A'zam Humāyūn and then his forsaking of Jalāl. Like a statesman, he

1. Dorn., p. 78.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3. *Dā'ūdī*, p. 117: ابراهيم از نويد مؤدبه امراء را از قيد برآورد و خلعت عايت فرموده رخصت فرمود.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn Afghānī*, translated by Elliot, Vol. V, p. 18.

arrived at the conclusion that the Afghan nobles were of wavering disposition, and could not be relied upon. He had marked the deliberate slackness which the Afghan army had displayed at Bāngramaū, when it was fighting against Islām Khān. When he issued strict orders and threatened them, the very same persons won the battle.¹ Then, he could not be indifferent to the complicated machinations of Miyān Hasan and Miyān Ma'rūf Farmulī. All these incidents naturally created a suspicion in his mind, and he began to take very cautious steps. His suspicions were in fact the outcome of realities.

A'zam Humāyūn's murder has been severely criticised by Aḥmad Yādgār. But he did not stop to ponder over the circumstances that led to it. A clear analysis would have revealed that Ibrāhīm was justified in putting Humāyūn to death. It may at best be described as a political measure, and such measures are by no means unknown to history. In the very beginning of Ibrāhīm's reign, A'zam Humāyūn joined Jalāl, not because he considered Jalāl's claim to be just, but because he had a grudge against the Sulṭān," writes 'Abdallāh.² But he is silent as to why the noble had a grudge against a Sulṭān who had just then ascended the throne and whose tyranny had not yet had time to show itself. Obviously, it was because of his craving for power. A'zam Humāyūn was a man of position in the State. He used to buy 2,000 copies of the Qur'ān every year, possessed 45,000 horses and 700 elephants. He naturally aspired to a position no less than that of Ibrāhīm Lodī himself. He was perhaps justified in doing so, for the existence of a powerful empire was made impossible by the Afghan system. Such a noble, almost a king, conspired with Jalāl, but when he left him also and came to Ibrāhīm, the latter forgave him and honoured him as has been described above.

The future course of events increased the suspicions of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. A'zam Humāyūn was sent to conquer Gwalior fort and then he was recalled and imprisoned. Why? Because the fort was about to fall and Ibrāhīm rightly suspected that after the conquest the ambitious A'zam Humāyūn might establish his own authority there. This was enough to justify even his execution, but he was only imprisoned. At last, when the attitude of the nobility became totally obnoxious, he was killed.

It is held by many historians (Aḥmad Yādgār, R. Williams, whose statement, it seems, is a reiteration of the former's, and many others) that it was this act of the Sulṭān which set the empire ablaze. But this assumption overlooks many circumstances which clearly justify his conduct. The Afghan nobles, Daryā Khān, Daulat Khān, Khān-i-Jahān Lodī, Hasan Farmulī, Ma'rūf Farmulī, Bahādur Khān and many others, who were scattered over the length and breadth of the empire and wielded power, were getting impatient to throw off the Sulṭān. They had no

1. *Makhzan*, Dorn 982,

2. *Dā'ūdī*, p. 118.

sympathy for anybody. It would, therefore, be unjust to assume that A'zam Humāyūn's imprisonment or death even excited them. They were already excited, and were only waiting for an opportunity. Can we shut our eyes to the fact that just after A'zam Humāyūn's death, instead of showing any sign of protest, his son Islām Khān, who was holding Kara and Manikpur,¹ seized the whole property of his father and became the ruler of it? This is the crucial argument against the above assumption. It clearly shows the tendency of all the Afghans, including Humāyūn's son, and proves that they wanted the dismemberment of the empire for the establishment of their own authority. In the light of this analysis it is hard to blame Ibrāhīm for A'zam Humāyūn's murder. Nor did the murder arouse any new opposition. The opposition was there already. Even if it did arouse any opposition, we cannot condemn the Sultān for an action which was just and politically sound.

Miyān Bhoā's murder is considered to be another blot on Ibrāhīm's character, but is it at all just to identify a just and reasonable punishment with an arbitrary murder? This is, however, what the historians have done. Miyān Bhoā was a grandee, and wielded immense power. The Sultān grew suspicious of him, and not without cause. The *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahān Lodī* gives three causes: old age, indifference towards the Sultān, and the instigation of the nobles.² The *Makhzan* adds another cause also, viz., neglect of duty. But above all it was the jealousy of the nobles which compelled the Sultān to take the step. The *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahān Lodī* says that certain nobles, who were envious of the Miyān, counselled the king to erect a building with a subterranean chamber beneath it. When the chamber was dry, they filled it with bags of gunpowder and ignited it. Thus the Miyān was killed. It follows that, strictly speaking, the responsibility for the deed was not Ibrāhīm's, but in fact the jealousy of the nobles was at work. Ibrāhīm on his own responsibility also could have taken steps against the Miyān because he could not tolerate the indifference of the nobles. But it is remarkable that just after the death of the Miyān all his property was transferred to his son. This shows that Ibrāhīm had no grudge against the family, but statesmanship demanded that the step should be taken, and it was taken.

Another important Afghan noble who was killed was Ḥasan Farmūli. His death too was justified on many grounds. We are informed by the *Dā'ūdī* that Ḥasan said to Miyān Makhan, the imperial agent, "We are neither the servants nor the officials of anybody; get up and go to your place safely; the king has developed insanity."³ This shows the Afghan mentality of the day. They considered themselves to be independent.

1. Aḥmad Yadgār in his *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn Afghānī* speaks of him as governor of Agra, but this statement is not corroborated by any other historian.

2. Elliot, Vol. V, p. 108.

3. *Dā'ūdī*, Allahabad University MS. p. 117 بخانه و سلامت بخانه برو 117

سلطان را غل دماغ پیدا شده

They hated the Sultān only because he wanted to stabilise the government. On this the king kept quiet. Further, Ḥasan conspired with the Rānā, fought against the king, and sought forgiveness. The king forgave him. Why then was he killed? The Sultān ordered him to choose a jageer from amongst the provinces of Behar, Chunar and Chanderi. He chose Chanderi, although previously he had said to his brother Tāḥā that "Sultān Ibrāhīm is a malicious king, a province far from the capital should be chosen."¹ Why then did he choose Chanderi, which was so near the capital? What does this signify? It is obvious that he had evil intentions towards the Sultān. Ibrāhīm was fully justified in his suspicions, because very recently this nobleman had conspired with the Rānā and now again he chose the same locality and it was evident that he would conspire with the Rānā again and establish his own authority. On this suspicion, which was not visionary or due to any malice but was supported by reason and facts, he appointed Shaikh Farīd Daryābadī to kill him. Certain historians find it difficult to justify the killing of a noble on mere suspicion. But one can as well question: how far were Islām Khān and certain other Amīrs justified in revolting only on suspicion?

The death of the Shaikhzādah was followed by the general massacre of the Shaikhzādahs, but only "those who were involved in the affair."² This action too was justified; to scotch a snake and not to kill it is hardly wise.

It may now be confidently asserted that Ibrāhīm was not a tyrant, soaked with the blood of martyrs. Historians paint him as if he were suffering from 'Killing insanity' (جنون قتل). But every murder was due to political necessity and he wanted to teach the Afghan nobles a lesson which they might never forget. But whenever he punished them, he did so on reasonable grounds so that others might take a lesson. The Afghans, however, could never be so educated. They were beyond nurture.

The contention that he alienated the nobles by his tyranny and therefore lost his empire being untenable, it seems that the murder of the nobles had no direct concern with the subsequent risings of the Afghans, because they were bent upon them. Even if he had not murdered some of them, they would have arisen against him. The nobles were the malcontents of the empire, and they in fact were the persons who sealed its fate. These revolts disappointed and disillusioned Ibrāhīm Lodī and ultimately shattered the empire. But the rebellions were bound to come, not because of any reasonable grievances, but merely out of a desire for power and predominance. Islām Khān's rebellion was clearly a rebellion for selfish purposes. He had tried to take the property of his father just

1. Dā'ūdī, Allahabad University, MS. p. 122: "سلطان ابراهيم پادشاه كينه و راست موبه دور دراز اختيار بايد كرد"

2. *Ibid.*, p. 123: "شيخ زادگان كه درين حادثه هم داستان بودند"

after his imprisonment. But as he was checked, he exploited the situation and broke into open rebellion. The result was disastrous. About 10,000 Afghans were killed on both sides, and Islām Khān too met his end.¹

Similar was the nature of almost all the other rebellions. How arrogantly foolish was the suspicion of Daryā Khān when he thought that the Sultān might kill him because of his valour.² It is sheer injustice to call this a suspicion, it was the insatiable desire for power and predominance and an instance of the Afghan tendency. There were many like Shaikh Rājū and Aḥmad Khān who were prodigies of valour, but they remained loyal to the Sultān and the Sultān never killed them. Then why should Daryā Khān alone have developed such a baseless suspicion? He entered into league with Maḥammad Khān Sūr and other Amīrs, repaired to Behar, and, as was his real intention, assumed the right of coining and Khuṭba, and usurped the title of Muḥammad Shāh. It was a clear proof of his vile and selfish desire for power. All others, Ḥasan Khān Lodī, Ḥasan Farmūli, threw off the yoke for this purpose.

These revolts kept the Sultān engaged during the entire reign. They did not give him a breathing-space. Because of them the Sultān could not establish his hold over Rajputana and other newly-conquered places, nor could he stabilise the administration, and the result was that confusion spread everywhere. Again these revolts were bound to come because India was vivisected and there were innumerable sovereign and autonomous States of the Afghans. Collision among them was but natural. To hold Ibrāhīm responsible for these is not only unjust, but a misrepresentation of facts.

The differences among the various clans were acute, *e.g.*, between Nuhanīs, Farmūlis and Lodīs.³ They were inimically jealous of one another. The king was the symbol of unity and therefore they sought the help of the Mughals—the enemies of the Afghans. They would have done so even if there had been no Ibrāhīm Lodī. "The break up of the empire was bound to come, sooner or later, for even if Ibrāhīm had kept the nobles attached to himself, they would have reduced him to the position of a titular king," rightly remarks Prof. Ishwari Prasad.⁴ They were opposed, not to Ibrāhīm, but to the institution which he wanted to set up for the stability of the Afghan empire. How little he was responsible for the disruption of the empire, has been shown above. His statesmanship could not help him in the face of the disruptive elements which were at their zenith. The Afghan barons gave him no opportunity, otherwise he would have stabilised the administration and the Mughals could not have appeared on the stage of Indian history.

1. Dorn, p. 83.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Tripathi, p. 89.

4. Ishwari Prasad, *Med. India*, p. 493 (latest edition).

Ibrāhīm had great regard for the Ra'iyat. According to the *Dā'ūdī* crops were abundant and prices were very low, but he did not exploit the situation. He ordered the nobles to accept payment in kind, although they were greedy of money. This shows that Ibrāhīm considered, and rightly, that upon the prosperity of the Ra'iyat depended the well-being of the State. His programmes were reduced to nullity owing to the ill-conceived actions of the nobles.

If we do not find any considerable cultural advancement in this period, that is also ascribable to these incessant wars. Had Ibrāhīm had such opportunities, he would have excelled many kings in this respect.

Ibrāhīm had a progressive outlook in religion. Intelligent and far-sighted as he was, he realised the composite character of the population which he was called upon to govern. He did not want to build up a theocracy like his predecessor. That is why we do not hear of an 'Ulemā giving his verdict on every action of the king as was the practice with his predecessor. Nor do we come across any instance where he waged wars against non-Muslims simply for the gratification of his religious fanaticism. Not only that, but there was a positive advance in the direction of extending toleration towards non-Muslims. An instance in support may be quoted. There was a brazen bull posted at the gate. It was thrown down by the Afghans with hatchets and sent to the Sultān. The Sultān was exceedingly pleased and "ordered the animal to be erected in Delhi at the Baghdād Gate."¹ According to 'Abdallāh, it was worshipped till the time of Akbar. This signifies Ibrāhīm's spirit of toleration towards the Hindus and his respect for their deities. Fully tolerant himself, he was conscious of the ruinous effect brought about by the bigoted policy of Sikandar Lodī. Therefore he wanted to establish his government, absolute in character, unhampered by disruptive forces, but certainly based upon good-will, toleration and submission. It is a tragedy of history that a monarch of such lofty ideals should have failed. But he failed, not because of any faults of his own but because of those of his predecessors. Bābur came to India and deprived him of his empire.

CONCLUSION

1. IBRĀHĪM's principle of government was just and politically sound. In fact it was the only principle which could stabilize empire. 2. He was not a tyrant but was always guided by reason. He was stern and strict, no doubt, but these qualities never induced him to be tyrannical. 3. His principles contributed nothing towards the disruption of the empire, which was already split and divided. 4. The nobles were the chief cause of the downfall of the empire. It was the inherent weakness of the Afghan system brought into vogue by Bahlūl that gave the nobles so much

1. *Dā'ūdī*, Allahabad University MS., p. 125.

latitude that they became the cause of the downfall of the empire. 5. The Afghan empire was in no way an empire but a hegemony, and therefore its collapse should never be identified with the fall of an empire. Ibrāhīm was the first and the last man who tried to make it an empire, but he failed. 6. Ibrāhīm made numerous attempts to conciliate the nobles but Bahlūl's methods had so badly turned their minds that they could never be submissive, and without submission no empire could be built. 7. The differences among the nobles were acute, and they were due to the confederacy which was established by Bahlūl and which ultimately brought about the collapse of the empire. 8. Ibrāhīm was not in the least responsible for the fall of an already fallen empire. He made certain contributions towards the conception of sovereignty which was later on developed.

QAZI MUKHTAR AHMAD.

DEVIL'S DELUSION

(TALBĪS-IBLĪS OF ABU'L FARAJ IBN AL-JAWZĪ)

(Continued from *Islamic Culture*, July 1945)

ACCOUNT OF THE DEVIL'S DELUSION OF THE ŠUFĪS IN THE MATTER OF EMOTION¹

*Section showing that when Šufīs are moved with Listening to Music they
clap their Hands.*

WE are informed by Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Bāqī in a tradition going back to Abū 'Abdur-Raḥmān as-Sulamī that the latter said that Abū Sulaimān al-Maghrabi heard Abū-'Alī ibn al-Kātib say : that ibn Banān used to make a show of emotion while Abū-Sa'īd al-Kharraz clapped for him. I observe that clapping is abominable ; it moves one with joy and makes one go beyond the limits of self-control, and intelligent people avoid such actions. And the clapper resembles the unbelievers in these matters since they also clapped near the Ka'ba and it was for this act that God, to Whom belongs glory and power, blamed them (the unbelievers) and said, " And their worship at the Holy House is nought but whistling and hand-clapping " for Mukā' means to whistle and Tašdiya تصديه to clap. We are informed by 'Abdul-Wahhāb al-Hāfiẓ in a tradition going back to Ibn-'Abbās that Mukā' means whistling and Tašdiya clapping.

I would observe that in this act also there is resemblance to that of women, and a sensible man dislikes to abandon gravity of conduct and to act like women and unbelievers.—*Ed., I.C.*

Whenever they were excited they danced and some of them sought permission for this in the Qur'ānic verse addressed to Ayūb, 'urge with your feet.'

I would observe that this argument is weak, for, if God had commanded him to stamp his foot in delight, they might have had a case ; he was, however, commanded to do so in order to produce water. Ibn 'Uqail says : Where is the permissibility of dancing indicated in the case of an afflicted person, when his affliction was being removed, being ordered to strike the ground with his foot in order to produce water ?² If the motion of a foot weakened by the attacks of vermin is evidence of the lawfulness of dancing for Muslims, then God's words to Moses (VII. 160), *Strike the stone with thy staff*, may be used as evidence for striking solid matter with

1. Continued from page 275 of the Arabic text as pp. 267-274 of the text are already published in July 1937.

2. The text has been amended.

rods¹ God protect us from trifling with the code! Some of their supporters have alleged that when the Prophet said to 'Alī, "Thou art of me and I of thee," 'Alī jumped, and when he said to Ja'far "Thou resemblest me in figure and character," he jumped, and when he said to Zaid, "Thou art our brother and our client," he jumped. Some of them allege that the Prophet looked on when the Abyssinians danced. The reply is that jumping is a sort of walking, in use under the influence of joy, and has nothing to do with dancing; and similarly the dancing of the Abyssinians is a sort of walking with springing motion,² in use in war on meeting the enemy.

Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān as-Sulami alleged in favour of the permissibility of dancing the tradition told us by Abū-Naṣr Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Hamdānī and going back to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad ash-Shāfi'³ according to which Sa'id b. al-Muṣayyib,⁴ passing through one of the streets of Mecca, heard al-Akhḍar al-Juddi⁵ singing the following lines in the house of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il:⁶

The valley of Nu'mān was fragrant with scent
When Zainab with maidens all perfumed there went;
When the man of Numair with his mounts they descried
Unwilling to meet him they all turned aside.

For some time, he said, Sa'id beat the ground with his foot, saying: This is the sort of thing which it is a pleasure to hear. And the verses used to be recited as Sa'id's.

I would observe that chain of transmitters of this tradition is broken⁷ and obscure, and that it is not to be believed of Ibn al-Muṣayyab, neither are the verses his; he was too dignified for such a performance. The verses are well known to belong to the poet Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Numair an-Numairi, who was not of the tribe Numairi, but was called Numairi after his grandfather; he was of the tribe Thaqīf, and the Zainab of his erotic prologues was a daughter of Yūsuf and sister of al-Hajjāj. 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān asked him about the mounts, and he replied that they were lean asses laden with tar from Ṭā'if. He laughed and told al-Hajjāj not to injure him.⁸

Next, let us suppose that Ibn al-Muṣayyab did beat the ground with his foot: this furnished no evidence for the lawfulness of dancing. For a

1. Probably with reference to musical instruments played with a rod.

2. Dozy gives the word in the text this sense.

3. According to the *Tahdhīb* a cousin of the Imām, died 238.

4. One of the seven Jurists of Madīna, died 97.

5. This story is told in the *Aghānī*, ed. 1, VI, 30.

6. Contemporary of the Prophet said to have offered to protect 'Umar when he became a Muslim.

7. This appears from the dates given above.

8. The story is told in *Aghānī*, VI, 24.

man may beat the ground with his foot or knock it with his hand at the sound of something, but this proceeding is not called dancing. This is an improper inference; for what has striking the ground with the foot once or twice to do with that dancing of theirs whereby they abandon the demeanour of rational men?

Next, let us leave the adducing of evidence and appeal to the reason: what sense has dancing except child's-play? What is there in it that stirs in the heart the thought of the next world? Such an assertion is an insipid paradox. A certain Shaikh informed me that al-Ghazzālī said: Dancing is a folly which gets between the shoulders and is only stopped by weariness. Abu'l-Wafā b. 'Uqail says: The Qur'ān distinctly forbids dancing in God's words: (XXXI-17) *Walk not on the earth exultant*. And God censures the strutting (*ibid.*) in the words *Verily He loveth not any one who struts and is boastful*. Now dancing is an extreme form of exultation and pomposity. We, then, who treat date-wine as analogous to grape-wine on the ground that both exhilarate and intoxicate, how can we fail to treat the rod with accompanying modulation of the voice as analogous to the tambour, the reed-pipe, and the drum, on the ground that they all alike exhilarate? And is there anything which affronts reason and dignity and violates good manners and propriety more shockingly than the sight of a bearded man dancing? It is even worse when a greybeard dances and claps to the sound of tunes and the striking of rods, especially if the voices be those of women and beardless men. Can it be decent for one who is confronted with death, inquisition, resurrection, and the 'passage,' with one of the two abodes for his destination, to skip about dancing like a beast and clap his hands like a woman? Yet for certain I have seen Shaikhs in my time who never showed a tooth in a smile, for less in a laugh, long as was my association with them,¹ such as Abu'l-Qāsim b. Zaidān, 'Abd al-Malik b. Bushrān, Abū-Tāhīr b. al-'Allāf, al-Junaid, and ad-Dīnāwarī.²

Now when exhilaration gets hold of the Ṣūfis during their dance, one of them will drag one of those who are seated and make him stand with them; such a person by their system is not allowed to resume his seat, and when he gets up the others get up with him. When one of them uncovers his head the others do the like in accordance with him. No rational person can fail to see that uncovering the head is disgraceful, involving loss of self-respect and impropriety. It has its place only in religious ceremonies as an act of worship and self-abasement before God.

Next, as their exhilaration becomes excessive, they fling their garments on the singer, some of them leaving the clothes intact, whereas others tear them before throwing. Some ignorant persons have alleged in defence of this practice that they are in a trance and so free from censure; for

1. Apparently the conduct of these persons is contrasted with that of the dancers.

2. The last of these is quoted in the *Lum'a*.

when Moses was overcome by grief over his people worshipping the calf he threw down the Tables and broke them, not knowing what he was doing. The reply is : Who can show that Moses threw them down in order to break them ? What is stated in the Qur'ān (VII, 149) is merely that he cast them ; whence do we learn that they were broken ? But suppose we admit this of him : then we assert that he was in a trance, so much so that had there been in front of him a sea of fire, he would have plunged into it. But who is going to prove that these people are in a trance, when they can distinguish the singer from other people, and if there were a well there they would keep clear of it ? Further, what analogy can be drawn from the states of the prophets to those of these fools ? I once saw a Šūfī lad walking in the street shouting with urchins walking behind him while he was uttering gibberish. He was on his way to the Friday service, and kept on shouting while he was performing the prayer. I was asked about his prayer, and replied that if he was in a trance while he was shouting, his ceremonial washing was null and void ; but if he was conscious, then he must have been shamming. He was an able-bodied man, who did nothing ; every day a basket was taken round in which food was collected for him and his comrades. This is the state of the imposing rather than of the *reposing*. But even if we suppose that they are in a trance when they shout, still their listening to such exhilarating sounds as will cloud their intellects is forbidden, like any other exposure of oneself to what is in the main harmful. Ibn 'Uqail, being asked about their display of emotion and tearing of clothes, replied that they were errors and unlawful, as indeed the Prophet forbade the waste of property and the rending of garments. Some said to him : but they do not know what they are doing. He replied : If they come to these places well knowing that the exhilaration will overcome them and make them irrational, they are responsible for such consequences as the rending of garments and other improprieties, and are not relieved from the injunction of the code, since prior to their coming thither they were enjoined to avoid places which will thus affect them ; just as they are forbidden to drink intoxicating liquor, and if they become intoxicated and damage property, their intoxication does not relieve them of the injunctions ; so with this exhilaration which the Šūfis call emotion, if it be genuine, then it is musical intoxication, whereas if they are shamming, then it is wastefulness¹ committed in a state of sobriety. There is no soundness in either case, and it is obligatory to avoid suspicious places.

Ibn Ṭāhir alleged in defence of their rending clothes a tradition according to which 'Ā'ishah said : A bridal bed was set up for me, with an embroidered quilt ; Prophet spread it out and tore it.

Consider, I would observe, the legal acumen of this poor wretch, who supposes the case of one who tears garments and ruins them (waste of

1. The text has been amended.

property forbidden by the Prophet) to be analogous to the stretching of a coverlet to the full¹ which without intention gets torn !

' Or it may have been with intention on account of the figures which it contained. In the latter case it was a display of the legislator's emphatic disapproval of forbidden things, just as he ordered the vessels containing wine to be smashed. If the wearer of garments profess that he was in a trance, we may tell him that his trance was produced by Satan ; had you been in communication with the truth, it would have guarded you, for the truth does not work mischief. We have been told by Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Qāsim a tradition going back to Abu 'Imrān al-Jaunī,² according to which the latter said : One day when the prophet Moses son of 'Amran was preaching, a man rent his shirt ; God revealed unto Moses, " Tell the owner of the shirt not to rend it : would he expose his heart to Me ? "

The Sūfī Shaikhs have spoken on the subject of the torn pieces that are thrown down, and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir says : The proof that when a piece is thrown down it becomes the property of the person on whose account this was done is to be found in the tradition of Jarīr :³ to the effect that certain people clad in striped woollen aprons⁴ arrived, and the Prophet urged the bestowal on them of alms. Then one of the Helpers brought a purse, and there was a continuous succession of contributors till I saw two piles of clothing and food. This shows that when people arrive during the division of the garment, shares are given them. There is also a tradition of Abū-Mūsa : Spoil and booty were brought to the Prophet, and he gave us shares.

I would observe that this reasoner trifles with the code, and through lack of intelligence has adduced what he supposes to agree with the practice of the later Sūfis. We know of no such practice among the earlier members of the community. The fallacy of his deduction may be shown in this way. If the person who rends the garment and throws it down is conscious, it is unlawful for him to rend it ; if he is in a trance, the law does not permit him to exercise control so as to bestow a gift. And indeed they maintain that the garment is like something which falls off a man without his knowledge in which case no one has any right to take possession of it. If, being conscious, he throws it on no particular person, there is no reason why any one should seize it ; indeed if he throws it on the singer, the latter cannot take possession of it, for this can be done only by a legal contract, and flinging is not a contract. But suppose we grant that it becomes the possession of the singer, what right to it have the others ? If they do take possession of it, they must tear it into pieces, a proceeding which is unlawful on two grounds, one that it is dealing as

1. The text has been amended.

2. His name was 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, died about 128.

3. Probably Jarīr b. 'Abdallāh b. Jābir, died 51.

4. Translation according to Ibn al-Athīr's *Nihāyah*, IV., 176.

owners with what is not their property, the second that it is destruction of property. Further, why should those who are not present have a share?¹

With regard to the tradition of Abū-Mūsa, scholars, among them al-Khaṭṭābī,² think that the Prophet may have permitted the distribution of the booty with the consent of those who had been present at the battle, or out of the fifth which was his own share. According to the system of the Sūfis this rag is given to any one who comes. This differs from the consensus of the Muslims and I can only compare the practice initiated by these people out of their false notions with the pagan inventions of the *Bahīrah*, the *Ṣā'ibah*, *Wasīlah*, and the *Ham*.³ Ibn-Ṭāhir says: Our Shaikhs are agreed that the torn pieces and such intact pieces matching with them as may be sent are the property of the company to do with them what the Shaikhs think fit. They allege the saying of 'Umar: "The spoil belongs to those who have been present at the battle." A different view was taken by our Shaikh Abū-Isma'īl al-Anṣārī,⁴ who distinguished two sorts of garments; such as were torn were to be divided among the congregation, such as were intact were to be given to the singer. He alleged the tradition of Salamah. "Who," it was asked, "slew the man?" "Salamah b. al-Akwa," was the reply. He⁵ said: "Then the whole of the spoil belongs to him." Now the "killing" came about from the singer, whence the spoil should be his.

O my brethren, may God protect you and us from the devil's delusion, consider how these ignorant people trifle with the code, and the consensus of their Shaikhs, which is not worth the droppings of a beast! For the Shaikhs who are jurists are agreed that a gift belongs to the recipient equally whether it be torn or intact, and that no one else has the right to make free with it. Further, the spoil of a slain man is everything that is upon him; why then should they confine it to what is thrown? Further, the opposite of al-Anṣārī's doctrine would be right: for the wounded garment was wounded in consequence of the emotion; hence the wounded garment rather than the intact one should go to the singer. Indeed all that they say on this subject is utterly absurd. I was told by the Sūfī Abū 'Abdallāh at-Takrītī how Abū 'l-Futūḥ al-Isfarainī (a man whom I saw in my early youth) was present among a large congregation at a hermitage, where there were magadis, rods, and drums with bells. He rose up and danced so strenuously that his turban fell off and he remained bareheaded. At-Takrītī added that one day he danced in his shoes, but presently remembered that to dance in shoes is regarded by the community as improper; so he went aside, removed his shoes, and then stripped

1. This seems to be the meaning.

2. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, died 388. Life of him in the *Irshād*, ii-81.

3. Explained above.

4. Abdallāh b. Muḥammad of Herat, died 481.

5. The Prophet.

himself of a shawl which he was wearing and set it before the congregation by way of atonement for his crime ; the congregation proceeded to cut it up and divide it among them.

Ibn Tāhir proceeds : Now the proof that the person who throws the garment is not allowed to buy it back from the congregation is to be found in the tradition of 'Umar : "Thou shalt not go back on they alms."

Just consider, I would observe, how remote this man is from understanding the sense of the traditions. For the garment that is thrown down remains in the possession of its owner, whence he has no occasion to buy it.

With regard to their practice of cutting up the garments that are thrown down and distributing the pieces, we have already shown that if the owner of the garment throws it to the singer the act of throwing does not convey possession, but, supposing it does, what right have the others to take control of it ? I was present when one of their jurists tore the garments, distributed them, and said that the pieces would be used, so that there was no waste. I said : If this is not waste, what is ? I heard another of their Shaikhs say : I tore up a robe in our town, and one of the company got a small piece, out of which he made a winding-sheet, which he sold for five dinars. I said to him : The code does not permit these follies for such exceptional cases. Stranger than the case of these persons is that of Abū-Hāmid at-Tūsī (al-Ghazzālī), who says : The tearing up of the garments is lawful if they are cut up into squares which can serve for the patching of clothes or for prayer-mats ; for a garment can be so torn that a shirt can be stitched together out of it, and this is not waste. I am indeed surprised that attachment to Sufism should have driven from his mind the principles of jurisprudence and the system of ash-Shāfi'i, and concentrated his attention on private utility. Further, what is the sense of 'squares' ? An oblong piece also can be utilized, and so too can ribbons ; indeed, if a sword be broken in two, one half could be utilized. Only the code looks to the general utility, and designates any diminution of usefulness, destruction ; hence it forbids the breaking of a sound dirhem, since its value diminishes relatively to the amount broken off.¹

It is not so surprising that the devil should have deluded the ignorant members of community, but rather that he should have deluded jurists, who prefer the innovations of the Sūfis to the ruling of Abū-Hanīfah, ash-Shāfi'i, Mālik, and Ahmad (may God be pleased with them all !).

Wonderful indeed are their innovations, for which excuses have been founded by their partisans. Thus Muḥammad b. Tāhir has in his book a section headed "The Sunnah concerning taking something from one who asks forgiveness." He alleges the tradition "The third will suffice thee"

1. There are many allusions to the practice of breaking dirhems.

said to Ka'b b. Mālik when he repented.¹ He proceeds : " Section in which it is shown that when a man incurs a fine, if he fails to pay it, he is made to pay something more." He alleges the tradition of Mu'āwiyah b. Ja'dah that the Prophet said concerning the Alms, " If any one withholds it, we shall take it and half his goods as well."

I would observe : See how these people trifle, and how ignorant their advocate is ! He calls an illegal imposition a fine, and terms it obligatory ! We have no fines or obligations except such as are imposed by the code ; and when a man believes that to be obligatory which is not so, he is an unbeliever.

Another practice of theirs is to uncover the head when asking forgiveness ; this is an innovation inconsistent with honour and self-respect. Had not the uncovering of the head on the assumption of pilgrim's garb been enacted by the code, it would be improper.

As for the tradition of Ka'b b. Mālik, he said : " It is part of my repentance to give up my property. " The Prophet said to him : " A third will suffice," not by way of imposing the sacrifice, the man offered, and the Prophet accepted. And what has the rule of the code, which imposes on one who withholds the Alms something extra, to do with their imposing on the neophyte a fine which is not obligatory and doubling it if he refuses ? It is not their business to impose, which is the function of the code only. All this is ignorance and trifling with the law. They are dissidents whom it is right to assail.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be Continued).

1. He had stayed at home at the time of the Tabūk expedition, though able to serve. When his repentance was accepted, he offered to give all his property in alms, but was told to keep some of it.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

Speculation :

FOR some time past speculation on share market, etc., was spreading in the City of Hyderabad with disastrous results to many people of small earnings. Under local laws it is a cognizable crime, and the new police commissioner has taken timely action to check the evil.

Religious Leaders' Association :

A new association has been formed in Hyderabad in which religious leaders of Muslims, Christians, Parsis, Sikhs, Hindus, and others have joined not only to foster unity in a multi-national country like Hyderabad but also to take a common front against anti-religious movements as a whole. The continued existence of the association for many years and its ever-increasing activity shows that such a united front is not only possible and practicable but even a model for people outside Hyderabad.

Arabic for Muslim Girls :

A Muslim girl of Hyderabad has passed this year in the first division of M.A. from Aligarh University taking Arabic as her optional. About a dozen girls have taken Arabic as optional this year in the Women's College of the Osmania University in the Intermediate first year, not to speak of those in higher classes. After much consideration, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government have decided that the Women's College should not be located in the University Town but somewhere else in the city and a sum of 8,00,000 rupees has been allocated for the construction of the building.

Qur'ān in many Languages :

The local Qur'ān society (Tahrik-e-Qur'ān) is publishing this Ramaḍān (September) a booklet called *Qur'ān in Many Languages*. The first chapter of the Holy Book has been selected and in the first edition

translations in about three dozen languages of the East and West are given. For lack of time this year, as also difficulties of communications due to war, the first attempt cannot be completed ; and it is hoped that future editions will include all known languages of the world in which the Qur'ān has been translated. The Secretary of the Society ('Ālamgīr Tahrik Qur'ān) expects co-operation in this respect from our readers.

Jāmi'ah Nizāmiyah :

This theological university was founded by the late Maulānā Fadilat Jung who was the tutor of H.E.H. the present Nizam as well as his father and sons. Of late its administration was leaving much to be desired. H.E.H. the Nizam has sanctioned 2,25,000 rupees for the reconstruction of its hostels, classrooms, library and office buildings and is taking personal interest in the reorganization of the institute, which augurs well for its future.

Decimal System of Coinage in the Time of the Prophet :

Many circles in Hyderabad have been agitating for the last half a dozen and more years to decimalise local currency and weights and measures. The Government of British India have also recently taken the initiative of eliciting the opinion of provinces for this reform. This has naturally strengthened the workers of the Hyderabad movement, and one of the writers has pointed out in the daily *Rahbar-e-Deccan* that in the time of the Holy Prophet, decimal system was in use in Arabia, and ten dirhams could be exchanged for one dinār. Practically the whole world has now adopted the decimal system and even many members of the British Commonwealth, England and India being two conspicuous exceptions.

New Publications of Dā'irat-ul-Ma'ārif :

The Oriental Publication Bureau of the Osmania University is in the throes of administrative reforms for some time which has naturally affected its productive activity. It may still take some time to settle, nevertheless the following works have recently been published by it :—

- ۱ - فهرس کتاب الاعمال
- ۲ - مختارات جلد ۳
- ۳ - مختارات جلد ۴
- ۴ - تاریخ کبیر للبخاری القسم الاول من الجلد ۲

Translation Bureau :

The Translation Bureau of the Osmania University is incessantly going on with its useful work of making Urdu a learned language. It has now practically completed the Urdu edition of the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn-Sa'd, *Histories* of Ṭabarī and ibn al-Athīr, etc. The French work *Les Origines du droit international* by Ernest Nys may also be mentioned in this connection, since it contains much of Islamic interest and proves how much modern Western International law owes to Muslim International Law. Moreover, the Urdu translation of this work has successfully used the system of transcription evolved by the Osmania University, and sounds of nine European languages, including French, German, Spanish, English, and Italian have been given in Urdu script and diacritical marks.

Indo-Iranian Cultural Association :

A society has been formed in Hyderabad in fulfilment of the long-felt need of studying Indo-Iranian cultural relations. It will interest all those who are interested in the promotion of the appreciation of the culture of Iran or India or of the effect of the one on the other. The Association has elected the following managing committee :—

President : HON. DR. MAHDI YAR JUNG (Vice-President, Executive Council).

Vice-President : MR. C. A. SAVIDGE (Acting Revenue Member).

Secretary : AQA AKBAR SHUSTARY.

Joint Secretary : MR. KHAJA MUHAMMAD AHMAD, (of Archaeological Department).

Members : MR. SYED ALI AKBAR (Director, Public Instruction); MR. SYED ALI RAZA (Rtd Chief Engineer); DR. NIZAMUDDIN (of Osmania University Translation Bureau); MR. MIRZA NAJAF ALI KHAN (Director, Information Bureau); PROF. QARI KALIMULLAH (of Osmania University).

The membership of the Association is open to all those who are interested in the object of the society and pay an admission fee as well as an annual fee.

One of its first academic activities was a lecture in Persian by Aqa Shustary on the Indo-Iranian culture in which the lecturer described in detail the influence of Iran on India from the dawn of civilisation right up to the present time.

Interest-free Co-operative Lending Society :

We have before us the 22nd annual report of the co-operative society

of the Settlement and Land Records' Department, whose yearly meeting was presided over recently by Hon'ble Nawāb Liāqat Jung, Finance Member. The report revealed that the capital has now reached to Rs. 1,30,000, and the loans so far issued have amounted to about 7 lakhs of rupees. They are now able to lend about seven thousand rupees monthly, and they have even built up a reserve fund of over three thousand rupees.

The Secretary has struck a serious note when he pointed out that indebtedness seriously handicaps the integrity of the character of government servants. Mere prohibition is no remedy. As a matter of fact, and also of common knowledge, a large number of government servants is suffering from this pest and the administration has already been affected to a certain extent. Unless interest-free lending system is provided, the non-productive debts, as most of the debts of government servants are, can never be paid off, and the pest can never be eradicated. The Secretary suggests that the Government should allocate a sum of a crore of rupees for the purpose, and it is expected that interest-free lending societies run by that amount would be able to return back to the government the amount in about 15 to 20 years. And he hopes that even before this period the indebtedness of government servants would be brought into control if not fully eradicated. He urges the Government to include it in post-war plans.

Study of the Life of the Prophet in Warangal College :

Many of the problems facing the world today are exactly the same as had to be tackled by the Prophet of Islam fourteen hundred years ago. The conflict of nationalities (in Arabia : tribes), conflict between the haves and the have-nots, conflict between freedom of the self and self-control, more men and less women, the vendetta, and the like may be cited in this connection. It is gratifying to note that the study of the life of the Prophet is attracting wider and wider circles. As human nature does not change nor the fundamental principles of fighting evils and introducing reforms, we can safely presume that valuable lessons can be learnt even from the most ancient campaigns against degeneracy of nations.

As in the Osmania University, the Warangal Intermediate College has announced this year an essay-writing competition with several prizes, including one each for girls and for non-Muslims among the students. What is not only gratifying but even exemplary, is that the special prize reserved for non-Muslim competitors has been presented by a Hindu pleader whose broadmindedness and moral courage cannot be too much praised in these days of communalistic mania in British India. The principal of the college as well as the Students' Union, which has organized it voluntarily, are to be congratulated for this earnest and selfless endeavour to serve humanity.

M. H.

DECCAN

Pakistan or Partition of India :

THE second revised edition of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's *Thoughts on Pakistan* has been just released from the press in Bombay. In reality it deals with the present communal problem of India which he regards the crux of the Indian Political problem. It shows that it has got to be understood in all its implications by the Hindus, the Muslims and the British. Dr. Ambedkar has made a successful attempt to understand Pakistan in all its aspects and to expound it. It is enough to know that Pakistan stands for the partition of India into Hindu India and Muslim India, with the Muslim areas absolutely autonomous and independent not only of the British but of the Hindus. According to Dr. Ambedkar the Hindus are in the grip of the Congress, and the Congress is in the grip of Gandhi. Many people will differ from Ambedkar's views and conclusions, but nobody can deny the candour and competence with which he has discussed this difficult topic.

Hindu Padshahi Pt. I (English and Telugu) :

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the president of the Hindu Mahasabha, has recently written this book which contains an account of the rise and growth of the Maratha Empire founded by Shivaji with special emphasis on the military strategy of the Peshwas. Its study reveals to us that the forces of Hyderabad and Mysore were defeated in pitched battles and the Muslim chiefs were compelled to pay huge war damage and part with their occupied Hindu territories. In the north, the Rajputs and the Rohillas became their vassals. The last of the Mughal rulers had no choice but to accept the Maratha general as the chief 'Vazir' of the empire and authorise him to collect the revenues of the State as the Mughal agent. This book contains many controversial points on which much can be said, keeping in view the other side of the picture, which has been ignored in it.

Mughal Document Discovered :

A unique historic document—an order issued by Mumtāz Maḥal, in whose memory her husband, the Mughal Emperor, Shāh Jahān, built the Taj Maḥal at Agra—has been recently discovered by Prof. D. B. Verma of Poona. The order which is styled as "*Hukm*" and not "*Farmān*" as orders issued by the Mughal emperors, were called—was issued in 1628 A.D. and it restored the Deshmukhi of a Pargana in Khandesh to one Kanoji. According to Prof. Verma, this is the only document of Mumtāz Maḥal so far unearthed and it shows that the queen used to take interest and exercised some power in the administration of the kingdom.

Prof. Verma also concluded that orders issued by Mughal queens were invariably "Hukms" and not "Farmāns" a point, he says, which has escaped the notice of historians. The document is now preserved at the Rajwade Samshodhan Mandir at Dhulia. (*The Times of India*, Bombay, June 4, 1945).

An Illustrated Manuscript of Gulistan (Gul-Sitan) from Shiraz :

We have recently acquired a rare MS. of Shaikh Sa'di's *Gulistan* with three miniatures. Its colophon is very interesting which runs thus:—

”تمت من تحرير هذا المذکورات فی عشرين ذی القعدة الحرام سنة اثني عشرین و ثمانمائة الهجرة النبوية . تحریر اقل عباد الله الملك الصمد . فخر الدين احمد احسن الله احواله والحق اساله فی الدارين . بدار الملك شیراز حمیت عن الافات ،،

Its substance is.—Transcription of this MS. was made on 20th Dhu'l-Qa'da, year 882 A.H., by Fakhr-ud-Din Ahmad at Shiraz.

We know well that illustrated MSS. from Shiraz are very scanty and fortunately this MS. of the *Gulistan* from Shiraz, the native place of Sa'di himself adds much to our knowledge that Shiraz produced such illustrated MSS. with special characteristics as far the technique of miniatures is concerned. They are very light in colour and in treatment very simple. Its two beginning pages are very artistically decorated.

Urdu Conference, Bombay :

Under the auspices of the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Bombay, a grand Urdu Conference took place during the month of February 1945. It was presided over by Maulavi Dr. 'Abdul Haq and a good number of great scholars and poets of Urdu also participated. Seeing all its achievements we can safely claim that this conference was one of the most successful functions that ever took place in this city. Mr. Kaifi A'zamī contributed a brief account in the daily papers of Bombay dealing with the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-e-Urdu's activities so far displayed in the cause of Urdu. There was an Urdu translation of the English article by Prof. E. E. Speight on *Maulavi Abdul Haq*, which was very much admired and it gave in brief what the Maulavi Sāhib has so far achieved in this field. The conference opened with a welcome address by Principal A. A. Faizi, the president of the Reception Committee. He presented a graphic picture of the activities concerning the Urdu language in the Bombay Presidency which no other province of India can present. The proceedings of the conference when published, we hope, will give a great impetus in the cause of Urdu. An exhibition of Urdu publications was also held in this connection. Particularly those Urdu books, which have so far been

published in this province since the beginning of the last century, were a great attraction of this exhibition. In short, Bombay, being a great trade centre of India, can claim to be the real home of Urdu. Because business transactions can only be done in one common language which the local people can speak and understand easily. In this respect Urdu is the only common medium which comes to their rescue.

Iqbal Day :

It has been a practice now with the Indians to celebrate the anniversary of the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, which generally falls in the month of April, because he died on 21st April, 1938. Accordingly this year Bombay people in celebrating the same excelled all such functions about Iqbal. They not only invited great scholars to deliver speeches or great scholars to read research papers on Iqbal's poetry and philosophy, they also collected a fund of over one lakh of rupees with a view to create an Iqbal Memorial—an institution to propagate Iqbal's poetry and philosophy. We particularly congratulate for this whole achievement men like Mr. 'Ilmu'd-Din, Dr. Nazir Ahmad, and others. In this respect it will not be out of place to suggest that if they really aim at establishing a permanent institution in the memory of Iqbal, we think it will be much better if they acquire Iqbal's own house at Lahore where he breathed his last, so that his own personal association would be there. And we hope that later on the same house of Iqbal will become a permanent monument as today we find in England houses like—Carlyle House, Lord Leighton's House, Dr. Johnson's House, etc., etc.

A Descriptive Handlist of MSS. :

Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, has recently published a *Descriptive Handlist of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS. belonging to the Satara Historical Museum, at present lodged at the Deccan College, Poona*, by C. H. Shaikh. There are described in this brochure eighteen MSS. Mr. Shaikh says in the beginning, "Wherever necessary the present writer has thrown additional light on the value—historical, artistic or literary—of the MSS. and has thus contributed his quota of research. Keeping in view these words of the writer and the importance of cataloguing the MSS. as a special branch of research, our attention has been drawn to it. We try to re-examine these MSS. in the following :—

1. دلائل الخمرات In the course of its description Mr. Shaikh says : "On the fly-leaf is the following matter :—علامت دلائل الخمرات را دین عمر ابن سلطان محمود بدرالدین which means that the work of decorating the MS. was done by دین عمر ابن سلطان محمود بدرالدین. It is in the same hand as the later addition on foll. 84-86, and might induce one to remark that

the addition was made by the above-named Dīn 'Umar b. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Badru'd-Dīn, probably a gentleman from the Panjab." When we casually put a glance on the fly-leaf, we read the same matter in very ordinary hand thus: — علامات دلائل الخیرات مرادین عمر ابن سلطان محمود بدرالدین

It means that this man Murād b. 'Umar b. Sulṭān Maḥmūd Badru'd-Dīn was the owner of the MS. who has been using it constantly.

2. مہا پارت It is the Persian version of the first Parva (Adi Parva) by Faiḍī. Mr. Shaikh writes: "I am inclined to think that in all probability Faiḍī *did* translate the *whole* work and that the copy of the BBRAS is the complete copy of Faiḍī's version." Mulla 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūni, as one of the translators of the *Mahabharata*, tells us: "Shaikh Faiḍī was directed to convert the rough translation into elegant prose and verse, but he did not complete more than two sections" *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, 3,444) which are found in several collections.

3. ترجمہ جوگہ داشت Mr. Shaikh writes: "Prince Dārā Shikoh had it retranslated in an abridged form." Its Persian introduction clearly bears: — میخوانم کہ این کتاب مستطاب را در حضور ماترجمہ کند: — which means Dārā Shikoh had ordered its translation.

4. خلاصۃ التواریخ Mr. Shaikh thinks that its author Munshi Shujan Ray was a native of Patiala which is not correct. He was a resident of Batala as he has mentioned about himself in the same book under the account of Batala (fol. 524 of this MS. and printed edition's p. 71). From the internal evidence we find that it was composed in the fortieth year of of Aurangzeb, corresponding to 1107 A.H. (MS. fol. 7b) and not after the death of Aurangzeb, as Mr. Shaikh has asserted.

5. آئین اکبری Mr. Shaikh writes about "a part of the third Volume of *Akbar Nāma*, but really an independent work by Abu'l-Faḍl, the celebrated prime minister of Akbar." We simply point out to Mr. Shaikh that Abu'l-Faḍl was not the prime minister of Akbar. He was, no doubt, one of the ministers of Akbar.

6-8. احوال نامہ جہانگیری Mr. Shaikh says: "The *Iqbāl Nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* consists of three volumes, the first two of which containing the history of Bābar, Humāyūn and Akbar, are extremely rare; while the third, devoted to the reign of Jahāngīr (described here), is very common. It was necessary for Mr. Shaikh to prove it either from the internal evidence or by quoting some authority to support his statement. According to Mr. Shaikh, the author of the *Iqbāl Nāma*, Mu'tamad Khan was later on attached to Prince Khurram as Bakhshi. Mr. Shaikh should have studied the history of Shāh Jahān who was (by that time A.D. 1617) officially called Shāh Jahān (*Iran. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 343-47), and not Prince Khurram.

9. مرآة سکندری Mr. Shaikh has unnecessarily devoted much space to this defective and incomplete MS. of the *Mir'at-i-Sikandari* which

in reality does not apply to this MS. This MS.'s last page bears two seals. One of them which is clear can be read thus محمد اصغر قول عالم گبر 'Muhammad Asghar, slave (servant) of 'Ālamgīr, 42 regnal year.' Mr. Shaikh could throw light on word "Qul"—slave, a Turkish word used in this seal instead of مرید or شاه زاد which are generally used in seals.

10-11. مکاتیب علای Again Mr. Shaikh calls their author Abu'l-Faḍl as the prime minister of Akbar which is incorrect.

12. منشآت برهنی Mr. Shaikh regards Brahman a native of Patiala which is wrong. In reality he was a native of Lahore (vide *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August, 1928, pp. 2-3).

13. انشاء خلیفه If Mr. Shaikh would have known before that this small collection of letters had already been several times lithographed, we are sure, he could have had saved the long space which he has devoted to this very ordinary work.

14. تحفه نظامی Its third part the *Haft Paikar* according to Mr. Shaikh seems to have been dedicated to Atābak Nur u'd-Dīn Arsalān. If he had cared to see the original, he would have concluded that it was dedicated to 'Alāu'd-Dīn Karab Arsalān. As the extract noted here shows :
عمدة المملکت علاء الدین حافظ و ناصر زمان و زمین شاه کرب ارسلان کشو گبر۔ بہ زالب ارسلان تاج و سریر

15. مینا بازار According to Mr. Shaikh the *Mīnā Bāzār* is generally attributed to Zahūrī. It means he has doubt about it. He ought to bear in mind that in reality Zahūrī has given in this small treatise a description of the bazar which was built by Ibrāhīm, 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur.

We have tried to give only the salient points which are really worth mentioning, otherwise there are several other omissions which we have purposely ignored. Moreover, all these MSS. are not of such great merit. They have already been published several times and could easily have been omitted from the description.

The Birth of Akbar :

It is a very happy feature that we have come across one unique miniature of a large size in Poona in the Mughal Art treasures of Mr. Ardeshir. A glance on this, immediately reminds one of similar miniatures in the Victoria and Albert Museum (SK.), London. This miniature represents the birth of Akbar and it contains on its bottom in vermilion colour :—

دیدن ملاچاند منجم طالع بندگان حضرت اعلیٰ (عمل کهمکرن چهره نامی شوداس)

"Mullā Chand's watching the Horoscope of Fortune of *Bandgan Hazrat A'lā—Akbar*"—work of Khem Karan, featuring by Shiv Das. This miniature undoubtedly forms the part of one illustrated edition of the

Akbar Nāma by the court artists and fortunately it is the first illustration of the series as figure first is noted there. In the *Humāyūn Nāma* of Gulbadan Begam (Trans. 58 and text 59) we find: "In Amarkot he (*Humāyūn*) left many people, and his family and relations and also Khwāja Mu'azzam to have charge of his Harem, Hamīda Bānū Begam who was with child. Three days after His Majesty's departure, and in the early morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the revered Rajab, 949 A.H. (Oct. 15th, 1542 A.D.) there was born His Imperial Majesty, the World's Refuge and Conqueror Jalālu'd-Dīn Akbar Ghāzi. The Moon was in Leo, قمر در برج اسد بود. It was of very good omen that the birth was in a fixed sign, and the astrologers said a child so born would be fortunate and long lived. The same incident in the *Akbar Nāma* is related thus:—"When the victor-grasping standards were leaving the fort of Amarkot, Maulānā Chānd, the astrologer, who possessed great acuteness and thorough dexterity in the science of the astrolabe, the scrutinizing of astronomical table, the construction of almanacs, and the interpretation of stars,—was deputed to be in attendance at the portals of the cupola of chastity (Hamīda Bānū—known as by her title Maryam Makānī—Akbar's mother), in order that he might observe the happy time and ascertain exactly the period of birth. He reported in writing to the exalted camp, that according to the altitude taken by the Greek astrolabe, and by calculations based on the Gūrgāni tables (given in the *Akbar Nāma*) زنج گرگان (vide *Akbar Nāma*, Trans. I, 69-70, text I, 23). The constellation was vergo and the star Spica. In short, the miniature we describe here has all the details which are very faithfully and very artistically depicted in it. We already know that the scattered illustrations of two illustrated editions of the *Akbar Nāma* are found in the Victoria Albert Museum, London, and Chester Beatty's Collection, London. But the miniature referred to here is by itself unique and it is the frontispiece of some illustrated edition of the *Akbar Nāma* by the court artists. It shows that at a time many editions of one work were generally undertaken by the court artists.

M. A. C.

DELHI

A Book on Iran :

Mīr. A. B. Rajput has published the paper he read before the Islamic Research Association some time ago in the form of a book called *Iran Today*, after enlarging it. The book has numerous illustrations and an introductory note by Āqā-i-Mu'tamadī, the Consul-General for Iran at Delhi. The interest which the people of India have in Iran is demonstrated by the fact that the first edition of 2,000 copies was sold out in less than two months and a new edition is under preparation.

Political Zionism :

• *The Dawn* has been publishing a number of well-informed articles on various topics of Muslim interest in its Sunday edition. A most illuminating article published in its edition of the 22nd July bore the title "Arab Nationalism and Political Zionism." This article is by William Ernest Hocking, Alfred Professor of Philosophy (emeritus) at Harvard University. The professor, besides refuting the pretensions of Zionism, gives a good picture of the progress made by the Arab world in various spheres of life.

Periodical Literature :

The Urdu, the well-known quarterly published by the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu has maintained its standard. The last number has illuminating articles on the politics of Mir Dard's age, on the art of letter writing in Urdu and on the growth and importance of Mushā'iras. *The Burhān* has published a number of articles on Islamic subjects which are of a high standard. Maulānā Sayyid Manāzīr Aḥsan Gilānī has a series on the codification of Muslim jurisprudence in which he has narrated the history of the growth and development of the schools of Jurisprudence in Islam and holds that the differences among the jurists have widened the outlook of Islam on various problems. Major 'Abd-ur-Rashīd has two articles, one on "the Fertile Crescent and the Valley of Indus" in which he has advanced interesting theories regarding the Indus Valley civilization and its connection with the civilization of Mesopotamia. The other article gives first-hand information about the Kurds and their religious beliefs and practices. Dr. M. Yūsuf has contributed an article on Zāhir bin Abī Salma and his poetry. Mr. M. Jamil Wasti has an article on the defence of Muslim polygamy in his series on "Islamic Traditions and their Conservation" in which he advances cogent and weighty arguments. A controversy has been raging for some time regarding some of the writings of the late Maulānā 'Ubaidullāh Sindhī, the great divine who died recently. The writer of this report found the Maulānā's attitude towards historical events most uncritical, and others found contradictions in his writings and sayings. Maulānā Sa'id Aḥmad Akbarābādī took up cudgels on behalf of Maulānā Sindhī and wrote a long article to defend the Maulānā's views in reply to a review published in the *Ma'ārif* (not by the writer of these lines). Maulānā Akbarābādī was a little hard put to bring about consistency where it hardly existed. The controversy has now been set at rest by a pathetic article by Maulānā Husain Aḥmad Madanī in which he appeals to all concerned to understand that Maulānā Sindhī's mind was a little unhinged by the hardships he bore in his long travels and by the disappointments he suffered in connection with his schemes.

It is a pity that an academic journal like the *Burhān* which maintains such a good standard in its articles should directly meddle in politics and plead strongly for the restoration of the political leadership of a body like the Jami'at 'Ulamā-i-Hind, Delhi, which is not even a veiled form of Congress propaganda.

The Indian Institute of International Affairs publishes a quarterly. The April number had an article on Cultural Trends in Modern Iran by Dr. I. H. Qureshi and another on the Modernization of Middle Eastern Languages by Lt. Col. G. E. Wheeler. The Colonel is a strong advocate of the adoption of Latin script by Muslim languages except Arabic and advances arguments in favour of his thesis. There is another Indian organization interested in international affairs, called the Indian Council of World Affairs which publishes the *India Quarterly* as its journal. This has an article on Political Trends in the Middle East by Professor Mohd. Habib of the Muslim University.

A Sequel to the History of Islam :

Maulānā Muḥammad Aslam Jērājpūrī, Professor of Islamic History in the Jāmi'a Milliyya Islāmiyya has published the eighth part of his *Tārikh-ul-Ummat* which is more in the form of a postscript than a continuation. The Maulānā's chief theme is that the downfall of the Muslim people was due to its wandering away from the Qur'ān and thus splitting into innumerable sects. The remedy lies in political and religious unity which is possible only by returning to a belief in the Qur'ān and setting up a central authority which must be obeyed. This summary does not do justice to the book which has a wealth of information regarding the various schools of thought which grew up in Islam. The Maulānā follows the fashion of characterising the rule of all Muslim monarchs except the period of the republic and the reign of 'Umar ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz as characteristically non-Muslim, which, in the opinion of the writer of this report, is an extreme view to take.

A Book on Taṣawwuf :

The *Nadwat-ul-Muṣannifin*, which publishes the *Burhān* has published a book on Taṣawwuf, called *Qur'ān aur Taṣawwuf* by Dr. Mir Wali-ud-Dīn, M.A., Ph.D., the head of the department of philosophy of the Osmania University. For the modern student of the subject this book has a wealth of useful and enlightening information.

Anjuman-i-Tarraqqi-i-Urdu :

The Anjuman has published an interesting report (both in English and Urdu) of its activities during the year 1944. It has a well spread

system of branches in various places of India, though it has not been possible to organize the branches into provincial groups. In spite of difficulties in securing a bigger quota of paper, which prevented the Anjuman from publishing the full number of books included in their programme, it succeeded in publishing ten books during the year, in which *Aṣl-i-Khālīq Bārī* by Professor Hāfiẓ Maḥmūd Shīrānī and *Asoka A'ẓam* by Dr. M. H. Sayyid deserve special mention. Besides new editions of five other books were published. The programme for 1945 contains a list of ten books, of which Urdu translations of *Mahādīrāt-i-Aghānī* (the first part of which has already been published) and *Tārikh-ul-Hukamā'* are more outstanding. The Anjuman also runs an institution called Urdu College, Delhi, which prepares students for the Urdu examinations of the Punjab University. This college sent fifty-five candidates last year, out of which 41 passed. All the teachers work without remuneration. The Anjuman has also donated funds to Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, for a lectureship in Urdu, which has enabled the college to start Honours Classes in Urdu. Some of the local branches of the Anjuman have been doing excellent work in popularizing Urdu, of which the centre at Ranchi deserves special mention. The Anjuman has also had great success in Sindh.

I. H. Q.

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Ganganatha Jha Research Institute has been recently founded at Allahabad to commemorate the revered memory of the late Dr. Sir Ganganath Jha, who was a great scholar in Sanskrit, and served as a Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University for a number of years. One of the various objects of the Institute is 'to undertake, promote, encourage and foster research and investigation in Sanskrit and other Oriental languages.' It also publishes a journal namely *The Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute*. Dr. 'Abd-us-Sāttar Ṣiddiqī, Chairman, Arabic and Persian Department, Allahabad University, is also one of the editors of the Journal. We have to mention here two articles which have been published in its two consecutive issues. In one of these articles Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), discusses a manuscript *Rāfi'-ul-Khilāf* (رفع الخلاف) the author of which was one Sita Ram Kayestha Saksena of Lucknow. In the beginning of the manuscript the author says that Dārā Shikoh wrote *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* in order to reconcile the differences between the religious beliefs of the Hindus and the Muslims, but this booklet was so short that many difficulties remained unexplained. He, therefore, undertook to compose in Persian a commentary on Sri Kavindracharya's *Jnana-Sara*, which is a Bhāshā version of the *Yoga-Vasistha* in Sanskrit. Sri Kavindracharya was a remarkable scholar and

philosopher, who received the title of *Sarvavidyanidhana* from the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān. During the course of writing the Persian commentary on Sri Kavindracharya's *Jnana-Sara*, Sita Ram has given the *Dohas* in Hindi and a running translation and explanation of each *Doha* in Persian. He has quoted Persian and Arabic texts to show that the teachings of the *Yoga Vāsistha* accord with those of Muslim mystics. This treatise, thus prepared, was named *Rāfi'-ul-Khilāf*, the present manuscript of which consists of 62 folios, (8½ in. by 6 in.) and was transcribed by Shital Rai Asthana in 1199 A.H. (1784 A.D.). It is believed that the present copy which now belongs to the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute was written only eighteen years after the composition of the work by the author.

In another issue of the same journal (Feb.-May 1945) Prof. Na'imur-Rahman of the Allahabad University writes an article under the caption *The Crescent as an Emblem of Islam*, and proves that the crescent is not a religious symbol of the Muslims. It was the symbol of sovereignty in the city of Byzantium, and when the Turks conquered it in 1453 A.D. they adopted this symbol for their own empire and sovereignty. And the Muslim world readily adopted the Turkish star and crescent as something that would reconcile their mentality, however faintly it may be, with the notion that they had something to satisfy their idea of unity. So all eyes beheld this as a vestige of the greatness of Islam and its power. And it gave to the Muslim poets a ready simile to speak of the crescent-shaped sword as their national symbol.

A Hindustani Cultural Society has been formed at Allahabad in March last to foster communal unity in the country. Its chief patron is the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The promoters of this Society have chanced upon a documentary evidence which consists mainly of Farmāns signed by Mughal emperors from Akbar to Bahādur Shāh. The Associated Press of India, in relaying the news of this valuable find, commented that "these firmans throw sufficient light on the religious, social and cultural relationships between the Hindus and the Muslims during those days." Further, they disclose that, "Aurangzeb was not very fanatic and bigoted as he is said to be. He gave jagirs to four Hindu temples in Ujjain." These Farmāns, which number about one hundred, were in possession of Mr. Lakshmi Narain, a Mahant in charge of about ninety-four temples in Ujjain. The Hindustani Cultural Society is trying to bring out an English translation of these documents in the form of a booklet, the publication of which is being eagerly awaited. A Muslim daily of Calcutta, commenting editorially on the discovery of these historical materials wrote! "So far Aurangzēb has been portrayed as an insatiable bigot, who in the name of religion, razed temples, reimposed the Jizya or the poll-tax and generally oppressed non-Muslims. He has, in short, been held out as the symbol of Muslim tyranny in India. Hence the recent discovery of these Farmāns will not only throw light on the extremely interesting other side of the picture but will also pointedly

reveal the gaps in the researches of those history scholars, who though ostentatiously applying themselves to the pursuit of truth, have produced only a plethora of half-baked hypotheses and propagandist's half-truths."

Prof. M. Louis Massignon, the distinguished French Orientalist, visited the Muslim University, Aligarh, on the 17th June, 1945. He lunched with the Vice-Chancellor and had a long conversation with him about Islamic research and his own interest and works on Islam. He is the author of a number of works and has specialized in 'Guilds of Trades amongst the Muslims.' He is reported to have expressed his opinion that rules and regulation of the Muslim Guilds had the greatest influence on the Guilds (Zenfte) of the Middle Ages in Europe without a thorough knowledge of which a satisfactory knowledge of the economic, political, educational and religious development of modern civilization is impossible. M. Massignon who knows many European and Oriental languages, is also said to have mentioned that no language was so fit to become the international language of science as Arabic.

In the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Sept.-Dec. 1944, the following contributions call for our notice :—

(1) *Currency and Coinage in Bihar under the Hon'ble Company.*—The writer says that at the initial stage of the Hon'ble Company's rule over Bengal, the silver coins that passed current in the several districts consisted of Sonats, Siccas and Rupees. The Sonats and Siccas were named after Murshidabad and Patna, the places where they were struck. The Murshidabad Sonats weighed one Masha and two Ratis and were perfect in weight and quality. They were issued in the reigns of Muḥammad Shāh, Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II. The Murshidabad Sicca Rupees had a weight similar to the Sonats and were issued in the 11th, 12th, 15th and 19th years of Shāh 'Ālam's reign. The Rupees were likewise designated Dacca, Benares, and Arcot after the names of their places of issue. The Jahangīrābād or Dacca Rupees weighed like the Murshidabad Sonat and Sicca, and were issued in the same reigns. 'Azimabadi Rupees coined in the reigns of Muḥammad Shāh, Ahmad Shāh and 'Ālamgīr II were of purest quality but were a Rati less than the Murshidabad coins. Benares Rupees struck in the 17th and 18th years of Shāh 'Ālam's reign and perfect in quality were two Ratis less than Murshidabad species in weight. The old Benares Rupees, on the other hand, were those which had been issued by 'Ālamgīr and were deficient in quality as well as weight. Farrukhabad Rupees of 'Ālamgīr like the Benares Rupees were two Ratis deficient both in the quality of silver and in weight. Further, copper coins of various denominations were also current. They were (a) Madosie (six Pies Sicca each). Two equalled to one Anna Sicca and thirty-two to a Sicca Rupee. One Madosie coin was equal to one hundred and sixty Cowries, and its weight was twenty Annas Sicca weight each ($1\frac{1}{4}$ Tola) or 2,560 in the Maund of eight Sicca weight. (b) Faloos (3 Pies Sicca each). Four equalled to one Anna and sixty-four to a Sicca Rupee. One Faloos was equal to eighty

Cowries and its weight was ten Annas Sicca weight each ($7\frac{1}{2}$ Māsha) or 5,120 in the Maund of eighty Sicca weight. (c) Neem Faloos ($1\frac{1}{2}$ Pie Sicca each). Eight equalled to one Anna Sicca and one hundred twenty-eight to a Sicca Rupee. One Neem-Faloos was equal to forty Cowries, and its weight was five Annas Sicca weight each ($3\frac{3}{4}$ Māsha) or 10,240 in the maund of eighty Sicca weight. (d) Pao, Faloos ($\frac{3}{4}$ Pie Sicca each). Sixteen equalled to an Anna Sicca and two hundred and fifty-six to a Sicca Rupee. One Pao-Faloos was equal to twenty Cowries, and its weight was $2\frac{1}{2}$ Annas Sicca weight each or 20,480 in the Maund of eighty Sicca weight. All these coins contained on the obverse the inscription ۱۱۹۰ شام عالم بادشاہ and on the reverse جلوس سنہ ۲۲, although they were issued by the Hon'ble East India Company.

(2) The second article is *Has the Tārīkh-Muzaffar Shāhī reached us?*

(3) In the paper *Mir Jumla's Diplomatic Relations with Sri Ranga Rayal and Shahuji Bhonsla*, it has been attempted to illustrate the diplomatic acumen and sagacity of Mir Jumla, who according to the writer, "could carry on intrigues successfully with several powers, far and near, without in any way compromising his own position."

Mr. Ahsan Sher, Curator of the Patna Museum, has taken upon himself the task of editing *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, the manuscript of which is available in the Khuda Baksh Khan Oriental Public Library, Bankipore. No other copy seems to be known anywhere. The name of the author of the book is not known, but it was completed in 772 A.H. (1370 A.D.), i.e., in the twentieth year of Firūz Shāh's reign. It contains a detailed and useful account of Firūz Shāh's virtue and munificence with special reference to his encouragement of science and learning as well as of his buildings, monuments and works of public utility. It describes also the astronomical instruments invented by Firūz Shāh, giving at the same time interesting discourse on the motions of the planets and their positions in longitude and latitude, and on prognostication connected with ascendant of the world. The style of the book is 'complicated and ambitious,' still, however, its publication will be greatly welcomed and valued by the scholars interested in the history of the Sultanate of Delhi.

The annual general meeting of the All-Bengal Muslim Literary Association was held in Calcutta under the Chairmanship of Mr. Tamiz-ud-Din Khān, ex-Education Minister, Bengal, in 1945. The Chairman observed "Literary renaissance must precede any political renaissance. Muslim Bengal is in the throes of national resurgence. It is really a heartening sign that All-Bengal Muslim Literary Association has taken up the task of ushering that long overdue renaissance." The report of the Association shows that it organised in the preceding year a special 'Day' for Mr. Nazr-ul-Islam, who is regarded as the greatest and the most revolutionary poet of Bengalee literature. It also arranged in Calcutta a grand reception for Mr. Kaiqubād who also is liked and esteemed for his poetic talent. In Chittagong it held the jubilee celebration of

the notable Bengalee litterateur, Munshi 'Abdul Karim, who has a rare collection of old Bengalee manuscripts, numbering more than 1,500 copies. Some of these manuscripts are Bengalee in language but Arabic in script. A complete catalogue of these manuscripts which are expected to throw a flood of light on the rather obscure history of the development of Bengalee literature and the contribution of Muslims in the process has been prepared. The Association has appointed two committees, one for the reformation of the Bengalee alphabet, and the other for collection and preservation of old Bengalee manuscripts.

It is gratifying to learn that Dr. 'Itrat Hussain Zuberi, Principal of the Islamia College, Calcutta, has been awarded a Carnegie Fellowship in English literature tenable at Merton College, Oxford. He is the first Indian to have the distinction of being elected a Carnegie Fellow. The award has been made in recognition of his works on the English metaphysical poets of the 17th century. During the tenure of Fellowship at Oxford, he will edit the prose works of John Donne.

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

Anjuman Khuddām-ud-Dīn, Lahore :

THIS Anjuman, which has its headquarters inside Sheranwala Gate, Lahore, has been doing splendid work for the Muslims for the last thirty years. This work lies mainly in the educational and missionary spheres, its efforts being chiefly devoted to the dissemination and popularization of Islamic teachings among the followers of Islam. Some of its manifold activities may find a brief mention here.

1. The Anjuman maintains a big religious seminary, called Madrasa Qāsim-ul-'Ulūm, which is housed in a large building of its own. It is attended by a large number of advanced students, some of whom have already obtained degrees from other important religious institutions. They go through the Holy Qur'ān under the guidance of the eminent divine, al-Ĥāj Maulānā Ahmad 'Alī, the President of the Anjuman. More than a thousand 'Ulama have so far passed through this Madrasa, and are now spread all over the Muslim world, including such distant countries as Burma, Java, Central Asia and East Africa.

2. The Anjuman also maintains a school for boys, where they are given instruction in the reading of the Qur'ān. A similar school for girls has also been recently started with the same purpose.

3. The Anjuman also arranges for regular and extensive courses of lectures on the Qur'ān. They are concerned with an enlightened exposition of the teachings of the Qur'ān, and are largely attended by people

in all walks of life, such as teachers, lawyers, doctors, government officials, businessmen, etc.

4. The Anjuman has also published a large number of tracts, in Urdu, dealing with different subjects connected with Islamic belief and practice. They are written in a simple and direct manner, their object being to bring home to the Muslim masses the teachings of their religion. The total issue of these tracts, which are generally distributed free of charge, exceeds 700,000 copies.

5. For a number of years, the Anjuman published a fortnightly review, *Al-Islam*. It was a very well-edited paper, which contained news of Islamic interest, notes and comments on current affairs, book-reviews and interesting articles on various subjects, connected with the religion, history and culture of Islam. It is proposed to revive it, and we shall be eagerly looking forward to its reappearance.

The Anjuman now proposes to establish a hostel for college students, who will be given every facility and encouragement to practise an Islamic mode of life. This hostel will be part of an Islamic Cultural Centre, which will include a lecture-hall, a well-equipped library and reading-room and a guest-house for visitors who are prominent in the religious life of Islam. For all these beneficent and commendable activities, the credit chiefly goes to the selfless devotion of the Amir of the Anjuman, al-Hājj Maulānā Ahmad 'Alī, who has dedicated his life to the service of Islam and has guided the affairs of the Anjuman with rare wisdom and tact.

The Iqbal Academy :

Some earlier publications of this publishing-house received a brief mention last year in the October issue of this Journal. It is gratifying to note that, in spite of the restrictive war conditions, the Academy has managed to issue a number of important books in recent months. The literature published by this house is of a serious and healthy type, and exceedingly useful because of the fact that it is calculated to contribute towards the reform and regeneration of the Muslim community. Special mention is due in this connection to an important book, entitled *دربار رسول کے فیصلے*, which is the Urdu translation of an Arabic work, *افضیة الرسول* by 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Faraj al-Mālikī. The work is composed on an original plan. The author has brought together in one place from numerous sources, mostly Hadith collections, all those apostolic traditions which refer to judgments given by the Prophet on various occasions. These decisions naturally touch on widely different questions of personal and public law, and are therefore exceedingly important and highly significant from the point of view of Islamic legislation.

The Taj Company :

The Taj Company, Ltd., Lahore, which has already undertaken the publication of the English translation of the Holy Qur'ān, with exhaustive foot-notes, by Maulānā 'Abdul Mājid Daryābādī, has now undertaken to publish an Urdu translation of the Qur'ān by the same scholar. This translation, too, is supplied with exhaustive notes. The first part of this work is now in the press, and is expected to be out shortly.

The Letters of Rashīd-ud-Dīn :

Faḍl Allāh Rashīd-ud-Dīn, who was content to call himself Rashīd Ṭabīb or Rashīd the Physician, was a talented administrator, an erudite historian and a munificent patron of learning, who served with rare distinction under the early Mongol kings of Persia. During the twenty-two years of his vizierate, he enjoyed enormous wealth and power, which he used for the foundation of colleges, hospitals and libraries and the encouragement of scholars. He was not only a liberal patron of letters, but was himself a scholar of great merit, whose *Jāmi'-at-Tawārīkh* is justly regarded as one of the greatest historical works in the Persian language. Besides this monumental history, Rashīd-ud-Dīn composed several other works, some of which are preserved in a fine manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Fortunate chance has also spared to us a collection of some fifty of his letters, addressed to many different people on many different subjects, collected and arranged by his secretary, Muḥammad of Abarqūh. A manuscript of this collection, believed to be unique, was acquired by the late Professor E. G. Browne, who, in view of the extreme rarity of the work and the interest of its contents, gave in the third volume of his *Literary History of Persia* (pp. 80-86) a list of the 53 despatches it contains and the persons to whom they were addressed. During his student days at Cambridge, Professor Muḥammad Shafī' made, at the instance of Professor Browne, an abstract of this precious and most interesting volume, condensing or omitting the precepts and platitudes, with which many letters are filled, but devoting particular attention to those which contain matters of general, especially medical and pharmaceutical interest. For some time past, he has been engaged in preparing a critical edition of these letters, and we are glad to be in a position to report that its printing is now almost completed. The present edition covers about 400 pages of the printed text, including additional notes. The printing of the text will be immediately followed by that of an abridged translation into English; and the whole work is expected to be published in 1946 in the *Oriental Publications Series* of the Panjab University. As the editor had a single manuscript at his disposal, he was naturally confronted with enormous difficulties in establishing the text, which not only contains many unfamiliar words and expressions and allusions to places, persons and

events, now almost completely forgotten, but includes about ten folios in an almost illegible hand, baffling even the expert in his attempt to decipher it. Thanks to his vast erudition and his painstaking industry, the editor has, however, succeeded in overcoming these difficulties in a remarkable degree. He has also tried to trace and identify, as far as possible, the persons, places and literary works mentioned in the letters, and has embodied the results of his researches in the form of notes, which are calculated to facilitate the task of future students of these letters and thus greatly enhance the value and usefulness of the text.

SH. I.

FOREIGN

BRITAIN

ON Muslim affairs and oriental culture the year 1944-45 has seen a greatly increased activity in London. The two major events during this period were the founding of the Islamic Cultural Centre at Regent's Lodge, Park Road, Regent's Park, and the Egyptian Institute at 4, Chesterfield Gardens, Curzon Street, Mayfair.

(1) *The Islamic Cultural Centre :*

The Islamic Cultural Centre was conceived on broad international lines and owes its establishment to the co-operation of a number of the leading Muslim countries and States. The original committee included the diplomatic representatives of Egypt, Iraq, Sa'udi Arabia, while Sir Hasan Suhrawardi, formerly adviser to the Secretary of State for India, and Maulānā Yūsuf 'Alī, the celebrated translator of the Qur'ān into English, participated on behalf of the Muslims of India. Religious and social functions were attended by diplomats from all Muslim States represented in London, by Muslims of almost every race from all parts of the world, and by many English sympathisers and guests. King George VI paid a special visit to the Centre where he was invited to inspect the present building and plans for future development. During his tour of inspection he spoke personally with a number of Indian and Palestinian troops.

The Regent's Lodge was presented by the Crown and a large donation was given by King Fārūq to the Centre. A mosque is to be built on what is at present tennis courts, and the Egyptian Government has made a grant of £20,000 towards the cost of construction and of setting up a school. The new mosque will be more central and easy of access than that at Woking, or the East London Mosque which has suffered damage

from V-bombs. The Lodge is a beautiful building set in a very pleasant part of London; it has been redecorated and furnished with taste, and its spacious rooms will adequately house its manifold activities. A library is being collected and lectures have recently been held among which was an address by Mr. Haffar, a prominent member of the Syrian Muslim community of Manchester. It is proposed to print the lectures delivered at the Centre in the form of a quarterly magazine.

The Director of the Islamic Cultural Centre is Dr. 'Alī 'Abd al-Qādir, the well known Azharite scholar, who has been aptly described by the Cairo paper *Al-Ithnain* as "The Ambassador of Islam in London." The work that he is undertaking is timely, and it is hoped that this Centre may help to dispel popular misconceptions of a great world faith.

(2) *The Egyptian Institute and other Egyptian Activities :*

Another important step towards more intimate relations between East and West is the foundation by the Egyptian Government of a new Institute. Its first Director was Dr. S. A. Huzaiyin, leader of the Egyptian expedition to South-West Arabia in 1937. We regret that Dr. Huzaiyin has now returned to Egypt, but has been succeeded by Dr. Nagib Hashim, formerly Director of Educational Missions at the Egyptian Ministry of Education, who will, no doubt, carry on his excellent work. An able speaker in Arabic and English, Dr. Huzaiyin in a farewell speech expressed his hope that the Institute would steer clear of political controversies and make itself the interpretation of the culture of modern Egypt, not of course forgetting her historic past. He affirmed the necessity of keeping in close touch with the most recent and up-to-date thought of the West, which is in a constant state of change, and pointed out the danger of lagging behind if we are content with a knowledge of the West acquired some ten, twenty or thirty years ago.

The Institute already contains a large and valuable library consisting mainly of books connected with modern Egypt in Arabic and other languages, a library, probably unique of its kind. Purchases have been made both in Egypt and Europe to stock its shelves. Courses of lectures are part of the programme of the Institute where Arabic is also taught. It is possible that a series of publications will be commenced when the situation is easier, while a summary of Dr. Huzaiyin's lectures under the title of *Egypt and the World* has already been issued in pamphlet form. The Institute building also houses the Educational Mission and the Royal Egyptian Club. Like the Islamic Cultural Centre, the Institute is an impressive, spacious and well-furnished establishment.

Among the activities of the Egyptian post-graduate students in London is the production of an Arabic paper which has been reproduced photographically from typescript and entitled *Miṣr-wa'l-Ghad*; it has already entered its second year of life. It is published by the Egyptian Re-

search and Planning Association at 552/553, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C. 2.

(3) *Arab Social and Political Activities in London :*

In 1944 also Anglo-Egyptian and Anglo-Iraqi Societies were formed under the patronage of the representatives of these countries and with members drawn from the natives of or closely associated with Egypt and Iraq. Since the establishment of the new Lebanese and Syrian Legations, London has now more representatives of the Arabic speaking world and permanent residents in her midst than ever before. Besides, delegates from the Arab States to the numerous conferences have visited London en route, making many contacts during their stay. All interested in Arab affairs look forward with interest to the establishment of London's proposed Arab Bureau. While London has long been accustomed to meet and welcome prominent Indians, the presence of Arabs from so many quarters would be a novel experience. This would be an important factor in establishing closer cultural links between the Arabic speaking world and the West.

(4) *A New Arabic Magazine in London :*

The year 1943 saw the creation of a new Arabic magazine, founded by Dr. A. J. Arberry, the well-known scholar of Šūfism, who succeeded Professor V. Minorsky in the Chair of Persian at the School of Oriental Studies in the autumn of 1944. *Al-Adab wa'l-Fann*, as this magazine is called, is a quarterly, printed by the monotype process with a type-face designed in Hyderabad, and is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton. It is Arabic counterpart to the Persian *Rūzgār-i-Naw*, though its contents are different, but like the latter, it has a full colour cover generally showing some art-treasure from the British Museum. The subject-matter consists mostly of articles dealing with literature, language, art, and a variety of modern themes of a scientific nature. There are articles by famous English men of letters, and the contributing orientalists include Professors Gibb, Arberry, Robertson and Kahle, Rhuvon Guest, Margaret Smith, R. B. Serjeant and the famous traveller, al-Ḥādjdj 'Abdullāh Philby.

(5) *A Monthly Science Paper in Arabic :*

Since August 1941, the British Council has been issuing a scientific broadsheet in Arabic entitled *Monthly Science News (An-Nashrat al-'Ilmiyat al-Shahriya)*, printed in monotype by the Cambridge University Press. This paper deals with a variety of subjects of scientific nature,

and reports progress and discoveries in such fields as medicine, agriculture, chemistry, physics and other branches of research. It will no doubt be a useful contribution toward standardising scientific terminology for new inventions.

(6) *Oriental Studies in Great Britain :*

In the sixth year of the Second World War few younger British scholars have been left undisturbed for continuing the traditions of orientalism. Only older scholars and continental refugees who have taken shelter in Britain's universities, have been spared from military or official duties. British orientalists have nevertheless continued to prosecute their studies in the little free time available, and some have even been able to publish books and articles. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* appear greatly reduced in size only once or twice a year. Scholars look forward to the cessation of hostilities in Europe so that valuable collections and libraries may once more come out with their activities. They would like to re-establish contact with continental universities from which they have been cut off for six years, though the latter in their turn are only too often badly damaged or depleted and their scholars dispersed. They hope also to see more of their learned colleagues and students from the universities of India and the Near East, visiting and studying in Britain, for without free interchange of ideas between the universities of the world, learning must languish and wither for want of proper sustenance.

It is hoped that in the near future closer contact may be established between British and American orientalists, and we note with satisfaction that Professor H.A.R. Gibb is once more going to Chicago for delivering a course of lectures for the Harris Foundation.

R. B. S.

AMERICA

Muslim Colony :

Reuter reports that in Mexico arrangements have been made to settle Muslims from all over the world in a colony. The object is to populate tracts of land which have great prospects but have been neglected so far for lack of man power.

Committee of Arabic and Islamic Studies :

The war has stimulated American interest in Arabic and Islamic studies, and the American Council of Learned Societies of Washington

has set up a special committee on Arabic and Islamic studies. The latest publication of the committee is an *Arabic Chrestomathy* for advanced studies. It consists of 45 extracted pieces spread over 374 pages. Not only different branches of learning, such as Hadith, history, Adab, travels, fiction, philosophy, etc., have been represented but different Arabic scripts have also been deliberately used to acquaint the student with Indian lithography, Spanish and N. African semi-Kufic, Ta'liq, Thuluth, vocalised and non-vocalised texts, etc. The Persian Nasta'liq, however, is conspicuous for its absence. Its price is 3-50.

The chairman of the Committee on Arabic and Islamic Studies is G. Howland Shaw, Assistant Secretary of State; the Secretary and *cheville ouvrière* of this present work is Myron B. Smith of the Library of the Congress. Dr. Nabih A. Faris of Princeton University made the primary selection and :—

1. EDWIN E. CALVERLEY, Hartford Seminary Foundation,
2. PHILLIP KHURI HITT, Princeton University,
3. ARTHUR JEFFERY, Columbia University,
4. WILLIAM THOMSON, Harvard University,

who are members of the Committee, have collaborated in the scrutiny and selection of texts.

FRANCE

Prof. Massignon's Visit to India and Hyderabad :

During the last trimester, the famous Islamicist of Paris, Prof. Louis Massignon, paid a flying visit to India. From January last he has been visiting Islamic countries, and in Cairo he spent considerable time in connection with the project of the grand Arabic dictionary. From Afghanistan he came to India; and Lahore, Delhi and Hyderabad were his important objectives. In Hyderabad he came into direct contact with the Osmania University and our journal, the *Islamic Culture*. We thank him in anticipation of his promised contributions to our journal.

Services Francaises d' Information aux Indes :

The French government has opened an office in New Delhi with the above name for diplomatic and cultural relations with India. They have at the French Consulate-General in Calcutta a Cultural Attaché also. The Delhi office has been publishing, for the last five years a monthly French magazine *France-Orient*. We have just received its 50th copy, of July 1945. The only matter of Islamic interest therein we found is the photograph of H.M. the Sultān of Morocco taking salute in Paris, along

with General De Gaulle, of the French Army. In the section 'Letters orientales' nothing but the Hindu culture of India and Indo-China has been represented. We hope space may be found in future for Muslims of Oriental countries which interest France. Like the British Empire, Muslims form the majority of population in the countries under French Control, yet this neglect is so lamentable that one cannot cease repeating again and again the suggestion to take greater notice of the fact for mutual benefit.

CHINA

Cultural Contact with India :

About a third of the population of China is Muslim. Hence the Muslim interest is the well-being of this country. For the last few months, under the auspices of the Chinese legation in New Delhi, a monthly English Magazine *China* is being published, and every now and then it contains articles on Islam in China and in India. According to a report of the Orient Press of India, published in the *Dawn*, Delhi, we are gratified to learn that the Chinese government at Chungking is contemplating to invite in near future Muslim savants of India to China, to deliver lectures just as it has done regarding Hindu scholars in the near past.

IRAQ

Students in Foreign Countries :

A message from Baghdad informs that 80 students will be sent this academic year by Iraq to foreign countries, especially Britain and America. Of these, 30 will be selected by the department of communications and public works, 25 by department of education, 8 by department of social works, and 2 by department of finance. The 23 boys and girls who could not go last year, for transport and other difficulties, will also proceed this year.

EGYPT

Restrictions on Cinema-going Children :

The ministry of Social Affairs of Egypt is presenting a bill to the Egyptian Parliament that persons under the age of 18 should be barred from cinemas except for educational films.

Commemoration of the Arab League :

The Egyptian postal department has decided to issue two postage stamps of the value of 10 and 20 millims, bearing the picture of the first session of the Arab League, commemorating the same. They will be sold on and from 29th July, the date of the majority of King Fārūq from which date the regency was abolished.

Arab Countries in General :

Economic Committee of the Arab League has appointed three sub-committees to consider (1) how to safeguard the interests of the Palestinian Arabs in their landed properties, and (2) Agriculture, and (3) Commerce and Industries of Arab countries. The last named body will also consider the question of customs and import duties and unification of currencies of the Arab countries. The currency question is much more complex since some Arab countries belong to Sterling block, others to France, and still others to other monetary arrangements.

Acquisition of Military Bases by Big Powers :

Much concern is felt in Near Eastern Countries on the American intentions of territorial aggrandisement. President Truman said on 9th of August :

“ Though the U.S.A. wants no territory or profit or selfish advantage out of this war, we are going to maintain the military bases necessary for the complete protection of our interests and of world peace. These bases, which our military experts deem to be essential for our protection and which are not now in our possession, we will acquire.”

The President added :

“ We will acquire them by arrangements consistent with the United Nations Charter.”

The General Secretary of the Arab League, ‘Abdur Raḥmān ‘Azzām Bey has emphatically opposed the idea, as far as Arab countries are concerned, in an interview with the *Al-Ahrām* of Cairo. He said, the world cannot tolerate a third world war, and the Arabs want neither participation in the aggression or preparation for it nor co-operate in it.

Arab Medical Conference :

The next pan-Arab Medical Conference will hold its session in November next in Cairo, not in Damascus as announced before. This is

apparently due to the disturbed condition in the former French mandated territories.

Cultural Co-operation of Arab Countries :

The Cultural Committee of the Arab League has completed the draft of a cultural convention between Arab countries consisting of 24 sections. It is proposed to establish a permanent office of cultural relations, and it will hold sessions twice a year in different Arab countries. Again, exchange of professors and students is contemplated to encourage educational, scientific and sportive missions and establishment of cultural and social clubs. At the Working Committee of the office of the Cultural Institute all Arab countries will be represented.

TURKEY

Agrarian Reforms :

London Times of 8th June reports that after long and heated discussion, the Grand National Assembly has passed the Land Reform Bill under which large tracts of agricultural land will be distributed to peasants without or with insufficient land for their subsistence.

Large estates, belonging either to the Government or to individuals, will be broken up and reduced to a maximum of 1,200, 500 or even of only 12 acres, according to the nature and location of land. The surplus will be expropriated at prices equal to one, two, or three times its registered value. Owners will be paid in treasury bonds, redeemable in 20 years ; and bearing 4 per cent. interest. It is estimated that about 1,000,000 households (nearly five times as many people, or one third of the total rural population of Turkey) will benefit under this law. Previously they worked on big estates as share-croppers and labourers, or lived as nomads.

M. H.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

EUROPEAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN POETS OF URDU AND PERSIAN; by Ram Babu Saksena, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow; 318-405 pages; Rs. 10.

MR. Ram Babu Saksena is already well-known as the author of the work which has almost become a classic, namely the *History of Urdu Literature* and its Urdu form, the *Tārīkh-i-Adab-i-Urdu*. It is surprising how the chief officer of one of the important districts of the United Provinces or the Minister of an Indian State could find time to publish important works of the kind single-handed in the midst of his multifarious and varied duties, and had it not been for the great love which Mr. Saksena has for his own language such a thing would have been an impossibility. He has summed up his feelings for Urdu in one of the most eloquent paragraphs of the work before us, and has put the whole problem of the status of the language in a nutshell thus:

"It is a mighty river with many noble tributaries. This interesting and varied pattern is made up of different yarns of beautiful hues. Urdu literature does not belong to one exclusive community. It is a common heritage. It is above all communal patterns and party politics. It has nothing in common with ephemeral polemics and sectional controversies... It is a symbol of unity and love and is a unifying force of great power. It is a treasure of priceless gems to be cherished, preserved and appreciated. Hindus, Mus-

lims, Europeans and Indo-Europeans have built it up with all the best they possessed. Such a common heritage which is indivisible will surely not be allowed to sink into obscurity or perish."

With such sentiments at the back of his mind it is no wonder that Mr. Saksena has produced the work under review, which is remarkable for its great depth and exactitude due to the industry and research which the author must have expended, and it must have been a matter of great satisfaction to him to have seen his labours in print.

Mr. Saksena takes us back to the time when, towards the close of the eighteenth century the European residents of India vied with each other in adopting Indian ways, took pride in having their food cooked in the Indian style, dressed as Indians, kept a large zenana, sat in spacious halls spread over with beautiful carpets and *chāndnis*, conversed in Indian languages, languorously reclined on *gāo-takiyas* and smoked *huqqas* as necessary adjunct to their lives. The wonder of it is that this was the period of the nadir of the Indo-Muslim culture which was fast heading towards its decay which the Indo-Europeans were copying. It was this atmosphere of pure Indianism which was responsible for the great output of Urdu poetry not only by the Indo-British but also by the Indo-French, the Indo-German, the Indo-Italian and the Indo-Portuguese. No doubt some of the foreign immigrants settled down in this land of plenty and hospitality and made

it their own, but we also find pure-blooded Europeans composing Urdu and Persian poetry of some merit.

The book consists of two parts, namely English and Urdu. In the English part, which extends to 318 pages, are included the life stories and genealogies of Indo-European poets of Urdu and Persian as well as illustrations from their poetical works, while we find in the Urdu portion of the book—407 odd pages—illustrative extracts, sometimes complete extant pieces, of such writers known so far. In point of fact the Urdu portion is perhaps the most exhaustive anthology of the subject attempted so far, and the author deserves our hearty thanks and congratulations. It is a pity that this part is without any table of contents or index, either of the authors' names or the first lines, and there are no cross-references connecting the pieces with the English parts of the book. Considering that the book is an exhaustive work on the subject, it happens at times that good poetry is found alongside indifferent or bad lines, which cannot be helped. If cross-references and tables of content were to be included in the second edition, the reader would be able to pick out the compositions of his favourite poet without delving into that of merely non-descript ones.

Perhaps the most remarkable poet in the whole collection is the famous Arabist, E. H. Palmer, who never set his foot in India, still whose Urdu, Persian and Arabic lines show his wonderful grasp not only of Arabic poetry but of Persian and Urdu metre and idiom as well. Here are just a few by way of illustration :

لیت شعری ہل کفی ماقدر جری

مذ جری ماقد کفی من مقتل

عشق اوچون اشک مارا از جہان انداختہ

وانکہ از طاق دل من این و آن انداختہ

ہزاروں آہیں تو توڑنا پتھر سے اے ظالم

ہراکت سنگ جفا سے شیشہ دل چور مت کیجو

Our author has given evidence of his power of research and industry almost at every step. Even where there is just a line ascribed to an Indo-European poet he has picked the poet up and told us all that could be found about him. He has spent hours with the descendants of poets ransacked their *bayāzes* and *dīwāns* and given us wonderfully interesting and long family trees. Thus we have the exhaustive family tree of the descendants of William Gardner of Coleraine, whose two grandsons, Major William Gardner and Allen, First Baron Gardner, are the progenitors of a family which has produced a remarkable number of Indo-British poets of Urdu. One of the many branches of this family is represented by Sulaimān Shikoh Gardner *Fanā*, Daniel Socrates Gardner *Shukr*, Rev. Bartholomew Gardner *Ṣabr*, Rev. Patrick Gardner *Shauq*, William Gardner *Idris*, Felix Gardner *Falak*, and Ellen Christina Gardner *Ruqayya*. Some of these were poets of some note. Ruqayya sings :

خودی نے مجھ پہ کیا ہے ستم خدا کی قسم

جو بیخودی ہو تو پھر کس کا غم خدا کی قسم

یہ غیب غیب ہے کہتے ہیں لوگ جس کو شہر د

شہود ہی ہے عدم کا عدم خدا کی قسم

Note Ṣabr's command over our language :

ستایش گرہوں اے زاہدیں اس خورشیدِ خواباں کا

گل خورشید بھی اک پھول ہے جسکے گلستان کا

بس اب تو سوئینکے آرام سے قیامت تک

زہے نصیب پس مرگ تو ٹھکانہ ہوا

Another widely spread Indo-European family is that of the French Bourbons, descendants of which are found from Lucknow in the North to Bhopal in Central India with traces as far South as Hyderabad. Some of them adopted not only the Persian *takhalluṣ* but actually Persian names, such as the poet Balthasar Bourbon, *alias* Shahzād Masīḥ Fīṭrat. Fīṭrat's poetry may not be of a high order

but he is a fairly profuse writer and has left us two *diwāns*, one of Persian and the other of Urdu. Some of his poetry is devotional such as :

فطرت جہاں میں جز در عیسے کوئی جگہ
آتی نہیں نظر مجھے جاؤں کہاں کہیں
حضرت عیسے کے اے فطرتِ سبحانِ فیض سے
ہو گئے اب تو ہرے تیرے شجر سوکھے ہوئے

But he is also a good master of the *ghazal*, and a few lines may be cited by way of example :

دل بھی اندوہ ہے خاطر پہ الم رکھتے ہیں
یہ بھی کیا طالع ہے اے چرخ کہ ہم رکوئے ہیں
غیر کے جزر و تعادی کا کروں کیا شکوہ
دشمن جان ہوا اپنا یہ دل پھلو میں

We have then the full-blooded scotchman, David Montrose Muḍṭar who died as recently as 1931 and who has left us some fine verses. Says Muḍṭar regarding his predilections for poetry,

آج کل حضرت مضطر کو کہاں فرصت ہے
جب انہیں دیکھتے دیوان لے بیٹھے ہیں

We have a fairly long elegy which Muḍṭar wrote on Dāgh's death, a few stanzas might be quoted here with advantage :

صبر و شکیب و طاقت ضبط و نفاذ نہیں
کہنا پڑا کہ درد کہاں سے کہاں نہیں
غمخوار و یارِ ہمدام و مونس یہاں نہیں
کس کو سنا میں حال کوئی مہربان نہیں
اک داغ تھا سو وہ بھی تہ آسماں نہیں
تاریخِ مرگ داغِ سخنور بہ نالہا
پرچھا جوشاعری سے وہیں ہم نے بر ملا
چشم پر آب ہو کے بصد یاس یوں کہا
مضطر ہمیں تو غیب سے آتی ہے یہ صدا
لو باغ میں وہ بلبل ہننا و ستان نہیں

The author of the work before us has given us a complete biography of Alexander Heatherley Āzād, "probably the best exponent of Urdu verse" among the Indo-Europeans, and one "who attained a complete mastery over Urdu poetry." Here are a few lines from the twenty-five odd pages of selected verses contained in the work before us :

اے دیدہ و روتہ اے دیوان نہ سمجھو
حالا کہ زیادہ ہے گلستان سے سخن میں
دیوانِ امیرن کے ہوا کرتے ہیں پر یہ
آزاد کا تکیہ ہے بیابانِ سخن میں

From the ode in praise of Maharaja Jivājī Rāo Sindhia :

کسائے مجھ کو اے دل انتظارِ فصلِ گل
ہے مہاراجہ کی محفل میں بہارِ فصلِ گل
طبعِ رنگین کو مری بھاتا نہیں طولِ کلام
یہ مرا رنگیں سخن ہے انتظارِ فصلِ گل

On Ghālīb's famous *ghazal* :

بلاتے ہیں نہ سہی خاک بھی عدو کیا ہے
تمہیں اسی کی قسم اسکی آبرو کیا ہے
زبانِ شرح بیان کا یہ حسنِ خو کیا ہے
ہر ایک بات پہ کہتے ہو تم کہ تو کیا ہے
تمہیں کہو کہ یہ اندازِ گفتگو کیا ہے

One feels unpleasantly astonished to find the own nephew of the famous Lord Roberts of Qandhar, a Muslim and Nādir Mirzā by name, living on a pittance. Nādir Mirzā's father, who was Lord Robert's own brother, was an Urdu poet with *jān* as his *takhalluṣ*. Here are just a few lines by him :

قدرتِ خدا کی جلوۂ جانانہ ہو گیا
روشن زیادہ طور سے کاشانہ ہو گیا
عراقِ ابرواں میں نہیں ہے نشیانی آنکھ
مسجد میں عین دیکھتے میخانہ ہو گیا

اچھا بہلا تھا کچھ نہ شکایت تھی جان کو
دل بہنس کے اس کی زلف میں دیوانہ ہو گیا

We have a host of Indo-Portuguese families who have settled down in various parts of north India, and the most interesting of them for our purposes is the De Sylva family descended from Don Pedro de Sylva. These include Don Ellice de Sylva *Fitrat*, Don Augustine de Sylva *Maftūn*, Gustine de Sylva *Fitrat*, Pedro de Sylva *Ibrat* and many others. Some of them have left regular *diwāns* and have a poetry of a high standard to their credit. It will suffice here to quote a few lines from Joseph Manuel Joseph :

تجھے بناو سے زلفوں کے ھے کہاں فرصت
چہ غم ز حال پریشان عاشقان داری
بلا شراب اب اس نازنین کو اے ساقی
علیٰ الخصوص درایندم کہ سرگراں داری
ملا یہ پھول جو حافظ کے باغ سے جرزف
چہ غم ز نالہ و فریاد باغبان داری

Then there are poets who found great encouragement at the court of the famous Begam Samru, the Muslim convert to Christianity, Zēb-u'n-Nisā Begam, like the German Ludwig Reinhart surnamed *Muzaffar-u'd-Doula* *Mumtāz-ul-Mulk Zafaryāb Khān Nusrat Jang Shāhib*, and François Gottlieb Koine *Farāsū*. *Farāsū*'s literary output in verse is very considerable and he wrote with equal facility in Persian and Urdu.

A more recent poet is the Indo-French poet George Puech (?Pecche) *Shore*, who was born at Aligarh in 1823 and died at Meerut in 1894. As our author says, there was probably no other poet of the genre who was such a prolific writer of Urdu and Persian verse, for he was the author of six complete Urdu *diwāns*, a long Urdu *mathnawī*, a Persian *diwān* and an anthology of his religious verse, as well as a book in Urdu prose recounting his experiences of the Indian Mutiny. He was a devout Christian and composed a number of homilies and poems on God and Jesus Christ. Some of his prose is

worth quoting, as it contains the ornamental and flowery diction in vogue in those days :

ہمئی سنہ ۱۸۵۰ء - اس روز حسب معمول
مستمرہ کلکتہ دروازے کی سمت پر لب
دریائے جمین ایک میلہ البیلا ایسا ہوتا تھا
کہ جسی خوبی بیان سے باہر ھے . خاص و
عام پر اسکا ساں از ارض تاساں ایتک ظاہر و
باہر ھے . دوستوں نے ترغیب سیر اسکی مجھ
پریشان خاطر کو دیدی . دیکھتا ہوں کہ
چاندنی چوک سے لگا کرتا بہ سلیم گڑھ لب
جمین ہجوم مخلوقات سے سر پر تنہالی بھرتی ھے

Shore writes with great confidence on all subjects in lucid rhyme. As illustrations we might quote the following :

Persian poetry :

تو گبر باش کہ ترساع یا مسلمان باش
بہر طریق کہ باشی درست ایمان باش
ترا کہ توشہ از اعمال نیک در کمر است
بمرگ خویش مکن گریہ شاد و خندان باش

Satire :

آرزوئے خاک پائے مجھ کو حیف
اسقدر پیسا کہ سرمہ کر دیا
دیں لیا ایمان لیا اور جاں بھی لی
فیصلہ دلبر نے میرا کر دیا

Taṣawuf :

حرم میں دیر میں گر جے میں ھے ایک
یہ بھید اہل دوتی پر کب عیاں ہو

Shore was held in such esteem by his contemporaries that when he died in 1894 *Dāgh* wrote a short elegy which might be given in extenso here :

جارج پیش آن شور صاحب باکال
مالک ملک سخن طبعش بزور

عادل و باذل دلاور رحم دل
 کزنہیش مار بوسد پائے مور
 روز جمعہ بست و دویم فروری
 استراحت کرد در آغوش گور
 سال رحلت عیسوی بنوشت داغ
 اہل عالم کرد ماتم شور شور

Mr. Saksena's book contains many thousand lines, some of great merit, by such writers whose mother-tongue was not Urdu at all but who composed poetry with a very facile pen. The work clearly demonstrates what the taste, modesty and scholarship of an author like him can attain. The printing and general get-up of this remarkable book is good, but unluckily printing mistakes disfigure it, while in some cases the transliteration of Indian words and proper nouns is not uniform. We hope that in the second edition these slight deviations would be rectified and the work would be furnished with an index of lines and cross-references.

H. K. S.

THE STUDY OF INDIAN ART;
 by K. de B. Codrington; published for
 the Tagore Society by Luzac & Co.,
 London, 1944.

It is a sixteen-page pamphlet, containing a *Foreword* by Pulin Seal, an *Introduction* by George Catlin, and an *Informal Talk* on the study of Indian art, by Dr. Codrington, given before the Tagore Society, on March 9th, 1944. Dr. Codrington is a well-known authority on Indian sculpture, and his lecture, which he has modestly styled 'an informal talk,' comprises sufficient material for thought for all those who are interested in the study of Indian art in its correct perspective.

Dr. Codrington has discussed the merits of Indian art in an unbiased manner, and quoted both Havell and Coomaraswamy in an appreciative spirit, but at

the same time he has pointed out: "Their exposition of the values of the work they loved and wished to make known was necessarily verbal (unfortunately, we have to talk or write, about Art....) but in doing so, they chose to adopt the Brahman idiom..... It would not be untrue to say that Indian philosophy and early Buddhism came into existence as a protest against priestcraft." This view of Dr. Codrington holds good in respect of many a book on Indian art which has been compiled in modern times.

The author further observes; "At Bharhut, the godlings of the human world, *Yakshas*, and *Yakshis*, *Nagas*, the snake-headed gods of lakes and stream, and guardians of the quarters, gather round the cenotaph of the Buddha, the Blessed One.... Here is nothing hieratic, nor is there anything that demands the epithet "spiritual," for the flesh is rendered with love and in very great detail. We know so little of this ancient world from which our India springs, and yet these sculptures are strangely alive, indeed modern. For the heavy folds of the drapery and the flesh of the lithe limbs, and the subtle pose and gesture, can still be seen, any evening, when the women gather at the well."

According to Dr. Codrington the Sanskrit literature often quoted on Indian art is not contemporary with the great periods of Indian sculpture and painting. The views of certain scholars regarding the artistic significance of the frescoes and sculpture at Ajanta, Badami and Ellora may therefore be read with caution.

The price of the pamphlet, 3s. 6d., is indeed very high and can be justified only on the consideration that the proceeds of sale will go to the funds of the Tagore Society, which is doing a very noble work in promoting good-will and mutual regard between the East and the West.

G. Y.

NĀDIRĀT-I-SHĀHI, an anthology of Urdu, Persian and Hindi poems, by the Mughal king, Shāh 'Ālam II : edited by Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī ; published under the authority of H.H. the Nawab of Rampur, Hindustan Press, Rampur, 1944 ; Crown 8vo, pp. iii+LXII+327.

RAMPUR State deservedly enjoys a high reputation for its Oriental Library ; but recently this enlightened State has started a series of publications based upon rare MSS. The present book is one of the series, and it comprises a large number of Hindi songs and poems composed by Abu'l-Muzaffar Jalālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, Shāh 'Ālam II, king of India, 1759-88. The original copy of the book was written by the order of Shāh 'Ālam in 1212 H., (1797, A.D.) and styled *Nādirāt-i-Shāhi*. The book has become rare, but a copy of it is preserved at the Rampur State Library.

The learned editor has discussed in the introduction the merits of Shāh 'Ālam's poetry, and as background given a brief but clear sketch of the social and political conditions of the king's reign. The later Mughal kings had developed much love for music, and as several of them were born of Hindu princesses they observed many customs of the country, and were thus thoroughly Indianised in their general outlook upon life. The subjects of the songs throw light on the religious beliefs of the king on the one hand, and the daily life of the court on the other. The charm of the songs however lies in their musical effect ; the tunes are marked at the beginning of each composition so that singers may recite them in the prescribed form with ease.

The songs are transcribed in both Deo Nāgiri and Naskh characters, and the book is therefore welcome to readers familiar with either of these scripts.

G. Y.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(1)

ISLAM AND AḤMADISM, with a reply to questions raised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, by Sir Muḥammad Iqbal ; published by Iqbal Academy, Lahore ; pp. 32 ; price As. 0-8-0.

This is a reprint of a famous writing of the late philosopher Iqbal. Commenting on the Qur'ānic verse : "Obey God, obey the Prophet and the masters of affair, i.e., rulers, from amongst you," the author exposes the Aḥmadism and says : "For an effective eradication of orthodox belief it was found necessary to find a revelational basis for a politically suitable orientation of theological doctrines involved in the questions" of Jihad and Caliphate, etc. "One can only imagine the rotten state of a people's will who are, on the basis of "divine authority" made to accept their political environment as final..... Russia offered tolerance to Babism and allowed the Babis to open their first missionary centre in 'Ishqābād. England showed Aḥmadism the same tolerance in allowing them to open their first missionary centre in Woking. Whether Russia and England showed this tolerance on the ground of imperial expediency or pure broadmindedness is difficult for us to decide."

The whole is an interesting reading with many original ideas. The printing and get-up, however, leave much to be desired.

(2)

ملت بیضاء پر ایک عمرانی نظر by Iqbal ; published by Iqbal Academy, Lahore ; pp. 32 ; price As. 0-6-0.

The original English lecture, delivered in Aligarh in 1910 was translated by Maulānā Zafar 'Alī Khān a year later. The present is a reprint and deals with the social ideals of Islam. Like all writings of Iqbal, there is much original thinking with thought-provoking suggestions in a brief and easy style.

(3)

کتاب سماوی پر ایک نظر by Saiyid Dhawqī Shāh of Hyderabad; published by Iqbal Academy, Lahore; pp. 180; price Rs. 2-12-0.

This is a painstaking research, from Islamic point of view, of the history, or rather story, of the Old and the New Testaments. For students of comparative religions and polemics against Christianity it offers much interesting reading.

(4)

ابو جعفر منصور by Abul-Qāsim Rafiq Dilāwari; published by Iqbal Academy, Lahore; pp. 152; price Rs. 1-8-0.

In this book the life and work of the second 'Abbasid Caliph Manṣūr has been dealt with in a popular manner. Here and there sources are also referred to.

(5)

THE COMMUNAL PATTERN OF INDIA, by Dr. Kazi Sa'id-ud-dīn Aḥmad; published by Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore.

(6)

NATIONAL STATES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES, by Prof. Md. 'Abdus-Sattar Kheiri; published by Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore.

(7)

SOME ASPECTS OF PAKISTAN, by Jamāluddīn Aḥmad, Esq; published by Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore.

(8)

POLISH NEWS; published by Wanda Dynowska, Esq., at the Popular Printing Press, Bombay, 7.

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Ed., I. C.

